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MEMOIRS

OF THE REIGN OF

KING GEORGE THE THIRD.

BY

HORACE WALPOLE,

YOUNGEST SON OF SIR ROBERT WALPOLE, EARL OF ORFORD.

NOW FIRST PUBLISHED FROM THE ORIGINAL MSS.

EDITED, WITH NOTES,

BY SIR DENIS LE MARCHANT, BART.

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PREFACE.

THE MEMOIRS OF THE REIGN OF KING GEORGE THE THIRD, by Horace Walpole (Earl of Orford) now for the first time submitted to the Public, are printed from a manuscript copy contained in the box of papers which came into the possession of the late Earl of Waldegrave, under the circumstances stated in the Preface to "The Memoirs of the Last Twelve Years of the Reign of George the Second." This manuscript was placed by Lord Waldegrave in the hands of the late Lord Holland at the same time with "the Memoirs" last mentioned, and hopes were long entertained that it would have had the advantage of the editorial care which gave so much additional interest to that work; but from the date of Lord Holland's return to office, in 1830, the little leisure he could find for literary pursuits was diverted from these volumes by engagements of a more pressing character; and it appeared at his death that he had never even commenced the task which he was of all persons eminently qualified to execute. Under these circumstances Lord Euston (now Duke of Grafton) on whom the property of the manuscript had devolved, as Lord Waldegrave's executor, became very desirous that the publication should no longer be deferred; and happening to consult me on the subject, my interest was so much excited by a cursory perusal, that I acceded to the request made to me to prepare the Work for the press. In this I was further encouraged by the assurance I received of the zealous co-operation and assistance of the late Mr. John Allen, whose knowledge of the early years of George the Third's reign was surpassed by none of his contemporaries (excepting, perhaps, Lord Holland,) and whose participation in all the studies, and I might almost add identification with the literary pursuits of that nobleman, would have given me many of the advantages I should have derived from himself, had he

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been still living. I had several conversations with Mr. Allen on the plan to be pursued in editing the Work, and his hints on the characters of the individuals described in it were of essential service to me; but unhappily, before my labours had commenced in earnest, he was taken ill, and in a few days followed his friend and patron to the grave. Few of the associates of his later days valued him more than myself, or more deeply regretted his loss; and in revising these pages, my mind has often recurred with melancholy yet grateful satisfaction to the many agreeable and most instructive hours I have passed in his and Lord Holland's society at a house which has acquired an European celebrity as the great point of intellectual and moral reunion among the most distinguished political and literary men of the present century.

These Memoirs comprise the first twelve years of the reign of George the Third, and close the historical works of Horace Walpole. "On their merits," to use the words of Lord Holland,* "it would be improper to enlarge in this place. That they contain much curious and original information, will not be disputed." In common with the Memoirs of George the Second, "they treat of a part of our annals most imperfectly known to us," with the decided advantage of the period being one marked by events of deeper interest and more congenial in their character and bearings with those which have since engaged, and still occupy our attention. The contests between Whigs and Jacobites may not be undeserving our curiosity; yet they sink into insignificance when compared with the origin and progress of the American discontents, in which may be traced the first indistinct rudiments of the great antagonistic principles and social revolutions of our own time. The Parliamentary struggles, too, in the case of General Warrants, are important, not less on account of the stores of constitutional knowledge they elicited, than from the spirit of free inquiry into the Prerogatives of the Crown on the one hand and the Privileges of the People on the other, which necessarily sprang out of them. Nor is it an uninstructive lesson to observe the efforts made by George the Third to break up the political parties which had embarrassed the reign of his predecessor. These topics are among the most prominent in the History of England during the Eighteenth Century, and they constitute the staple of the present Work. Some of the best debates

* Preface to the "Memoirs of the Last Twelve Years of the Reign of George the Second," p. xxvi.

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on the Stamp Act, and on the proceedings against Mr. Wilkes, are here reported with a vivacity and apparent correctness which may be sought in vain elsewhere; and we meet throughout the Work the same abundance of anecdote, and the same graphic description of men and manners that characterize the Memoirs of George the Second. It gives even more copious details of the negotiations between political parties, especially those incidental to the fall of Lord Rockingham's Administration; the gradual alienation of that nobleman and his friends from the Duke of Grafton; and the other divisions among the Whig party, which ended in the long enjoyment of power by their opponents. The records of these transactions do not, it is true, form the most dignified department of the historian, but political history is necessarily incomplete without them; and here Walpole is on his own ground. Unlike most of the writers who have minutely chronicled their times, he can neither be charged with obtaining mere imperfect or occasional glances into the councils of men in power, nor with suffering himself to be shackled by a sense of official restraint, not to say responsibility. He possessed entirely the secret of affairs, at least as long as Conway remained Minister; and so unreservedly discloses what he knew, that he might not untruly boast, as he does elsewhere, "that the failings of some of his nearest friends are as little concealed as those of other persons."*

I have little to add concerning my own share in these Memoirs. They are printed exactly as the Author left them, except that it has been thought right to suppress a few passages of an indecent tendency; and following the example of Lord Holland, "two or three passages affecting the private characters of private persons, and in no ways connected with any political event, or illustrative of any great public character, have been omitted."†

The notes that occur without any distinguishing mark were left by the Author. It will be perceived that they seldom extend beyond a brief statement of the rank or relationship of the individuals noticed in the text. All the other notes are mine.

In compliance with a wish generally expressed after the publication of the "Memoirs of the Last Twelve Years of the Reign of George the Second," for additional information respecting many of

* Postscript to the "Memoirs of George Second," p. 40.

† Preface to the "Memoirs of the Last Twelve Years of the Reign of George the Second," p. xxxii.

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the characters described in that work, I have enlarged on the meager notices left by Walpole, and endeavoured to correct his errors—taking, as my model, the annotations of Lord Dover and Mr. Wright on the Author's correspondence. My references to those popular works will be found to have been frequent, and I can venture to add my testimony to their impartiality and correctness.* I may have unconsciously borrowed from them, where we are treating of the same individuals; but I have endeavoured, as much as possible, to steer an independent course, and the subject is sufficiently wide to admit of it. I have also carefully consulted all the contemporary authorities within my reach, and, in more than one instance, have received valuable communications from persons who either lived near the times described by Walpole, or were actually acquainted with him. My sole object, however, has been to contribute to the information of readers hitherto little conversant with the events and characters of the period under our notice. More detailed criticism on particular transactions, and some biographical sketches, too long for insertion in the notes, will be given in the Appendix to the Second Volume; but I have no pretensions to encroach on the province of the historian—especially since the publication of the last volume of Lord Mahon's History of George the Third, and the recent article on Lord Chatham in the Edinburgh Review, both of which have appeared since this work went to press.

I have to acknowledge much kindness from various friends in the prosecution of my inquiries. Sir Edward Colebrooke, in particular, has favoured me with the loan of the manuscript autobiography of his grandfather, Sir George Colebrooke, M. P., Chairman of the East India Company, an active politician, who lived on confidential terms with the Duke of Newcastle, Lord Rockingham and Mr. Charles Townshend; and I am indebted to Sir George Larpent for the perusal of the papers of his father, when Secretary to Lord Hertford, during the embassy of the latter at Paris.

DENNIS LE MARCHANT.

7, Harley Street,
December 4, 1844.

* Mr. Wright's notes on Lord Chatham's Correspondence and his edition of Cavendish's Debates are also most useful aids to the student of English History. He died not many months ago, in circumstances which prove his labours to have been very inadequately rewarded by the public.

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MEMOIRS

OF THE REIGN OF

KING GEORGE THE THIRD.

CHAPTER I.

Motives for writing these Memoirs.—Their assistance to History.—Causes of contradictory Opinions in the Writer.—Career of George II.—Auspicious circumstances under which George III. ascended the Throne.—Firmness of the Administration.—Our Glory and Fortune in War.—Precipitate Peace.—Communication to the Prince of Wales of the death of George II.—Mr. Pitt and the Princess Amalie.—Anecdotes of the Accession of the new King.—His conduct to the Duke of Cumberland.—The first Council.—George the Second's Will.—Anecdotes.—The King's Speech to his Council.—Mr. Pitt and Lord Bute.—Duke of Newcastle.—Duke of Devonshire.—The King's Mother.—Earl of Bute.—Views of other Ministers.—Union of Pitt and Newcastle.—City Politics.—Inscription on Blackfriars Bridge.—Jacobites at St. James's.

WHOEVER has taken the trouble of reading my Memoirs, which relate the transactions during the last ten years of King George the Second, will have seen, that I had taken a resolution of interfering no more in public affairs. It was no ambition, or spirit of faction that engaged me in them again. Inconstancy, or weariness of retirement, were as little the motives of my return to action. I am going to set forth the true causes; and if I am obliged to make more frequent mention of myself than I should wish to do, it will be from the necessity I am under of unfolding the secret springs of many events in which I was unwillingly a considerable actor. It is to gratify no vanity that I relate them: my portion was not brilliant. And though my counsels might have been more serviceable to my country and to my friends, if they had been more followed, they were calculated to produce neither glory nor profit to myself, and were much oftener neglected than listened to. Nor should they be remembered here, if

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many miscarriages had not accrued from the neglect of them, as was felt and confessed by those to whom they had been suggested.

How far I have been in the right or in the wrong, I leave to the judgment of posterity, who shall be impartially informed; and who may draw some benefit from the knowledge of what I have seen; though few persons, I believe, profit much from history. Times seldom resemble one another enough to be very applicable; and if they do, the characters of the actors are very different. They, too, who read history most, are seldom performers in the political drama. Yet they who have performed any part in it, are at least able to give the best account of it, though still an imperfect one. No man is acquainted with the whole plot; as no man knows all the secret springs of the actions of others. His passions and prejudices warp his judgment, and cast a mist before the most penetrating sagacity. Yet, partial as the narratives of the actors must be, they will certainly approach nearer to truth than those of spectators, who, beholding nothing but events, pretend to account for them from causes which they can but suppose, and which frequently never existed. It is this assistance to history which I now offer, and by which I may explain some passages, which might otherwise never be cleared up.

I have a new reason for repeating here, what I have said in former pages, that these are memoirs, not history. The inequality, and perhaps even the contradictory opinions which may appear in them from being written at different periods, forbid this work to aim at the regular march of history. As I knew men more, I may have altered my sentiments of them;—they themselves may have changed. If I had any personal causes for changing my opinion, I have told them fairly that the fault may be imputed to my passions, rather than to those I speak of. The actions of persons must determine whether they altered, or I was prejudiced. But, though this dissonance may cast unequal colours on my work, I choose to leave it as I wrote it, having at each period spoken truth as it appeared to me. I might have made it more uniform by correction; but the natural colouring would have been lost; and I should rather have composed than written a history. As it stands an original sketch, it is at least a picture of my own mind and opinions. That sketch may be valuable to a few, who study human nature even in a single character.

But I will make no farther apology for a work which I am sensible has many faults; which I again declare I do not give as a history; and to which, if it has not merits sufficient to atone for its blemishes, I desire no quarter may be given. Remember, reader, I offer you no more than the memoirs of men who had many faults, written by a man who had many himself; and who writes to inform you, not to engross your admiration. Had he given you a perfect history, and a flattering picture of himself, his work would have been a romance, and he an impostor. He lived with a contempt of hypocrisy; and writes as he lived.

George the Second, contradicting the silly presages drawn from

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parallels, which had furnished opposition with names of unfortunate Princes, who were the second of their name, as Edward, Richard, Charles, and James, terminated his career with glory both to himself and his people. He died, crowned with years and honours, and respected from success; which with the multitude is the same as being beloved. He left a successor in the vigour of youth, ready to take the reins, and a ministry universally applauded, united, and unembarrassed by opponents.

No British monarch had ascended the throne with so many advantages as George the Third. Being the first of his line born in England, the prejudice against his family as foreigners ceased in his person—Hanover was no longer the native soil of our Princes; consequently, attachment to the Electorate was not likely to govern our councils, as it had done in the two last reigns. This circumstance, too, of his birth, shifted the unpopularity of foreign extraction from the House of Brunswick to the Stuarts. In the flower and bloom of youth, George had a handsome, open, and honest countenance; and with the favour that attends the outward accomplishments of age, he had none of the vices that fall under the censure of those who are past enjoying them themselves.

The moment of his accession was fortunate beyond example. The extinction of parties had not waited for, but preceded the dawn of his reign. Thus it was not a race of factions running to offer themselves, as is common to a new Prince, bidding for his favour, and ready each to be disgusted, if their antagonists were received with more disgrace; but a natural devolution of duty from all men to the uncontroverted heir of the Crown, who had no occasion to court the love of his subjects, nor could fear interrupting established harmony, but by making any change in a system so well compacted. The administration was firm, in good harmony with one another, and headed by the most successful genius that ever presided over our councils. Conquest had crowned our arms with wonderful circumstances of glory and fortune; and the young King seemed to have the option of extending our victories and acquisitions, or of giving peace to the world, by finding himself in a situation so favourable, that neither his ambition nor moderation could have been equitably reprehended. The designs and offences of France would have justified a fuller measure of revenge; moderation could want no excuse.

A passionate, domineering woman, and a favourite, without talents, soon drew a cloud over this shining prospect.

Without anticipating events too hastily, let it suffice to say, that the measure of war was pushed, without even a desire that it should be successful; and that, although successful, it was unnaturally checked by a peace, too precipitate, too indigested, and too shameful, to merit the coldest eulogy of moderation.

The first moment of the new reign afforded a symptom of the Prince's character; of that cool dissimulation in which he had been so well initiated by his mother, and which comprehended almost the

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whole of what she had taught him. Princess Amalie, as soon as she was certain of her father's death, sent an account of it to the Prince of Wales; but he had already been apprised of it. He was riding, and received a note from a German valet-de-chambre, attendant on the late King, with a private mark agreed upon between them, which certified him of the event. Without surprise or emotion, without dropping a word that indicated what had happened, he said his horse was lame, and turned back to Kew. At dismounting he said to the groom, "I have said this horse is lame; I forbid you to say to the contrary."

Mr. Pitt was the first who arrived at Kensington, and went to Princess Amalie for her orders. She told him nobody could give him better counsel than his own. He asked if he ought not to go to the Prince? she replied, she could not advise him; but thought it would be right. He went. I mention these little circumstances, because they show from Mr. Pitt's uncertainty, that he was possessed with none of the confidence and ardour of a man who thinks himself a favourite.

From Kew the new King went directly to Carleton House, which belonged to the Princess Dowager; ordering his servants and the Privy Council to wait for him at Saville House, then his own residence; and adjoining the Leicester House, where the Princess usually lived. The Duke of Cumberland went to Leicester House, and waited two hours; but was sent for, as soon as the King knew it, to Carleton House, where he determined to stay, and avoid the parade and acclamation of passing through the streets: at the same time dismissing the guards, and ordering them to attend the body of his grandfather.

To the Duke of Cumberland he marked great kindness, and told him it had not been common in their family to live well together; but he was determined to live well with all his family. And he carried this attention so far, as to take notice to the Duke after council, that his friend Mr. Fox looked in great health. And again, when the Privy Council had made their address to his Majesty by the mouth of the Archbishop, it not being thought decent that the compliment on the death of his father should be uttered by the Duke, the King remarked it, and expressed an apprehension that they had put a slight upon his uncle. Nor would he suffer the name of his brother, the Duke of York, to be mentioned in the public prayers, because it must have taken place of that of the Duke of Cumberland.

At that first council the King spoke to nobody in particular but his former governor, Lord Waldegrave. His speech to them he made with dignity and propriety. In whatever related to his predecessor, he behaved with singular attention and decency, refusing at first to give the word to the guard; and then only renewing what the late King had given. He sent to Princess Amalie to know where her father's will was deposited. She said, one copy had been entrusted to her eight or nine years before; but thinking the King had forgotten

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it, she had lately put him in mind of it: He had replied, "Did not she know, that when a new will was made it cancelled all preceding?" No curiosity, no eagerness, no haste was expressed by the new King on that head; nor the smallest impediment thrown in the way of his grandfather's intentions. A Gentleman* of the Bedchamber was immediately dismissed, who refused to sit up with the body, as is usual. Wilmot† and Ranby,‡ the late King's physician and surgeon, acquainted the King with two requests of their master, which were punctually complied with. They were, that his body might be embalmed as soon as possible, and a double quantity of perfumes used; and that the side of the late Queen's coffin, left loose on purpose, might be taken away, and his body laid close to hers.

In his first council the King named his brother the Duke of York, and Lord Bute,§ of the Cabinet. As no notice was taken of Lord Huntingdon, it indicated an uncertainty, whether he, who had been Master of the Horse to the King when Prince, or Lord Gower, who had held that office under the late King, should fill the post. To the Speaker of the House of Commons the King said, it should not be his fault if that assembly did not go upon business earlier in the day than they had done of late: a flattering speech to an old man attached to old forms.

The King's speech to his council afforded matter of remark, and gave early specimen of who was to be the confidential minister, and what measures were to be pursued: for it was drawn by Lord Bute, and communicated to none of the King's servants. It talked *of a bloody and expensive war, and of obtaining an honourable and lasting peace.* Thus was it delivered; but Mr. Pitt went to Lord Bute that evening, and after an altercation of three hours, prevailed that in the printed copy the words should be changed to *an expensive but just and necessary war;* and, that after the words *honourable peace* should be inserted, *in concert with our allies.* Lord Mansfield and others counselled these palliatives too; but it was two o'clock of the following afternoon before the King would yield to the alteration. Whether, that the private junto could not digest the correction, or whether to give an idea of his Majesty's firmness, I know not: but great pains were taken to imprint an idea of the latter, as character-

* Mr. Clavering—he was a near relative of a North country baronet of the same name.—E.

† Sir Henry Wilmot, Bart., M. D., Physician-general to the Forces, an eminent medical practitioner, and the son-in-law of Dr. Mead; he died in 1786, at a very advanced age.—E.

‡ He was Serjeant-surgeon to the King, and had attended George II., at the battle of Dettingen.—E.

§ John Stuart, third Earl of Bute.—This nomination was severely criticized in publications of the day. It is treated by Mr. Adolphus as a simple nomination to the Privy Council, and is defended as such, on the ground that the Groom of the Stole had been always constituted a Privy Counsellor. This is a misconception. The empty honour of the Council could be grudged by no one to a great officer of the royal household. The real grievance was his admission into the Cabinet.—E.

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istic of the new reign; and it was sedulously whispered by the creatures of the favourite and the mother, that it was the plan to retain all the late King's ministers, but that his Majesty would not be governed by them, as his grandfather had been. In confirmation of part of this advertisement, the King told the Duke of Newcastle and Mr. Pitt, that he knew their attachment to the Crown, and should expect theirs, and the assistance of all honest men.

Mr. Pitt was too quick-sighted, not to perceive what would be the complexion of the new reign. His favourite war was already struck at. He himself had for some time been on the coldest terms with Lord Bute; for possession of power, and reversion of power, could not fail to make two natures so haughty, incompatible. It was said, and I believe with truth, that an outset so unpromising to his darling measures, made Mr. Pitt propose to the Duke of Newcastle a firm union against the favourite; but the Duke loved intrigues and new allies too well to embrace it. And from that refusal has been dated Mr. Pitt's animosity to Newcastle; though the part the latter took more openly and more hostilely against him afterwards, was sufficient cause for that resentment. Whether these two men, so powerful in parliament and in the nation, could have balanced the headlong affection that attends every new young Prince, is uncertain,—I think they could. A war so triumphant had captivated the whole country. The favourite was unknown, ungracious, and a Scott: his connexion with the Princess, an object of scandal. He had no declared party; and what he had, was insignificant. Nor would he probably have dared to stem such a body of force as would have appeared against him. At least the union of Pitt and Newcastle would have checked the torrent, which soon carried every thing in favour of Prerogative. Newcastle's time-serving, undermined Mr. Pitt, was destructive to himself, threw away all the advantages of the war, and brought the country to the brink of ruin.

Yet this veteran, so busy, so selfish, and still so fond of power, for a few days acted the part he ought to have adopted in earnest. He waited on the King, pleaded his age, and begged to be excused from entering on a new reign. The King told him he could not part with him. Fortified with this gracious and comfortable command, he next consulted his friends. It was not their interest to point out to him the ridicule of thinking to rule in the Cabinet of a third George, almost a boy. Four days more determined the Duke to take a new court-lease of folly.*

The Duke of Devonshire,† though greatly younger, might not

* The Duke very soon discovered his power to be gone. Lord Bute's predilection for the Tories was undisguised, and it soon became evident that the Court had determined to break up the Whig party, the effect of which would be to reduce the Duke to insignificance. See an interesting letter from Mr. Rigby to the Duke of Bedford (19 Dec. 1760,) giving an account of an interview of the former with the Duke of Newcastle.—Russell Correspondence, vol. ii. p. 467.

† William Cavendish, fourth Duke of Devonshire, and Lord Chamberlain.

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have been without difficulties too, if he had pleased to remember them. He had been ill-treated in the late reign by the Prince and the Princess Dowager, hated the favourite, and had declared he would quit, whenever the new reign should commence; but he thought better of it.

The Princess, whose ambition yielded to none, was desirous to figure in the new era, and demanded to be declared *Princess-Mother*. Precedents were searched for in vain; and she missed even this shadow of compensation for the loss of the appellation of *Queen*—a loss which she showed a little afterwards she could not digest.

The Earl of Bute seemed to act with more moderation. His credit was manifest; but he allotted himself no ministerial office, contenting himself for the present with the post of Groom of the Stole, which he had filled under the Prince, and for which room was prepared, by removing the Earl of Rochford* with a large pension. Lord Bute's agents gave out, that he would upon no account interfere or break with Mr. Pitt. The latter, however, did not trust to these vague assurances, but endeavoured to maintain the preceding system: talked to the King of the Duke of Newcastle as first minister, and as wishing him to continue so; and said he had never chosen any other channel for his addresses or demands to the late King—an intimation that he would make none through Lord Bute. For himself, he had meddled with nothing but the war, and he wished his Majesty to give some mark that he approved the measures of the late reign.

The other ministers were not less attentive to their own views. The Duke of Bedford† insisted on returning to the government of Ireland, and that Lord Gower‡ should remain Master of the Horse; but the latter point was accommodated by the removal of Sir Thomas Robinson (with a pension) from the Great Wardrobe, which was bestowed on Lord Gower; and Lord Huntingdon continued in the post he had enjoyed under the Prince. Mr. Mackensie, the favourite's brother, was destined to be Master of the Robes, but was forced to give way to the Duke of Newcastle, who obtained it for Mr. Brudenel;§ for though bent on making his court, his Grace as often marred his own policy as promoted it.

* William Henry Nassau Zulestein, fourth Earl of Rochford. He was descended from General Zulestein, a natural uncle of William the Third; and his grandfather, the first Earl, had been one of the favourite generals of that Monarch. Lord Rochford had been minister at Turin from 1749 to 1755, when he was appointed Groom of the Stole, to the great disappointment of Earl Poulett, the first Lord of the Bed-chamber, who in consequence resigned his employment. Walpole's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 381.—E.

† The Duke of Bedford was no favourite of Walpole, owing to a private quarrel. There is no reason for suspecting that it could have been intended to remove his Grace from the government of Ireland, a post which he had occupied with great reluctance (Walp. Mem. vol. ii. p. 105,) and was glad to vacate shortly afterwards.—E.

‡ Granville Leveson, Earl Gower brother of the Duchess of Bedford.

§ James Brudenel, brother of the Earl of Cardigan, to which title he afterwards succeeded. He died without issue in 1811, aged 86.—E.

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Yet this seeming union of Pitt and Newcastle, on which the influence of the former in some measure depended, disgusted the City. They said, that Mr. Pitt had temporized with Newcastle before from necessity, but now it was matter of election. Yet by the intervention of Mr. Pitt's agents, the City of London recommended to the King to be advised by his grandfather's ministers; and they even hinted at the loss the King of Prussia would suffer by the death of his uncle. Their attachment to their idol did not stop there. The first stone of the new bridge at Blackfriars was laid by the Lord Mayor a few days after the King's accession, and on it was engraved so bombast an inscription in honour of Mr. Pitt, and drawn up in such bad Latin, that it furnished ample matter of ridicule to his enemies.

The favourite, though traversed in his views by the power of these two predominant men, had not patience to be wholly a cypher, but gave many lesser and indirect marks of his designs. A separate standard was to be erected. Lord George Sackville had leave to pay his duty to the King, and was well received; which gave such offence to Mr. Pitt, that Lord George was privately instructed to discontinue his attendance. Lady Mary Stuart,* daughter of the favourite, and Lady Susan Stuart,† daughter of the Earl of Galloway, a notorious and intemperate Jacobite, were named of the Bed-chamber to the Lady Augusta, the King's eldest sister; and Sir Henry Erskine‡ was restored to his rank, and gratified with an old regiment. The Earl of Litchfield, Sir Walter Bagot, and the principal Jacobites, went to court, which George Selwyn, a celebrated wit, accounted for, from the number of Stuarts that were now at St. James's.

* Eldest daughter of John, Earl of Bute; afterwards married to Sir James Lowther.

† Afterwards third wife of Granville Leveson, Earl Gower.

‡ He had been dismissed for joining Mr. Pitt, and the Prince had at the time promised to restore him, upon coming to the throne.—Doddington's Diary, Appendix.—E.

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CHAPTER II.

Countenance shown to Tories.—Effect of Tory Politics on the Nation.—Plan to carry the Prerogative to an unusual height.—Unpopularity and Seclusion of the Princess of Wales.—Difficulty of access to the King.—Manœuvres of his Mother.—Character of Lord Bute, and his Schemes to conciliate the King.—Archbishop Secker.—Character of George III.—Intended Duel between the Earl of Albemarle and General Townshend.—Cause of the Quarrel.—The King's Speech.—Pitt and Beckford.—Increase of the Court Establishment.—The Dukes of Richmond and Grafton.—Interview between Lord Bute and the Duke of Richmond.—Advice to the latter by the Duke of Cumberland.—The King's Revenue.—The Princess Dowager's Passion for Money.—The Earl of Lichfield.—Viscount Middleton.—Partiality to the Tories.—Inconsistency of the Duke of Newcastle.—Irish Disputes.—The King of Prussia's Victory over Marshal Daun.—Mauduit's Pamphlet on the German War.—Ways and Means for the ensuing Year.

The countenance shown to the Tories, and to their citadel, the University of Oxford, was at first supposed by those who stood at distance from the penetralia, the measure of Mr. Pitt, as consonant to his known desire of uniting, that was, breaking all parties. But the Tories, who were qualified for nothing above a secret, could not keep even that. They came to Court, it is true; but they came with all their old prejudices. They abjured their ancient master, but retained their principles; and seemed to have exchanged nothing but their badge, *the White Rose* for *the White Horse*. *Prerogative* became a fashionable word; and the language of the times was altered, before the favourite dared to make any variation in the Ministry.

These steps did not pass unnoticed: nor was the nation without jealousy, even in the first dawn of the reign. Papers were stuck up at the Royal Exchange and in Westminster-hall, with these words, *No Petticoat Government, no Scotch Favourite.* An intemperance which proceeded so far afterwards, that as the King passed in his chair to visit his mother in an evening, the mob asked him if he was going to suck? The Princess herself was obliged to discontinue frequenting the theatres, so gross and insulting were the apostrophes with which she was saluted from the galleries.

The views of the Court were so fully manifested afterwards, that no doubt can be entertained but a plan had been early formed of carrying the prerogative to very unusual heights. The Princess was ardently fond of power, and all its appanages of observance, rank and wealth. The deepest secrecy and dissimulation guarded every avenue of her passions; and close retirement was adapted to these

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purposes. She could not appear in public (after the arrival of the Queen) as the first woman of the kingdom: her unpopularity made her pride tremble; and privacy shrouded such hours as were not calculated to draw esteem; and it contracted her expenses. After the King's marriage she appeared seldom or never at St. James's, nor deigned to accompany the ceremony of the coronation. The attendance of her ladies was dispensed with except on drawing-room days; and by degrees even her maids of honour and women of the bed-chamber were removed from her palace, where she lived in a solitude that would have passed for the perfection of Christian humility in the ages of monkish ignorance. Jealousy of her credit over her son made her impose almost as strict laws of retirement on him. He was accessible to none of his Court but at the stated hours of business and ceremony: nor was any man but the favourite, and the creatures with whom he had garrisoned the palace, allowed to converse with the King. Affection had no share in this management.

The Princess, who was never supposed to disclose her mind with freedom,* but on the single topic of her own children, had often mentioned her eldest son with contempt; and during the life of her husband, had given into all his partiality for the Duke of York. When her views of governing by her husband were cut off, she applied to the untutored inexperience of his heir: and the first step towards the influence she meditated, was by filling his mind with suspicions and ill impressions of all mankind. His uncle, the Duke of Cumberland, was made another instrument. The young Prince had a great appetite: he was asked if he wished to be as gross as his uncle? Every vice, every condescension was imputed to the Duke, that the Prince might be stimulated to avoid them.

The favourite, who had notions of honour, and was ostentatious, endeavoured to give a loftier cast to the disposition of his pupil, though not to the disparagement of the vassalage in which he was to be kept. Lord Bute had a little reading,† and affected learning. Men of genius, the arts and artists were to be countenanced. The arts might amuse the young King's solitary hours: authors might

* Richard Temple, Lord Cobham, who had been much engaged with Frederick Prince of Wales, being asked by Henrietta, Lady Suffolk, what was the real character of the Princess, replied, "She was the only woman he could never find out: all he had discovered was, that she hated those most to whom she paid most court."

† This criticism of Lord Bute is not borne out by facts. The fine collection of pictures made by his lordship at Luton, prove the munificence and discernment with which he patronised painting. Luton itself, the building, or rather the enlargement of which he is known to have personally superintended, with many faults had likewise many beauties, and was surpassed in taste by few of the mansions of that date, and certainly not by Strawberry Hill. He had, in fact, a genuine love both of painting and architecture, and his efforts to infuse the same into the mind of his royal pupil did not entirely fail, for George the Third's example was unquestionably a great improvement in this respect on his immediate predecessors. Of the other charges here brought against Lord Bute, the Editor has spoken elsewhere.—E.

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defend the measures of government, and were sure to pay for their pensions with incense, both to their passive and active protectors. The pedantry and artifice of these shallow views served but to produce ridicule. Augustus fell asleep over drawings and medals, which were pushed before him every evening; and Mæcenas had so little knowledge, and so little taste, that his own letters grew a proverb for want of orthography; and the scribblers he countenanced, were too destitute of talents to raise his character or their own. The coins of the King were the worst that had appeared for above a century; and the revenues of the Crown were so soon squandered in purchasing dependents, that architecture, the darling art of Lord Bute, was contracted from the erection of a new palace, to altering a single door-case in the drawing-room at St. James's. Yet, his emissaries the Scotch were indefatigable in coining popular sayings and sentences for the King. It was given out that he would suffer no money to be spent on elections. Circumstances that recoiled with force, when every one of those aphorisms were contradicted by practice.

But the chief engine to conciliate favour was the King's piety. The Princess, no doubt, intended it should be real, for she lived in dread of a mistress. But mankind was not inclined to think that her morals could have imprinted much devotion on the mind of her son: nor was any man the dupe of those professions but Secker, the Archbishop, who for the first days of the reign, flattered himself with the idea of becoming first minister in a Court that hoisted the standard of religion. He was unwearied in attendance at St. James's,* and in presenting bodies of clergy; and his assiduity was so bustling, and assuming, that having pushed aside the Duke of Cumberland to get at the King, his Royal Highness reprimanded him with a bitter taunt. The prelate soon discovered his mistake. Nor were the Princess or the favourite inclined to trust the King in the hands of a Churchman, whom they knew so well, and whose sanctity was as equivocal as their own.

As far as could be discerned of the King's natural disposition, it was humane and benevolent. If flowing courtesy to all men was the habit of his dissimulation, at least, it was so suited to his temper, that no gust of passion, no words of bitterness were ever known to break from him. He accepted services with grace and appearance of feeling: and if he forgot them with an unrestrained facility, yet he never marked his displeasure with harshness. Silence served him to bear with unwelcome ministers, or to part with them. His childhood was tinctured with obstinacy: it was adopted at the beginning of his reign, and called firmness; but did not prove to be his complexion. In truth, it would be difficult to draw his charac-

* Archbishop Secker has been in more than one instance misrepresented by Walpole. It is most improbable that he should have entertained the views here ascribed to him. As the head of the Church, it necessarily became his duty to attend frequently at Court on the commencement of a new reign, as has since happened to his successors without their incurring any such imputation.—E.

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ter in positive colours. He had neither passions nor activity. He resigned himself obsequiously to the government of his mother and Lord Bute: learned, and even entered with art into the lessons they inspired, but added nothing of his own. When the task was done, he relapsed into indifference and indolence, till roused to the next day's part.*

The first gust of faction that threatened the new era, was an intended duel between the Earl of Albemarle† and General George Townshend.‡ A pamphlet was published against the latter,§ re-

* When Prince of Wales, Scott, his sub-preceptor, reproached him with inattention to his studies. The Prince pleaded idleness. "Idle! Sir," said Scott; "your brother Edward is idle; but do you call being asleep, being idle?"

† George Keppel, third Earl of Albemarle, a favourite of the Duke of Cumberland, and afterwards conqueror of the Havannah.

‡ George, eldest son of Charles Lord Viscount Townshend (afterwards Marquis of Townshend.) His name often appears in these Memoirs.

§ A Letter to the Honourable Brigadier General, Commander-in-Chief of his Majesty's Forces in Canada.—London, 1760.—It is written with a point and spirit, and we may add, with a degree of malignity, closely akin to Junius, to whose pen, indeed, it has recently been ascribed. (See Preface by Mr. Simons to the new edition of this Pamphlet.) A reply, under the title of "Refutation of a Letter," &c., composed, evidently, under the eye of Townshend or his family, appeared shortly afterwards, and is equally intemperate, but very inferior in ability. The controversy is so far prejudicial to Townshend, as convicting him of an ungenerous indifference to the memory of the great man who had led him to victory—his only excuse for the slight manner in which he notices Wolfe in the despatch being, not "want of esteem, but because of the impropriety of writing a panegyric to a Minister, when nothing but the situation and exigence of affairs is mentioned." Townshend virtually admitted the justice of the charge, by subsequently publishing a studied panegyric on Wolfe in the form of a private letter, though it is more in the style of his brother's parliamentary speeches, and was probably the composition of the latter. With respect to his opposition to Wolfe's plan of attack, he stands entirely acquitted. The Protest made by him, in common with other officers, had been against a plan of attack which, in consequence of that Protest, was abandoned, and the dissentients on that occasion were those who proposed the very attack which proved so successful. The two generals were certainly not suited to each other. Townshend, though brave, clever, and not devoid of good feeling, was impatient of authority, and possessed in a singular degree the faculty of detecting and exaggerating the faults of his superiors. He had thus drawn upon himself the resentment of the Duke of Cumberland, to whom he was under great obligations, and had fallen into difficulties, out of which it required the all-powerful patronage of Pitt to extricate him. A partial friend (Mr. Glover) describes him as "often led into hasty and striking judgments of men either in approbation or censure." Wolfe was not of a temperament to brook sarcasm, or even opposition, from a subordinate officer; and yet he had peculiarities which Townshend could scarcely overlook. One was a confidence in himself, which, as he took no pains to disguise it, led superficial observers to question the reality of his merit. Just before he quitted England for the last time, he called to take leave of Lord Temple, whom he found sitting with a colleague. The conversation turned on the prospects of the expedition; and some stress being laid on the resistance that might be expected from the numbers and gallantry of the French, Wolfe rose from his chair, and drawing his sword, exclaimed with a loud voice, and in a menacing attitude, that there was nothing to fear; for if he could only come within reach of the enemy, his success was not a matter of doubt, but of certainty. When he left the room the two Ministers looked at each other with astonishment, and agreed, that to entrust so

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flecting bitterly on the vanity with which he had assumed a principal share in the conquest of Quebec, though the honour of signing the capitulation had only fallen to him by the death of Wolfe and the wounds of Monckton; an honour so little merited, that he had done

hazardous an expedition to such a braggart, was indeed a fearful experiment. The feeling that at all times appeared uppermost in his mind, was an insatiable appetite for glory, and desire after posthumous fame. He idolized genius either in arts or arms. Even on the day of the attack, while sailing down the St. Lawrence, he read aloud Gray's Elegy, and observed several times to the officers with him, that he did not know whether he would not rather be the author of that poem than the conqueror of Quebec. In truth his was a noble nature. His feelings were as genuine as they were ardent. He gave the most minute attention to the welfare and comfort of his troops: and instead of maintaining the reserve and stateliness so common with other commanders of that day, his manner was frank and open, and he had a personal knowledge of perhaps every officer in his army. We recollect a respectable veteran, who, after having served under him at Louisburgh and Cape Breton, commanded one of the first detachments that scaled the heights of Abraham. In that exploit Captain —— was shot through the lungs. On recovering his senses, he saw Wolfe standing by his side. Amidst the anxieties of such a critical hour, the General stopped to press the hand of the wounded man—praised his services, encouraged him not to abandon the hope of life—assured him of leave of absence and early promotion; nay more, he desired an aide-de-camp to give a message to that effect to General Monckton, should he himself fall in the action; and, to the credit of General Monckton, the promise was kept. No wonder that these qualities coupled with brilliant success won the hearts of the soldiery: a sort of romance still clings to his name. He is the only British General belonging to the reign of George the Second who can be said to have earned a lasting reputation.

Long as this note is, it would be incomplete without some notice of General Townshend. That officer was the son of Charles third Viscount Townshend, and the witty Ethelreda Harrison, and therefore the grandson of Charles second Viscount Townshend, the celebrated colleague of Sir Robert Walpole. He was not loved by either of his parents. His father, a man of dissolute habits, and an unnatural parent, made for him so mean a provision, that on leaving the University he joined the army abroad as a volunteer, and he served in that capacity at the battle of Dettingen. He was afterwards reduced to seek employment in the Dutch service, but, fortunately, was disappointed, as about this time he attracted the notice of the Duke of Cumberland, through whose interest he rose rapidly to the rank of Colonel. He attended the Duke during the remainder of the war, and distinguished himself at Fontenoy and Culloden. Subsequently, his marriage with Lady de Ferrars, the heiress of the Northamptons, placed him at once in opulent circumstances, and he was elected a representative for Norfolk without opposition, except from his father. The figure he made in the House, where he acquired considerable influence, especially over members in the agricultural interest, has caused him to be often noticed (generally with censure) in these Memoirs; but though Walpole paints him in no pleasing colours, on the other hand, another contemporary writer says that he was manly in person, demeanour, and sentiment, and exemplary as a husband and father, and, from his wit, agreeable to his friends and formidable to those he disliked. It cannot be denied, however, that he was too prone to mischief, and more worldly than seemed consistent with his love of pleasure and ease. His life was singularly prosperous, and prolonged to extreme old age. He became Viscount Townshend by the death of his father in 1764. In 1767 he was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; in 1787 he was created a Marquis, and in 1807, he died, aged 84, being then a Field Marshal, Governor of Jersey, and Colonel of a regiment of Dragoons. Memoirs of George the Second, vol. i. p. 33; vol. ii. p. 337. Memoirs of a distinguished Political and Literary Character, p. 71.—E.

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his utmost to traverse Wolfe's plans. The pamphlet, too, set forth the justice of taking such freedom with a man whose ill-nature had seized every opportunity of ridiculing those he disliked by exhibiting their personal defects in caricatures, which he had been the first to apply to politics. His uncle the Duke of Newcastle, the Duke of Cumberland, and Mr. Fox, had been the chief objects of those buffoon satires. The pamphlet was certainly written under the direction of the last, and could not fail to be agreeable to the partisans of the second. It wounded so deeply, that Townshend, in the first blindness of his rage, concluded it came from the person he hated most and had most offended; that was the Duke of Cumberland; and as Lord Albemarle was the first favourite of his Royal Highness, thither Townshend addressed his resentment, though no man was less an author than the Earl. A challenge passed, was accepted, and prevented in time by Townshend's want of caution.

On the eighteenth of November the Parliament met. Many Tories, though they had received no formal invitation, appeared at the Cockpit to hear the King's speech read. It was composed, as usual, by Lord Hardwicke, was long and dull, and had received additions from Pitt. On the Address Beckford proposed to push the war with more vigour, the end of the last campaign having, he said, been languid. Pitt fired at this reproach from his friend, though certainly not levelled at him, and asked Beckford what new species of extravagance he wished for? The Address from Oxford had other objects in view. They boasted openly of their attachment to Monarchy. As all places were already filled with Whigs, the Court was forced to increase the establishment, in order to admit their devotees. The King's Bed-chamber received six or eight additional Grooms and seven Gentlemen. Most of the late King's were continued; the King's own were joined with them; the rest were taken from the Tories.

The Duke of Richmond,* haughty and young, was offended that his cousin, Colonel Keppel,† was removed from Gentleman of the Horse, which the King destined for one of his own servants. The Duke asked an audience; but began it with objecting to the distinction paid to Sir Henry Erskine.‡ This so much disgusted, that the King would not hear the Duke on the subject of Keppel. On cooler thoughts, Lord Bute was sent to the Duke, to offer him to be of the King's Bed-chamber. He accepted it, on condition that Keppel should remain Gentleman of the Horse, which was likewise

* Charles Lenox third Duke of Richmond.

† William Keppel, third son of William Anne, second Earl of Albemarle, by Lady Anne Lenox, daughter of the first Duke of Richmond. He commanded a regiment at the conquest of the Havannah and died a General officer, unmarried, in 1786.—E.

‡ There is a slight inaccuracy in this statement. The Duke's resentment was not so generous. The object of his interview with the King was to promote his own interest, not that of Colonel Keppel.—See the Duke of Richmond's letter of 21st June, 1783, in the Appendix to Dodington's Diary.—E.

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granted. But this pacification lasted few days. Lord Fitzmaurice,* a favourite of Lord Bute, was made Equerry to the King; though inferior in military rank to Lord George Lenox† and Charles Fitzroy,‡ brothers of the Dukes of Richmond and Grafton. The latter§ had been of the Bed-chamber to the King, when Prince, but had quitted it, from dislike of court attendance, and disgusted with the haughty stateliness affected by Lord Bute. Richmond and Grafton were much of an age; each regarded himself as Prince of the Blood; and emulation soon created a sort of rivalship between them. The Duke of Richmond's figure was noble, and his countenance singularly handsome. The Duke of Grafton was low, but manly, and with much grace in his address. The passions of both were strong, but of the first, ardent; of the latter, slow and inflexible. His temper was not happy; but the Duke of Richmond's which was thought worse, because more impetuous, was pliant, and uncommonly easy and accommodating in his family and society. Both were thought avaricious; but the latter very unjustly, generally approaching nearer to the opposite extreme of profusion. His parts, too, were quicker and more subtle than Grafton's, and more capable of application, though his elocution was much inferior. The Duke of Grafton had a grace and dignity in his utterance that commanded attention, and dazzled in lieu of matter; and his temper being shy and reserved, he was supposed to be endued with more steadiness than his subsequent conduct displayed. Neither of them wanted obstinacy; but their obstinacy not flowing from system, it was in both a torrent more impetuous in its course than in its duration.

The Duke of Grafton made a decent representation to the King, on the wrong done to his brother, and demanded rank for him. The other Duke carried a violent memorial, and commented on it in a manner, which some years afterwards he found had never been forgotten or forgiven. The next day he resigned the Bed-chamber, but not his regiment. In a few days he repented this step, and went to Lord Bute to explain away his resignation, which, he said, might not be known. Lord Bute replied, all the world knew it. The Duke, thinking this coldness proceeded from a suspicion that he was influenced by Fox,‖ his brother-in-law, disclaimed all connexion with

* William Petty, Lord Fitzmaurice, eldest son of the Earl of Shelburne, whom he succeeded in that title, May 16, 1761; and by which title he will be frequently mentioned in the following Memoirs.

† Lord George Lenox was only brother of Charles third Duke of Richmond. He had behaved with distinguished gallantry in the German wars. The late Duke of Richmond was his son.—E.

‡ Charles Fitzroy, second son of Lord Augustus Fitzroy, second son of Charles second Duke of Grafton, and only brother of Augustus Henry third Duke of Grafton. He distinguished himself at the battle of Minden, where he served on the staff of Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick. He was created Lord Southampton in 1780, and died on the 21st March, 1797, aged 60.—E.

§ Augustus Henry, Duke of Grafton, afterwards First Lord of the Treasury.

‖ Henry Fox had married Lady Caroline Lenox, eldest daughter of Charles, late Duke of Richmond, without the consent of her father and mother, who were some years unreconciled to her.

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him, and said, he had never approved his sister's marriage. Lord Bute, who even then probably had views of Fox's support, as a counterbalance to Pitt, replied, that Mr. Fox's alliance could be a disgrace to no man; as he must always be of great use and weight in this country. Yet the Duke's youth and frankness made him avow what he had said to Fox himself, in the presence of Lord Albemarle, who, though not much older, had far more worldly cunning, and no doubt reported the conversation to his master, the Duke of Cumberland; for Richmond and Albemarle, though first cousins, were no friends; and the latter possessed all the arts of a court. The Duke, rebuffed by the favourite, next consulted the Duke of Cumberland, who told him prudently, that he was sorry the Duke of Richmond, at twenty-three, had quarrelled with the King, at twenty-two; and advised him to retire into the country, which he did. The effects of these squabbles will appear hereafter, which made it proper to state them here.

The King's revenue was settled and fixed to eight hundred thousand pounds a-year, certain. In the late reign any overplus was to accrue to the Crown, but had ever produced so trifling an augmentation, that the present boasted restriction, which was often quoted as one of great merit of the new Government, was not worth mentioning. It is true, this revenue was by no means ample, considering the large incumbrances with which it was loaded. The Duke of Cumberland's annuity (exclusive of the parliamentary grant of twenty-five thousand pounds a-year) was fifteen thousand pounds; Princess Amalie's, twelve thousand. The King's brothers were to be provided for out of it; so was a future Queen; and the Princess Dowager's jointure was of fifty thousand pounds a-year from the same fund. Yet, though her dower was so great—though she reduced her family, and lived in a privacy that exceeded economy, and though she had a third of the Dutchy of Cornwall, which produced four thousand pounds a-year more, her passion for money was so great, that she obtained an additional annuity of ten thousand pounds a-year from her son.* The Electorate suffered for these exigencies of the Crown. Whatever money could be drawn from thence was sunk in the privy purse, which was entirely under the direction of Lord Bute.

The Earl of Litchfield,† a leader of the Tories, was added to the

* It was given under pretence of paying the late Prince her husband's debts. Whether she did discharge any of them I neither know nor deny; some, I have heard, remained unpaid, not only at her death, but in the year 1788.

† George Henry Lee, Earl of Litchfield, High Steward, and afterwards Chancellor of the University of Oxford, had been a zealous partisan of the House of Stuart, of which he was an illegitimate branch, his grandfather, Edward, the first Earl, having married a daughter of Charles the Second by the Duchess of Cleveland. Lord Litchfield was too much a man of pleasure to shine in politics, or he might at this crisis have taken a leading part in public affairs, for his abilities were considerable. The following ironical character of him is almost the only instance in which Wilkes has described an opponent with candour and truth:—"The Captain (Giddy) was a sprightly fellow in his youth, and is remembered

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King's Bed-chamber, as the Earl of Oxford* and Lord Bruce† had been before, with the Scotch Earls of March‡ and Eglinton.§ The Lord Viscount Middleton,‖ an Irish Peer, was the first who in the House of Commons here broached a hint of jealousy against the channel in which Court favour seemed to flow. He was ridiculed for it by Charles Townshend; but the spirit of dissatisfaction had been infused into the former by the Duke of Newcastle, who openly censured the new partiality to the Tories. Partiality there was, but the grievance came with an ill grace from Newcastle. Stone,¶ suspected for more than a Tory, had been placed by him as preceptor to the King; Lord Mansfield had been his bosom favourite; and to gratify that favourite, the extension of the *Habeas Corpus* had been prevented. To gain the Tories had been a prudent measure, but their principles were still more welcome to the Court than their votes. Having only votes to offer, and neither numbers nor abili-

about twenty years ago to have made a very good speech or two at some of your public meetings in London. From this time, however, the figure he hath made in the world hath not been much to his credit. The chief of his company, till within these two years, have been parsons and country squires. They used to lead him about to races, cock-matches, and country clubs, where he was apt sometimes to drink a little too freely. A course of life of this sort brought on a swimming in his head, so that he hath frequently been supposed not to be sensible where he was, or what he was about: hence he hath been known in the late times of party violence, in the same sort of company, and within a few days of each other, to drink 'Exclusion to the House of Hanover, and confusion to the Stuarts.'" *North Briton, No.* 29.—Lord Litchfield died in 1772. The title did not go beyond the third generation, though the first Earl had thirteen sons, of whom six lived to manhood.—E.

* Edward Harley, Earl of Oxford and Earl Mortimer, was grandson of the Lord Treasurer's brother, on whom the title had been specially limited, on failure of issue male in the direct line. He died in 1790, aged 64.—E.

† Thomas Brudenel Bruce, Baron Bruce, youngest brother of George, Earl of Cardigan, and of the Duke of Montague. He was the fourth son of George, third Earl of Cardigan, by Elizabeth, only daughter of Thomas, second Earl of Aylesbury and Baron Bruce. That barony afterwards devolved upon him by a special limitation in the patent obtained by his uncle Charles, the third and last Earl of Aylesbury, who also bequeathed to him the bulk of the family property. He was created Earl of Aylesbury in 1776, on the death of his uncle, and died in 1814. The present Marquis of Aylesbury is his son.—E.

‡ James Douglas, Earl of March and Ruglen, afterwards Duke of Queensbury. He died in 1810, aged 86. He possessed uncommon shrewdness and penetration, but is now only remembered by the excessive profligacy which stained even the last years of his life.—E.

§ Alexander Montgomery, Earl of Eglinton, an intelligent, public spirited nobleman. Scotland is greatly indebted to him for the agricultural improvements he introduced upon his estates in Ayrshire, and still more for the benefit of his example on other large landed proprietors. He was mortally wounded in an accidental scuffle with an officer of Excise, whom he found poaching in his park, and died on the 25th October, 1769. The murderer was convicted, and only escaped execution by hanging himself in prison. Wood's Peerage of Scotland, vol. i.—E.

‖ George Broderick, Viscount Middleton. He had married the Eldest daughter of the Honourable Thomas Townshend, and great-niece of the Duke of Newcastle, and died in 1765, aged 35. He was the grandson of Lord Chancellor Broderick.—E.

¶ Andrew Stone, of whom see more in the preceding reign, and *infra*.

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ties, they brought much discredit on their patron, and little strength to his assistance.

In Ireland the prospect was not more promising. By Poyning's law the Privy Council of Ireland are to transmit hither all heads of bills, particularly of money-bills. This latter was omitted by the intrigues of the Primate, courting popularity. The bills were sent back, with a severe reprimand for the omission of a money-bill. Mr. Pitt alone took up the defence of the Irish Commons, and would not sign the message, which thirty-four others of the English Privy Council who were present signed. The King thanked the Duke of Bedford for supporting his prerogative, but the Privy Council of Ireland wrote angry letters to the Duke and his minister Rigby, telling them that they must not come into that kingdom again. The Duke, a little before, had been challenged even in print by a mad Lord Clanrickard,* whose letter being complained of by his Grace, the Council here ordered the Attorney-General to prosecute the Earl: Rigby,† too, sent him a challenge, which he did not accept. The Lords Justices sent over a strong remonstrance in vindication of their conduct, and there the matter ended for the present; but in the beginning of the next year the Lords Justices renewed the attack on their Governor, and he and Rigby were burned in effigy. Mr. Pitt interposed, and prevailed to have a temperate memorial sent to the Justices, arguing the point with them, and to *that* he offered *to set his little name*, which was done. The Lords Justices submitted, but with threats from the Primate of resigning his part of the government. Nor yet did they send a new bill, but a plan for raising the money already voted. Lord Clanrickard, in answer to Rigby's challenge, which had been printed and dispersed in Ireland, replied in print likewise, excusing his not appearing at Holyhead, the appointed rendezvous, on account of the prosecution directed against him, though the prosecution in date was subsequent to the challenge by two months. The Earl affirmed that he had proposed to Mr. Rigby a new place of meeting; but a year or two afterwards, on an accidental journey of Rigby to Ireland, the Earl seemed very glad that an interposition was made, and the quarrel accommodated. The ill humour of the country, however, determined the Duke of Bedford to quit the Government, after having amply gratified his family and dependents with pensions. The Earl of Kildare, for taking no part in these divisions, was rewarded with a marquisate.

Foreign affairs fluctuated with their old vicissitude. The Russians and Austrians made themselves masters of Berlin, and treated it with more lenity than could be expected from such barbarians and incensed enemies. But they relinquished it in a few days; and before the close of the year the King's fortune and arms recovered their lustre by a signal victory, which he gained in person near Torgau,

* Smith de Burgh, Earl of Clanrickard.

† Richard Rigby, of Mistley, near Manningtree, in Essex, Secretary to the Duke of Bedford.

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over his great competitor in glory, Marshal Daun, who was wounded in the thigh, and carried from the field; a circumstance that did not impeach his fame, as the loss of the day was attributed to his absence.

Yet this victory, shining as it was, could not counterbalance the new spirit that was gone forth in England to the disparagement of the war. Lord Hardwicke had long distasted it; and under his countenance had been published a tract, setting forth the burden and ill-policy of our German measures. It was called *Considerations on the German War;* was shrewdly and ably written, and had more operation in working a change on the minds of men, than perhaps ever fell to the lot of a pamphlet.* The author was one Mauduit, formerly a dissenting teacher, and at that time a factor at Blackwell-hall. How agreeable his politics were to the interior of the Court, soon appeared by a place being bestowed on him by Lord Bute. Still, however, the favourite left the contest to be managed by other hands; and he had acted wisely to have adhered to that plan. A new and formidable expedition had been preparing. Newcastle and Hardwicke had quitted the Council, because they could not prevail to have it laid aside. Yet it was postponed for some time. Pitt, in the House of Commons, taking notice of the pacific spirit that he saw arising, said, "Some are for keeping Canada; some Guadaloupe; who will tell me which I shall be hanged for not keeping?"

On opening the ways and means for the ensuing year, George Grenville opposed the intended tax on ale and beer; the first overt-act of his disagreement with Mr. Pitt.

* This tract may still be read with interest. It is a masterly production. The style is clear and persuasive, the tone calm, and the reasoning close and logical. The examples from English history with which the author supports his positions are skilfully chosen and agreeably introduced, and his strictures on the King of Prussia have a smartness and pungency that show no small command over the weapons of controversy. Mr. Mauduit was agent for Massachusetts. He wrote several tracts on the differences between England and her American Colonies, as well as on subjects connected with the Dissenting interests, of which he was a zealous and munificent promoter. He died unmarried, in June, 1787, aged 72. See Nichols's Literary Anecdotes, vol. viii. p. 466; and Chalmers's Biographical Dictionary, Art. Mauduit.—E.

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CHAPTER III.

New Promotions.—Pitt and Grenville.—Aggrandisement of Lord Bute.—His haughtiness.—Sir Henry Erskine, Home, and Worsely.—Debt to the Chancery of Hanover.—Secret Article in the Treaty with the Landgrave of Hesse.—Extravagance of the War.—New Tenure of the Judges.—Approaching general Election.—Flagrant Corruption.—Lord Bute appears more ostensibly in the character of Minister.—Mr. Pitt and Lord Holderness.—Injudicious Conduct of Lord Bute.—Ministerial Changes.—A strange Exaltation.—The Duke of Rutland.—Mr. Legge and the King.—General Conway.—Overtures by France for Peace.

THE new year opened with promotions. The Lord Keeper Henley was made Lord Chancellor. Lord Denbigh,* a creature of the favourite, Master of the Harriers; and George Grenville† was called to the Cabinet Council. Pitt had ever treated him with contempt, and little expected to find him vain or daring enough to enter the lists against him. Grenville's conceit of himself was by no means measured by the standard of modesty. His ambition was equal to Pitt's; and his plodding, methodic genius made him take the spirit of detail for ability. Avarice, which he possessed in no less proportion than his other passions, concurred to lead him from a master, who browbeat and treated him superciliously, to worship the rising sun. Lord Bute was in want of tools; and it was a double prize to acquire them from his rival's shop.

* Basil Fielding, Earl of Denbigh, Lord of the Bed-chamber.

† Son of Mr. Grenville, of Wooton, and afterwards First Lord of the Treasury. He had for some time been looked upon as a very promising statesman. Mr. Glover, in writing of him a few years before, says "George Grenville will, I believe, make the most useful and able parliament man of the three, though not of equal eloquence with Pitt."—Mem. of a Distinguished Pol. and Lit. Character, p. 20.

His memory is embalmed in the brilliant panegyric of Mr. Burke (speech on American Taxation,) and a more sober, though not less friendly estimate of his merits, has been since given by Mr. Knox. (Cited in an interesting note to the Chatham Correspondence, vol. iii. p. 486.) These prove how highly he was esteemed by his friends; and it will be perceived in the course of this work that Walpole was not always blind to his great knowledge of the constitution, his capacity for business, and his powers as a speaker in Parliament. The unfavourable opinion, however, expressed of Mr. Grenville in the text, was by no means confined to Walpole, his unpopularity being remarkable. Justice, indeed, was never shown to his abilities by the public—even Dr. Johnson wrote of him, "Let him not be depreciated in his grave. He had powers not universally possessed; could he have enforced payment of the Manilla ransom, *he could have counted it.*" (Cited in Boswell, vol. ii. p. 113.—E.)

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But Fortune, had he known how to use her gifts, was kinder to the favourite than his own politics. His wife's father, old Wortley Montagu, died at this time, and left to her and her second son a fortune, that, at four per cent., was estimated at one million three hundred and forty thousand pounds. This was the third death within twelve months that happened to aggrandize Lord Bute. The decease of his uncle, the Duke of Argyle,* left Scotland open to his power; and that of the late King put the Crown itself into his hands. The estate of his father-in-law was all he was qualified to enjoy. What could be expected from a boy† locked up from the converse of mankind, governed by a mother still more retired, who was under the influence of a man that had passed his life in solitude, and was too haughty to admit to his familiarity but half a dozen silly authors and flatterers? Sir Henry Erskine,‡ a military poet, Home,§ a tragedy-writing parson, and Worsely,‖ a rider of the great horse and architect, were his principal confidants. The nation was soon governed accordingly. And yet it was not the nation's fault, if it did not receive the yoke even from this junto!

No trouble was given to the Government by the old Parliament, which still subsisted, and continued to lend all facilities to the progress of the war. An estimate of three hundred thousand pounds due to the Chancery of Hanover, for forage for the use of Hanoverians, Prussians, and Hessians, was voted to be paid, without a division, though not without some comments. Sir Francis Dash-

* Archibald Campbell, Duke of Argyle, died suddenly, March 15, 1761.

† The King.

‡ Sir Henry Erskine, though a moderate poet, was not meanly accomplished. He cultivated literature, and was a very lively companion. He spoke frequently in the House of Commons, and always fluently and with spirit, but in a style better suited to the Hustings than to a deliberative assembly. His career was singular. He was the second son of Sir John Erskine, Bart., of Alva, and succeeded to his title on the death of his brother, Major Sir Charles Erskine, at Holst, just before the battle of Lafeldt. He accompanied the expedition to L'Orient, as Deputy Quarter-Master General of the Forces, under his uncle, General St. Clair. Devoting himself afterwards to politics, he shared the proscription which fell on the adherents of Leicester House, and was dismissed the service. The new reign amply restored his fortunes. With his commission he soon received the command of the Royal Scots; and in four years he had already attained the rank of Lieutenant General, when he died, in 1765, in middle life. His marriage with Miss Wedderburn, little as it promised at the time of worldly advantage, brought wealth and rank into his family: the earldom and property of her brother, Lord Chancellor Rosslyn, having devolved subsequently on their eldest son, owing to the death of that nobleman and his brother, General Wedderburn, without issue.—E.

§ John Home, author of the tragedies of Douglas, Agis, and Siege of Aquileia; of which none save Douglas, (says Sir Walter Scott,) were exhibited with remarkable applause, and one or two with marked disapprobation. Mr. Home, though not a first-rate dramatist, was a pleasing writer, well-informed, and very agreeable in society. George the Third became much attached to him, and provided for him on coming to the throne. He died in 1808, aged 84. His memoirs have been elegantly written by Mackenzie, and form the subject of one of Walter Scott's beautiful criticisms in the Quarterly Review for June, 1827.—E.

‖ Thomas Worseley, Surveyor General of the Board of Works.

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wood, Cooke,* Coventry,† and Beckford,‡ opposed it. Coventry said with a sneer, he was glad so *just* a debt was demanded before the nation was bankrupt, and unable to discharge it. Beckford imputed the extravagance of the war (which indeed was notorious) to the Duke of Newcastle, who, he supposed, intended to overturn Mr. Pitt's system, and prevent the continuation of the war, by the excess of the expense; and he commended the management of the Treasury during the short time in which it had been in the Duke of Devonshire's hands. Legge§ defended the measure, and both Newcastle's

* George Cooke, prothonotary of the Common Pleas, and member for Middlesex. Walpole calls him elsewhere, a "pompous Jacobite." He conducted the celebrated Westminster Petition against Lord Trentham in 1751: afterwards attaching himself to Mr. Pitt, he was appointed joint Paymaster General in 1766, and died in 1768.—E.

† Thomas Coventry, member for Bridport. A barrister, and director of the South Sea Company. He was son of Thomas Coventry, who was brother of William, fifth Earl of Coventry.—E.

‡ Alderman William Beckford, of Jamaica, member for the City of London.

§ Henry Bilson Legge, a younger son of the first Earl of Dartmouth, was at this time Chancellor of the Exchequer. It should be remembered that Mr. Legge had abandoned Lord Winchelsea, and attached himself to Mr. Pelham in the Cabinet schism of 1744. He shared, with many respectable statesmen of that day, the charge of having served several masters, the partial changes so frequently made in the Government, having rendered coalitions almost inevitable, especially at a time when, owing to the decline of Jacobitism, the lines of demarcation between the different political parties had become very indistinct. None, however, with whom he acted, could deny his eminent qualifications as a man of business, or as a debater in the House of Commons on all questions of trade and finance. His political integrity is less commendable. Doddington says, that his thoughts were "*tout pour la trippe*,"—all for quarter-day, (Diary, 407;) and has, in common with Walpole, reproached him with perfidy, in disclosing to the Duke of Newcastle the negotiations of Leicester House with the Court in 1757. The more detailed account of the transaction, since published in the posthumous memoirs of Mr. Glover, makes it far more probable that the secret was insidiously drawn from him by the Duke, whose skill in imposing on men of superior ability to his own, is one of the most remarkable traits of his character; and that Mr. Legge was very open to such arts, may reasonably be inferred, from the well-known fact of his having incurred the serious displeasure of George the Second by an indiscreet slip in conversation, when minister at Berlin. He had the laxity of principle that belonged to the school of Walpole, but there is no ground for believing him to have been actually dishonest; and Mr. Pelham who knew him well, said, "that he thought him as good as his neighbours: more able, and as willing, to serve them that served him as anybody he had been acquainted with for some time." Whatever may have been his delinquencies in this respect, they would certainly have been overlooked by the Court, had he added to them by adopting the course which was urged on him by Lord Bute in the Hampshire election. This is proved by their published correspondence, in which he had a great advantage over Lord Bute. When that minister had the assurance to ask him to support Sir Simeon Steuart, who had come forward on the opposite interest, he honestly answered, "If the Whigs and Dissenters, who are very numerous in this country, will make it a point of opposing him, it will be impossible for me to declare for him, and abandon those who have supported me, to take part with those against whom they have supported me." Lord Bute's rejoinder is admirable! he protests against any desire on the Prince's part to require the sacrifice of Mr. Legge's honour, but besought him out of real friendship, to consider seriously whether he could not still, as far as was in his power, co-operate

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and Devonshire's administrations. Pitt was confined with the gout, and not present.

In the last treaty with the Landgrave of Hesse, had been stipulated a secret article of indemnification to that country. Many sums had been allowed to them, to avoid the appearance in public of the article itself. Mr. Pitt had at once granted them sixty thousand pounds on that score. Yet now at last was Administration forced to lay before Parliament a demand of four hundred thousand pounds for indemnification to the Landgravate. Legge, who knew himself fallen into disgrace with Lord Bute, refused to make the motion, on which he received intimation that he must resign. Lord Winchelsea* said, Legge had had more masters than any man in England, and had never left one with a character. Lord Barrington,† therefore, made the demand. Beckford again declaimed on the extravagance of the war. Sir Francis Dashwood said, he had always disapproved the continental war, but would agree to vote the money, (which was a sum of two hundred and sixty thousand pounds for three years,) as we were bound by treaty to pay it; and he found fault with more authorities not being laid before Parliament. This money too, was granted on March 6.

Three days before, the King had gone to Parliament, to desire that the places of the judges, which were held during the life of the Prince on the Throne, might be fixed to them for their own lives. This was one of Lord Bute's strokes of pedantry. The tenure of the judges had formerly been a popular topic; and had been secured, as far as was necessary. He thought this trifling addition would be popular now, when nobody, thought or cared about it. When, not long afterwards, the advocates for the Court were puzzled to produce instances of favour to the constitution or to the cause of liberty, this boon to the judges was sounded high, and repeated in every panegyric.

Nothing more of note occurred in this session. All attention was engrossed by the approaching general election of a new Parliament.

with the Prince's wishes for the return of two candidates, and required a categorical answer. This was at once given in the negative by Mr. Legge, who added, that he would submit to any consequences rather than incur such a disgrace. Hence his dismissal. See more of Mr. Legge *infra*.—E.

* Daniel Finch, Earl of Winchelsea and Nottingham, Knight of the Garter. Lord Winchelsea is one of the few statesmen of the reign of George the Second whose character is worthy of a purer age. He was the son of Lord Winchelsea, the great Tory leader, whose disgrace he shared when that nobleman was dismissed for espousing the cause of the Jacobite peers involved in the rebellion of 1715. He subsequently became reconciled to Sir Robert Walpole, and in 1742 was appointed First Lord of the Admiralty. Lord Waldegrave says of his conduct at that period, "That it was so unexceptionable that faction itself was obliged to be silent."—Walpole Memoirs, p. 139. Horace Walpole is equally warm in his praise. This is the testimony of political friends, but it stands uncontradicted. Indeed Lord Winchelsea appears to have enjoyed the respect of all parties. His public career, to use the words of Lord Mahon, "without being illustrious, was long, useful, and honourable." He died in 1769, aged 81.—E.

† William Wildman Shute Barrington, Viscount Barrington, Treasurer of the Navy.

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It had been propagated that the King had forbidden any money to be issued from the Treasury. Nothing was less true in fact, or proved less true in effect. Both the Court and particulars went greater lengths than in any preceding times. In truth, the corruption of electors met, if not exceeded that of candidates. The borough of Sudbury was so shameless as to advertise itself to the highest bidder.

But, preparatory to a new Parliament, and as an intimation to men under whom they should list, the favourite determined to appear more ostensibly in the character of Minister. Accordingly, on the twelfth of March, orders were suddenly sent to Lord Holderness to give up the seals of Secretary of State: the King adding, in discourse, that he had two secretaries, one (Mr. Pitt) who would do nothing, and the other (Lord Holderness) who would do nothing;* he would have one, who both could and would. This was Lord Bute, to whom the Seals were immediately delivered.. Subduing Europe was reckoned nothing, as the service was ungracious: and however low the talents of Lord Holderness deserved to be estimated, they did not suffer by comparison with those of his successor. Mr. Pitt resented the fall of his creature, but was sweetened by the offer of cofferer to James Grenville.† Newcastle rejoiced, having been deserted by Holderness; but affected to be concerned: yet was not struck with the warning that this measure ought to have been to himself. Mr. Pitt felt it more sensibly, and would not part with Lord Temple, who might have been Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, but was necessary to him in the House of Lords, where his measures had no other champion. Lord Halifax was named to that great office; the Duke of Bedford refused to accept any post; but it was supposed had his eye on the Seals, which every body expected disgust would soon oblige Mr. Pitt to resign.

* Robert Darcy, Earl of Holderness. This is an exaggeration of Lord Holderness's incapacity; for it appears by the Mitchell papers, that he had attended closely to the business of his office, and performed it respectably. His talents, however, were not above mediocrity. His foreign connexions had recommended him to George the Second, whom he attended as Lord of the Bed-chamber at the battle of Dettingen, and he was afterwards minister at Turin, and at the Hague. The Duke of Newcastle succeeded in making him Secretary of State, against the opinion of Mr. Pelham, when scarcely thirty years of age. His qualifications for that high office are thus summed up by the Duke, in a letter, urging the appointment:—"He is indeed, or was thought, trifling in his manner and carriage; but believe me, he has a solid understanding, and will come out as prudent a young man as any in the kingdom. He is good-natured, so that you may tell him his faults, and he will mend them. He is very taciturn, dextrous enough, and most punctual in the execution of his orders. He is got into the routine of business, and knows well the present state of it." (Letter from Duke of Newcastle to Mr. Pelham, in Coxe's Life of Pelham, vol. ii. p. 387.) A portrait not less characteristic of the Duke than of Lord Holderness. His lordship's mother was daughter of the last Duke of Schomberg. His lordship married a lady of the Fagel family, and his mother was daughter of the last Duke of Schomberg. He died 1778, without issue male, and his earldom became extinct. See more of him in Walpole's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 172; and Lord Waldegrave's Memoirs, p. 121.—E.

† James Grenville, second brother of Earl Temple. He had already been Deputy Paymaster-general, and one of the Lords of Trade, and lastly, of the Treasury.—E.

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Nothing could be more injudicious than this step taken by the favourite. The conduct he ought to have pursued, was obvious; which was, lying quiet, till some or all of a few events, most probable to happen, should have paved the way to his taking the reins. Newcastle was old, Mr. Pitt very infirm. Their deaths, or at least a rupture between them, would have delivered him from them; at least have constituted him umpire between them. Any sinister event of the war might have demolished Mr. Pitt's popularity. Prudence, at least, should have dictated to Lord Bute to await the conclusion of the peace, which, however good, would have given a shock to Mr. Pitt's credit, from the impossibility of contenting all mankind. But the favourite was as impatient to have the honour of making that peace, as if he had intended to make it an honourable one. His thrusting himself into administration at the moment he did, was so preposterous, that most men thought him betrayed into it by malicious advice. The Duke of Bedford, to pay his court, and from desire of peace, certainly counselled it: but Newcastle, and Hardwicke too, were generally believed to have infused the same advice, with a view to his destruction; for while only Groom of the Stole, Lord Bute stood in no responsible place. This was the more likely, as what emoluments they obtained for their friends in the new shuffling of the cards, by no means compensated for the credit they lost by the appearance of this new star in the horizon of power.

The Duke of Rutland* was named Groom of the Stole; Lord Sandys† First Lord of Trade, but upon the ancient footing; the West Indies, to please Mr. Pitt, being again put under the province of the Secretary of State. The Duke of Leeds‡ was turned back to his old place of Justice in Eyre, in the room of Lord Sandys, but with an additional salary of a thousand pounds a year. Legge, who refused to resign, was dismissed; and Lord Barrington made Chancellor of the Exchequer; being succeeded by Charles Townshend§ as Secretary at War. Sir Francis Dashwood was made Treasurer of the Chambers. Elliot,‖ another of Lord Bute's court, succeeded James Grenville at the Board of Treasury. Lord Villiers¶ and Thomas Pelham** were placed in the Admiralty, as John Yorke, Lord Hard-

* John Manners, Duke of Rutland, Knight of the Garter, died in 1779, at the age of 83, having survived his gallant and amiable son the Marquis of Granby.—E.

† Samuel Lord Sandys, formerly the indefatigable opponent of Sir Robert Walpole, but his importance had greatly diminished since that minister's downfall. He died in 1770.—E.

‡ Thomas Osborne, Duke of Leeds, Knight of the Garter. He married Mary, daughter and coheir of Francis, Earl of Godolphin; and died in 1783, aged 76.—E.

§ Charles Townshend, second son of Charles Viscount Townshend.

‖ Gilbert Elliot, afterwards Sir Gilbert.

¶ George Bussy Villiers, Viscount Villiers, only son of the Earl of Jersey, whom he afterwards succeeded. He held the post of Lord Chamberlain from 1765 to 1769, and subsequently filled other high offices in the royal household. He died in August 1805, aged 70.—E.

** T. Pelham, of Stanmore, afterwards Lord Pelham.

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wicke's fourth son, Rice,* son-in-law of Lord Talbot, and Sir Edmund Thomas were at the Board of Trade. Mr. Spencer† and Sir Richard Grosvenor (at the recommendation of Mr. Pitt) were created Viscount; Sir Thomas Robinson,‡ Sir Nathaniel Curzon,§ a rich Tory, Sir William Irby,‖ chamberlain to the Princess, were made barons, along with Doddington,¶ whose ambition still hovered about the Court, in which he was at last likely to have some lead, by his connexion with the favourite. Nor did Lord Bath** himself quit sight of the back-stairs, by which he obtained leave to hobble up to the King whenever he pleased.

But a phenomenon, that for some time occasioned more speculation than even the credit of the favourite, was the staff of Lord Steward being put into the hands of Lord Talbot,†† with the addition of an Earldom. As neither gravity, rank, interest, abilities, nor

* George Rice, married Cecil, only child of William Lord Talbot, and a great heiress. He was Lord Lieutenant of the County of Carmarthen, and a Privy Counsellor. He died in 1779. The present Lord Dynevor is his son.—E.

† John Spencer, only son of John Spencer, brother of Charles Duke of Marlborough. He was a person of very resolute, independent spirit, and warmly attached to the Whig interest, as he too well proved at the celebrated Northampton election, which seriously impaired even his immense fortune, while it made Lord Northampton an exile for the remainder of his life, and obliged Lord Halifax to sell Horton and his principal estates. With the exception of a very brief interval, Lord Spencer remained all his life in opposition. He died greatly respected in 1783, aged 49. The present Earl Spencer is his grandson.—E.

‡ Sir Thomas Robinson, created Lord Grantham, had been minister at Vienna, and Secretary of State. He was the fourth son of Sir William Robinson, Baronet. His fortunate connexion with Horace Lord Walpole, to whom he had been Secretary in 1723, quickly raised him to eminence. He was an excellent man of business, and highly esteemed as a diplomatist. His despatches are written with great spirit and clearness. In the House of Commons he failed, as might have been expected, from his previous pursuits, and his talents have in consequence been much underrated. He died in 1770. The Earl de Grey and the Earl of Ripon are his grandsons.—E.

§ Sir Nathaniel Curzon, (fifth Baronet, and M. P. for Derbyshire,) created Lord Scarsdale. He afterwards was appointed Chairman of the Committee of the House of Lords, and died at an advanced age, in 1804.—E.

‖ Sir William Irby, created Lord Boston. He had been Page to George I. and George II., and Equerry to the Prince on the arrival of the latter in England. He married a niece of Mr. Selwyn, and died in 1773, aged 66.—E.

¶ George Bubb Doddington, created Lord Melcomb.

** William Pulteney, Earl of Bath.

†† Son of the Lord Chancellor. He had in his youth been one of Sir Robert Walpole's most violent opponents. The Count de Fuentes, in a letter to Mr. Wall, of 27th March, says that this appointment was ascribed to the Princess of Wales: of whom he adds, "they speak with too much liberty."—Chatham Corresp. vol. ii. p. 106. The adherence of Lord Talbot to the Leicester House party certainly entitled him to consideration, but he was now much overpaid; and this was felt even by his patron Lord Bute, who wanted firmness to resist pretensions which were urged with impetuosity, amounting almost to passion.—(Doddington's Diary, cited in note to the letter *supra*.) Lord Talbot had talents, was resolute and ready; and his speeches had an air of independence and a plausibility that made him rather a favourite with the public, notwithstanding his vices, until his duel with Wilkes brought ridicule upon his name, not to be effaced.—E.

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morals, could be adduced to countenance this strange exaltation, no wonder it caused very unfavourable comments. This lord had long affected a very free-spoken kind of patriotism on all occasions. He had some wit, and a little tincture of a disordered understanding; but was better known as a boxer and man of pleasure, than in the light of a statesman. The Duchess of —— had been publicly divorced from her lord on his account; and was not the only woman of fashion who had lived with him openly as his mistress. He was strong, well made, and very comely; but with no air, nor with the manners of quality. No wonder the promotion of such a minister, in a reign that advertised piety, strengthened the suspicions already entertained of the sincerity of the Court. It grew more comic still, when the new statesman appeared to be a reformer too. As the Court knew that the measures it had in contemplation could only be carried by money, every stratagem was invented to curtail the common expenses of the Palace. As these fell under the province of the Lord Steward, nothing was heard of but cooks cashiered, and kitchens shut up. Even the Maids of Honour, who did not expect rigours from a great officer of Lord Talbot's complexion, were reduced to complain of the abridgment of their allowance for breakfast. The public joined in the cry, and the shops teemed with scandalous prints against the reformer and his patroness.

The Duke of Rutland was not pleased with the office of Groom of the Stole, which had fewer employments in its disposal, and which was therefore given to Lord Holderness; but the very next day the Duke was appointed Master of the Horse, from whence Lord Huntingdon* was removed to the Groom of the Stole; and Lord Holderness was laid aside with a large pension, and the reversion of the Cinque Ports after the Duke of Dorset. Lady Bute was created a baroness, that her son might inherit an English peerage.

When Legge resigned his Seal, he lamented being under his Majesty's displeasure, but said his future life should testify his zeal. The King replied, he was glad to hear him say so; nothing but his future life could eradicate the ill impressions he had received of him. His disgrace was owing to his not having seconded the favourite's views in the late reign, when Lord Bute had been desirous of bringing a Jacobite friend into Parliament for Hampshire, of which more will be said hereafter.†

* Son of Selina, Countess of Huntingdon. He remained Groom of the Stole till 1770. Akenside, who was one of the least adulatory of poets, addressed to him, in 1747, a didactic ode on his setting out on his travels. He was an amiable and accomplished nobleman, though it requires some partiality to believe of his early youth that his "breast the gifts of every Muse had known." Delicate health prevented his taking an active part in public business, and in 1766 he declined the embassy to Spain, which was pressed on him by Lord Chatham. He died in 1790, aged 62, without having been married, and the title was for some years supposed to be extinct. In 1819 the father of the present Earl established a claim to it, and took his seat in the House of Lords accordingly.—E.

† See page 34, and *infra*.

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General Conway* was sent to command in Germany under Lord Granby. The Bedford faction opposed it, in favour of General Waldegrave,† who had served there during the whole war, upon the supposition that Lord Granby would come to England, and that Waldegrave might succeed him, Mostyn‡ not being equal to the charge. Conway obtained to be sent, but without a certain promise of replacing Lord Granby,§ though the King said Conway was a man of abilities, character, sense, and prudence, such as was greatly wanted there. France at this time made earnest overtures for peace.

* Henry Seymour Conway, only brother of Francis, Earl of Hertford.

† John Waldegrave, only brother of James Earl Waldegrave, whom he succeeded in the title, married Lady Elizabeth Leveson Gower, sister of Gertrude Duchess of Bedford. His presence of mind and intrepidity at the battle of Minden established his character as a soldier. Mem. vol. ii. p. 367. He was appropriately rewarded with the regiment of dragoons, vacated by Lord George Sackville's dismissal. Subsequently he obtained one of the regiments of foot-guards, and was made Master of the Horse to the Queen. His love of state, not less than the handsome manner in which he lived, well adapted him to any great office at Court. He died in 1784. His eldest son, a most respectable nobleman, and also an officer, only survived him five years.—E.

‡ John Mostyn, brother of Sir Roger Mostyn, Bart., and Groom of the Bedchamber to the King. He had commanded the British cavalry with distinction in Germany, and was mainly instrumental in gaining the battle of Warburgh, the credit of which Lord Granby ascribed entirely to him. He might have risen high in the army, had he not shrunk from the responsibility of great commands. He refused the command of the expedition to the Havanna, on the ground that he did not pretend to be more than a cavalry officer. His good nature and conviviality, as well as his quiet military deportment, made him popular at Court; and George the Second liked him so much that he generally formed one of the King's evening party. It was believed he might have been a favourite if he pleased. His last employment was as Governor of Minorca. Memoirs of Sir James Campbell, vol. i. p. 173.

§ John Manners, Marquis of Granby, son of John Duke of Rutland.

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CHAPTER IV.

Thanks of the House of Commons to Mr. Onslow, their Speaker.—His Character.—Sir John Philipps.—Mr. Legge.—Mr. More, of Shrewsbury.—Mr. Onslow's Retirement.—His last Address to the House.—Lord Bath's Pamphlet.—Solicitations by France for Peace.—Mr. Pitt disinclined to negotiate.—Expedition against Belleisle.—Mr. Pitt's obstinacy.—Lord Bute's Faction.—Mr. Pitt and the Duke of Bedford.—Negotiation for Peace.—Monsieur de Bussy.—Mr. Stanley.—Death of Archibald Duke of Argyle, and of Hoadley, Bishop of Winchester.—Character of those Personages.—Their Successors.

THE last day of the session, March 18th, was fixed for returning the thanks of the House of Commons to Mr. Onslow, their Speaker, who had filled the chair with unblemished integrity during the whole long reign of George the Second, and who had the prudence to quit the scene before his years and growing infirmities made him a burden to himself and the public.* No man had ever supported with more firmness the privileges of the House, nor sustained the dignity of his office with more authority. His knowledge of the Constitution equalled his attachment to it. To the Crown he behaved with all the decorum of respect, without sacrificing his freedom of speech. Against encroachments of the House of Peers he was an inflexible champion. His disinterested virtue supported him through all his pretensions; and though to conciliate popular favour he affected an impartiality that by turns led him to the borders of insincerity and contradiction—and though he was so minutely attached to forms, that it often made him troublesome in affairs of higher moment, it will be difficult to find a subject whom gravity will so well become, whose knowledge will be so useful and so accurate, and whose fidelity to his trust will prove so unshaken.

Sir John Philipps† moved the address of thanks to him for his great services, but so wretchedly, that the sensibility the House showed on the occasion flowed only from their hearts, not from any impression made on them by the eloquence of their spokesman. Legge seconded the motion with his usual propriety and brevity, and *commended retreat*, God knows with what sincerity! Others threw

* Letter (of 21st March) to George Montagu, and the note. Walpole's Collected Correspondence, vol. iv. p. 128.

† Sir John Philipps, Bart., of Picton Castle, in Pembrokeshire, an opulent and influential Jacobite. He was the second son of Sir Erasmus Philipps, and had succeeded to the title and estates on the death of his elder brother. He died in 1764, leaving an only son, Sir Richard, who was afterwards created an Irish Peer by the title of Lord Milford, and died without issue in 1823.—E.

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in their word of panegyric; and Mr. More, of Shrewsbury, an old and acute member, proposed to erect a statue to the Speaker's memory, with great encomiums on the authority with which he had formerly kept in order such men as then filled the Treasury-bench and composed the Opposition, naming among the former Sir Robert Walpole and Mr. Pelham, the latter of whom, he said, had the honour of dying a Commoner. More was a Whig of the primitive stamp, and though attached to Sir Robert Walpole, had withstood, and by the force of his honest abilities had defeated, the intended clemency of that Minister to some attainted Jacobite families with respect to their estates. He had long abstained from Parliament, returned to it without his former success, and now appeared there for the last time.

Henry Archer* proposed to address the Crown to bestow a pecuniary reward on the Speaker's services. Sir John Philipps replied, he knew that was intended; as it was; an annuity of two thousand pounds a-year to him and his son. Sir George Saville approved the reward, but desired the Commons, not the Crown, might have the merit of bestowing it. Velters Cornwall made one of his absurd, ill-natured speeches, which the House was always so kind as to take for humour, teazing the Speaker under pretence of complimenting him; while the good old man sat over-powered with gratitude, and weeping over the testimonies borne to his virtue. He rose at last, and closed his public life in the most becoming manner; neither over-acting modesty, nor checking the tender sensibility which he necessarily felt at quitting the darling occupation of his life. His thanks to the House for their patient sufferance of his errors, and for their gracious acceptance of his endeavours to serve them, were shortly, but cogently, expressed; and his voice, and the tears he could not restrain, spoke still more forcibly how much his soul was agitated by laudable emotions. He begged to have the address spared, as he would accept nothing for himself, though he would not prejudice his family. He was going, he said, into the most close and obscure retreat, where he should want little; and he concluded with a pathetic prayer for the perpetuity of the Constitution. Sir John Philipps desired that what he had uttered might be inserted in the votes. The Speaker protested he could not remember his own words, but the House insisted, as Cornwall and Sir George Saville did on the address, to which the Speaker at last acquiesced, and it was voted. He ended with saying this was the greatest day and the greatest honours ever known, for they could only be conferred by a free nation.†

The next day the Parliament was prorogued, then dissolved, and a new one chosen.

In this month was published a pamphlet called "Seasonable

* Henry, brother of Thomas Lord Archer.

† Mr. Onslow died in February, 1768, aged 76. A very pleasing account of him is given in the Preface to the second volume of Hatsell's Precedents, p. 6.

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Hints from an Honest Man on the present Crisis." The author, and some of the doctrines it broached—not any merit in the composition—make it memorable. It was written by Lord Bath,* who having surprised the King into a promise of the Lord-Lieutenancy of Shropshire, was opposed by the Duke of Newcastle, who supported Lord Powis.† The pamphlet, therefore, warmly attacked his Grace, taxed him with his cabals and resignation in the last rebellion, and it defended the measure of admitting the Tories to a participation of power. In general, the language of the pamphlet was that of the Court, who conducted themselves by the advice bequeathed by Lord Bolingbroke, who had, and with truth, assured the late Prince of Wales, that the Tories would be the heartiest in the support of prerogative. The censure passed on pensions was not equally flattering to the Court, the new reign having already bestowed them profusely. Yet much the book vaunted the King's declaration against corruption in elections, which had gone no farther than to undermine the Duke of Newcastle's influence. The private junto was impatient to conclude the peace, that they might prosecute the intended war on the old ministry at home, the established harmony being solely produced by the war, as had often been the case at Rome. A few pedantic examples were the sum of Lord Bute's knowledge; yet his partisans affected to celebrate the care he had taken of the King's education. A well-founded panegyric on a man who was deficient in the orthography of his own language! The King had had able preceptors; the Bishop of Norwich‡ was a scholar; the Bishop of Salisbury§ not deficient. Stone and Scott had taste and knowledge. Lord Waldegrave, for forming a King, was not to be matched. It proved, indeed, that his Majesty had learned nothing, but what a man, who knew nothing, could teach him.

About the end of March, France renewed the most pressing solicitations for Peace. They frankly avowed the distress of their affairs; for they did not apprehend hard-heartedness in the new Court. Augsburgh they proposed for the place of congress, or any other town the King should name, professing they would treat *vis-à-vis du Roi de la Grande Bretagne;* for which purpose they offered to send a minister hither, where, too, might be one from the King of Prussia: the ministers of *their* allies should assemble at Paris. The two Empresses, they said, were grown more moderate in their demands; and for their own part, they talked of yielding to us all Canada. So much ear was given to these overtures, that the Earl of Egremont‖ and Sir Joseph Yorke¶ were named to go to the Congress. But so

* William Pulteney, Earl of Bath.

† Henry Arthur Herbert, Earl of Powis.

‡ Dr. Hayter, afterwards Bishop of London. Vide p. 53, *infra*.

§ Dr. Thomas, afterwards Bishop of Winchester. Vide Appendix.

‖ Charles Wyndham, Earl of Egremont, afterwards Secretary of State. Vide *infra*.

¶ Sir Joseph Yorke, Ambassador in Holland, third son of Philip Earl of Hardwicke. He had been a captain of the Guards, and aide-de-camp of the Duke of

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little was this measure to the inclination of Mr. Pitt, that he prosecuted with unusual warmth an expedition he had meditated against Belleisle; a conquest of so little value, and so inadequate to the expense with which it was attended, that the plan was by many believed calculated solely to provoke the Court of France, and break off the negotiation. France was more surprised than concerned at this attack. Sir Edward Hawke had lain before it for two years, when there were not five hundred men on the island, without attempting it. Now they had had time to fortify it, we persisted in the conquest. Both Hawke and Boscawen* earnestly dissuaded the enterprise. Yet Pitt was obdurate; and the island was taken at last by the beginning of June, after an enormous waste of money, and the loss of some men. There fell Sir William Williams, a gallant and ambitious young man, who had devoted himself both to war and politics. The island is a barren rock; and it was only to humour Mr. Pitt, that France, in the succeeding negotiations, condescended to treat it as an object of the smallest importance.

The indecent and injudicious precipitation with which the favourite's faction hurried towards peace, justified any steadiness Mr. Pitt could exert to keep the balance where he had placed it, in our own hands. Newcastle and Hardwicke, either not perceiving the symptoms of their own fall, or hoping to ward off the evil hour, truckled to the favourite's views. The Duke of Bedford (who in his heart admired Pitt, but was made to hate him by Rigby, at the instigation of Fox, and inflamed by the coldness with which Pitt had listened to the representations made by his Grace, on the opposition to him in Ireland) was, avowedly, pacific; and all of them seemed united against the warlike minister. Lord Talbot went so far as to press the dismission of him. But it was Lord Bute's nature to provoke first, before he offended. Gallitzin, the Russian minister, was reprimanded by him for carrying the proposition of Peace to Mr. Pitt, instead of to him; though it had been usual, while Lord Holderness held the Seals, for the foreign ministers in his department to address themselves to the effective minister. Mr. Pitt's temper, soured by these associations and contradictions, broke out first against the Duke of Newcastle. At a great council held on the 23rd of April, Mr. Pitt, who had been wont to affirm, that too much could not be spent on the war in Germany, made severe complaint of the extravagance in the management of it; and imputed it to the fault of our commissaries, that Prince Ferdinand had been disabled from making greater progress there. Himself, he said, within six months, would move

Cumberland at the battle of Fontenoy. In 1751 he was appointed Minister at the Hague, where he remained many years, and became almost naturalized, having married a Dutch lady. His estimable conduct, and also his splendid hospitality, gave him great consideration in Holland. In 1788 he was created Lord Dover. He died in 1792 without issue, and the title became extinct.—E.

* Admiral Edward Boscawen, brother of Lord Viscount Falmouth, a distinguished naval commander. He died this year at the early age of 50. The late Earl of Falmouth was his grandson.—E.

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for an inquiry into the conduct of the war. The Duke of Bedford took up the contrary side with warmth. and made a speech that was much admired; and so little attention was paid to the views of Mr. Pitt, that it was settled Mr. Stanley* and Monsieur de Bussy should be exchanged to conduct the negotiation. Bussy was an Abbé of parts, who had formerly resided here as minister,† and had given much offence to the late King, whom he treated so impertinently, that the King, asking him one day in the circle, "Ce qu'il y avoit de nouveau à Paris?" Bussy replied with contemptuous familiarity, "Sire, il y gele." He had again been imposed on that Prince, when the French dictated to him a neutrality for Hanover. Bussy was not likely to be so presumptuous now. Yet France, trusting to our pusillanimous impatience for peace, had the confidence to demand, that the man-of-war that carried over Stanley should bring back Bussy. But Mr. Pitt was yet minister: the proposal was rejected; and it was settled that Stanley and Bussy should be at Dover and Calais on the 22nd.

Before the departure of Stanley, it was agitated in Council, whether he should be entrusted with full powers. Mr. Pitt, who had named Stanley from opinion of his abilities, though at that time disunited from him and gone over to Newcastle, confided in this nomination, and thought it would leave himself master of the negotiation, if Stanley, who by being at Paris was in his department, were charged with conclusive powers; for which, therefore, Pitt and Lord Temple pleaded. But Bute, and the rest of the Council, who chose not to let the negotiation pass out of their own hands, prevailed to have Stanley's instructions limited.

During these discussions, died two considerable men, Archibald Duke of Argyle, and Hoadley Bishop of Winchester. The character of the former‡ has been sufficiently set forth in my preceding Me-

* Hans Stanley, one of the Lords of the Admiralty, and afterwards Cofferer.

† M. Bussy was one of the chief Commis of the Foreign Department at Paris. He had great experience in business, and was eminently adroit and persuasive; qualities to which he owed his nomination to this difficult post. Formerly he had been private secretary to the Duc de Richelieu, through whose interest he was employed on a mission to George the Second in Hanover in 1754. Flassan, Hist. de la Diplomatic Frangaise, vol. vi. p. 388. See more respecting him in Mr. Stanley's Correspondence in the Appendix to the life of Lord Chatham.—E.

‡ Memoirs of George the Second, vol. i. p. 242. It is ably drawn, and not unkindly, considering the belief long entertained by the Whigs of the Duke having betrayed Sir Robert Walpole. The more favourable portrait given by Archdeacon Coxe from materials supplied by his family, is, like too many family portraits, feeble, flattering and indistinct. His Grace unquestionably possessed a powerful, active, and cultivated mind. He had studied, and thoroughly understood the weakness of men, and was unscrupulous in the practice of all the arts of intrigue. Success usually crowned his efforts, and notwithstanding the various changes of Government, he maintained much of his power to the last. Disappointment attended only his private life, which was chilled by the aversion to his wife and the want of children. *Il fut riche, il fut titré, mais il ne fut point heureux*—the just and natural result of a line of conduct which, as Lord Mahon correctly observes, was seldom on any occasion swayed either by virtue or generosity.—Coxe's Life of Sir R. Walpole, vol. iv., p. 236; Mahon's Hist. vol. iii. p. 237.—E.

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moirs. The last will be known by his writings, and as long as a Churchman, combating for the liberties of mankind, shall be an unusual phenomenon.* Argyle had the lowest opinion of his nephew, Lord Bute, who he had foretold would rush into power without having formed a plan. The nephew had in truth too little capacity, and too much presumption, to let himself be guided by so shrewd a relation, though the uncle would not have been obdurate if proper deference had been paid to his oracle. The last effort of this great Lord's power in Scotland had miscarried. The city of Edinburgh had recurred, as usual, to his nomination for the election of their representatives; that is, of thirty-three electors, twenty-two still acknowledged their ancient dictator. He named Forester, an able Scottish counsellor, but always resident in England. Six days before the election such violent papers were dispersed against Forester, as too much an Englishman, that the City did not dare to put him in nomination, but were forced to choose their own Provost. How much did Scotland afterwards resent parallel nationalities, when exercised against them!

The Marquis of Tweedale† succeeded the Duke of Argyle, as Chief Justiciary; and Bishop Thomas of Salisbury, the King's former preceptor, was made Bishop of Winchester. Drummond,‡ of St. Asaph, whom Newcastle had destined to Winchester, succeeded. Thomas Earl Powis was made Controller of the Household on the death of Lord Edgcumbe.§

* This prediction has not been realized. The Bangorian controversy has long lost its interest, and great as was their success in their day, and great their reward—no less than the Bishoprick of Winchester—the three massive folios of Hoadley's Works now slumber on the shelves of theological libraries. His two sons, one of whom was chaplain, and the other physician to the King, were men of talent, and are still recollected as the joint authors of that popular comedy, "The Suspicious Husband." They were the last of their family.—E.

† John Hay, Marquis of Tweedale, had been Secretary of State for Scotland. Lord Tweedale had been one of the extraordinary Lords of Session in Scotland, and also had held the post of Secretary of State for that country. He was the last person that filled either of these offices. His connexion with Lord Granville, whose daughter he had married, brought him into public life in opposition to Walpole, and he shared the spoils of that minister. Like Lord Granville, he possessed considerable knowledge of law. He is said also to have been a good debater in Parliament. He died, without male issue, in December 1762.—E.

‡ Dr. Robert Hay Drummond, brother of the Earl of Kinnoul.

§ Richard Edgecumbe, second Lord Edgecumbe, an intimate friend of the author, who has given him a place in the Noble Authors. He was a humourist, and had a turn for poetry and drawing, of which some amusing specimens are noticed in the publications of his day. Walpole says, he never had a fault but to himself, never an enemy but himself.—E.

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CHAPTER V.

Solemn and unusual Summons of the Council.—Announcement of the King's intended marriage with the Princess of Mecklenberg Strelitz.—The Princess Dowager's aversion to her Son's Marriage.—The King's attachment to Lady Sarah Lenox.—Schemes of Mr. Fox.—Remarkable Speech of the King to Lady Susan Strangways.—Frustration of Fox's Intrigues.—Colonel Græme despatched to Germany to select a Queen.—The King's deference to his Mother, and acceptance of the Bride she had chosen.—Lady Sarah Lenox.—Serious Crisis in the Cabinet.—Lofty Conduct of Mr. Pitt.—His Draft for a Treaty with France.—Reception of this by the other Ministers.—Arrival of the new Queen.—Her mental and personal Characteristics.—Anecdotes.—Disposal of the vacant Bishopricks.—Lord Talbot.—Coronation Squabbles.—Sir William Stanhope's bitter Speech against the Scotch.—Lord Talbot and the Barons of the Cinque Ports.

While the attention of mankind hung on the negotiation, the King's messengers were suddenly sent forth to all Privy Counsellors to meet at one o'clock, at St. James's, July 8th, on urgent and important business. The business itself was an absolute secret. Every body concluded that so solemn and unusual a summons of the Council was to give fuller sanction to peace. How great was the general surprise when they heard his Majesty had convened this assembly to notify his intended marriage with the Princess of Mecklenberg Strelitz! A resolution taken and conducted with so much mystery, that till that hour perhaps not six men in England knew such a Princess existed.

It has been mentioned with what aversion the Princess Dowager had opposed a marriage projected by the late King between his heir apparent and a very accomplished Princess of Brunswick. A wife for her son, not chosen by herself nor obliged to her, by no means suited the views of the Princess. Could she have chained up his body, as she fettered his mind, it is probable she would have preferred his remaining single. A mistress would have been more tremendous than a wife. The next brother, the Duke of York, was not equally tractable, had expressed little reverence for his mother, and much antipathy to her favourite. If the King should die and leave even an infant, a minority did not deprive the Princess of all prospect of protracting her rule.

But there had happened circumstances still more pressing, more alarming. The King was fallen in love with Lady Sarah Lenox, sister of the Duke of Richmond; a very young lady of the most blooming beauty, and shining with all the graces of unaffected, but animated nature. What concurred to make her formidable to the

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mother and favourite, was, her being under the tutorage of Mr. Fox, her eldest sister's* husband; and in truth, she and her family spared no assiduity to fix the young monarch's heart. And though Fox would probably not have been scrupulous or delicate on the terms of cementing that union, the King's overtures were so encouraging, that Fox's views extended even to placing the young lady on the throne. Early in the winter, the King told Lady Susan Strangways,† Mr. Fox's niece, and the confidant of Lady Sarah, that he hoped she (Lady Susan) would not go out of town soon. She said, she should. "But," replied the King, "you will return in summer, for the coronation?" Lady Susan answered, "I do not know; I hope so." "But," said the King again, "they talk of a wedding. There have been many proposals; but I think an English match would do better than a foreign one. Pray, tell Lady Sarah Lenox I say so." The next time Lady Sarah went to Court (and her family took care that should not be seldom) the King said, "he hoped Lady Susan had told her his last conversation."

The junto was not blind to these whispers and dialogues. Lady Bute was instructed to endeavour to place herself in the circle, and prevent them. And the Princess Augusta marked her observation of what was going forward to Lady Sarah herself, laughing in her face, and trying to affront her. But Fox was not to be so rebuffed. Though he went himself to bathe in the sea, (possibly to disguise his intrigues,) he left Lady Sarah at Holland House,‡ where she appeared every morning in a field close to the great road (where the King passed on horseback) in a fancied habit, making hay.

Such mutual propensity fixed the resolution of the Princess. One Colonel Graeme was despatched in the most private manner as a traveller, and vested with no character, to visit various little Protestant courts, and make report of the qualifications of the several unmarried Princesses. Beauty, and still less, talents, were not, it is likely, the first object of his instructions. On the testimony of this man, the golden apple was given to the Princess of Mecklenburg; and the marriage precipitately concluded. The ambassador was too remarkable not to be farther mentioned. This Graeme, then, was a notorious Jacobite, and had been engaged in the late rebellion. On a visit he made to Scotland, his native country, after this embassy, David Hume, the historian, said to him, "Colonel Graeme, I congratulate you on having exchanged the dangerous employment of making Kings, for the more lucrative province of making Queens."

So complete was the King's deference to the will of his mother, that he blindly accepted the bride she had chosen for him; though, to the very day of the council, he carried on his courtship to Lady

* Lady Caroline Lenox, eldest daughter of Charles second Duke of Richmond, married to Henry Fox, Paymaster of the Forces.

† Eldest daughter of Stephen Fox, Earl of Ilchester, by the sole daughter and heiress of Mr. Strangways Horner, whose name he assumed.

‡ Holland House, beyond Kensington, the seat of the Earls of Warwick and Holland; now of Henry Fox, Lord Holland.

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Sarah; and she did not doubt of receiving the crown from him, till she heard the public declaration of its being designed for another. Yet, in confirmation of the trust he had reposed in Lady Susan Strangways, himself appointed Lady Sarah to be one of the bridemaids to the Queen. Yet Lord Bute's friends affected to give another turn to the story: and insisted that the King had never thought of Lady Sarah but for his mistress. All, they affirmed, he had said to Lady Susan was, to bid her ask Lady Sarah if she should like a place in the family of the new Queen; that she had accepted it; and that the King had destined her to be Mistress of the Robes. Her surprise and disappointment, however, were too strongly marked to make this legend credible. Lady Susan adhered to the truth of what she had reported, in various examinations by her father and uncle. And the resentment Lady Sarah expressed, and which caused, as the Court said, her not being placed about the new Queen, was proof enough on which side the truth lay. The junto persuaded the King she was a bad young woman; but if she was, what hindered her becoming his mistress? Was it criminal to propose being his wife rather than his mistress? And what became of the King's boasted piety, if he intended to place his mistress about his wife? Some coquette attempts, which Lady Sarah afterwards made to recover his notice, and her stooping to bear the Queen's train as bridemaid, did her more prejudice than all that was invented against her. Pique and extreme youth might excuse both; and her soon after preferring a clergyman's son to several great matches, gave evidence that ambition was not a rooted passion in her.

In my own opinion, the King had thoughts of her as a wife; but wanted resolution to oppose his mother and Lord Bute. Fortunately, no doubt in this instance, for the daughter of a subject, and the sister-in-law of so ambitious and exceptionable a man as Fox, would probably have been productive of most serious consequences. To avoid returning to this topic, I will only remember, that during the wedding service, on mention of Abraham and Sarah, the King could not conceal his confusion. And the day following, when every body was presented to the Queen, Lord Westmoreland,* old and dim-

* John Fane, Earl of Westmoreland, Chancellor of Oxford, Lieutenant-general in the army, and formerly captain of one of the troops of Horse Guards. In early life, when a younger brother, and a Whig, he had served under the Duke of Marlborough; and afterwards commanded "the body of troops which George the First had been obliged to send to Oxford, to teach the University the only kind of passive obedience of which they did not approve." He subsequently joined the Jacobites in their opposition to Sir Robert Walpole, and became a high Tory; as indeed may be inferred from Lord Arran appointing him High Steward of the University in 1754, and from his succeeding that nobleman as Chancellor in 1758. He was comely in his person, and highly respected for his virtues in private life. Glover describes him as "a veteran patriot, slow, but solid; always meaning well, and therefore judging right." He died without issue in 1762, at a very advanced age. Walpole's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 340. Memoirs of a distinguished Political and Literary Character, p. 121.—E.

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sighted, seeing Lady Sarah in the rich habit of bridemaid, mistook her for Queen, and was going to kneel and kiss her hand.

But while the arrival of the Queen was expected, and the approaching ceremonies of the wedding and coronation engrossed the attention of the public, affairs grew towards a serious crisis in the Cabinet. Prince Ferdinand had opened the campaign with vivacity and advantage, driving the French before him, and seizing, or reducing them to destroy great part of their magazines; a success that enabled him to form the sieges of Ziegenhayn and Cassel. Marshal Broglio was not disheartened or inactive; but re-assembling his dispersed troops, he attacked the Hereditary Prince, and routed the body under his command; in consequence of which the sieges were raised, and Prince Ferdinand retired, abandoning the whole country of Hesse to the enemy. This advantage, it was apprehended, would make France less eager for peace. Yet she continued the negotiation with much appearance of warmth; and though she was far from bringing all the facilities our Court wished for, the conclusion of the treaty seemed to be rather impeded by the loftiness and firmness of Mr. Pitt, than by the insincerity of France. Still, as it afterwards appeared, she had secret resources in reserve; nor could she fail to hope but Mr. Pitt might be displaced, and her condition mended, when the administration should fall into the hands of men whose honour was not so much concerned in the event of the war, and who had national honour much less at heart. The transactions have been printed, and will appear in every common history. My part is to relate by what steps and intrigues the negotiation was broken off.

In the end of August, the council had ordered their ultimate concessions to be drawn and sent to France. Mr. Pitt made the draft and carried it to Council. The other ministers thought it spoke his sense, not theirs; or rather, contained more of an ultimatum than they were disposed to adhere to. In defence of his own inflexibility, Mr. Pitt spoke largely on the *haughtiness* of France.

Lord Hardwicke* said he approved our not submitting to their haughtiness, and congratulated his country in not having been behind hand with them in that respect. Lord Granville† took the draft, and applauded it exceedingly; said it deserved to be inserted in the Acta Regia; but for his part he did not love fine letters on business. He thought even bad Latin preferable to good in negotiations.

These speeches raised Pitt's choler; and with reason. He had vindicated the honour of his country; and now was supporting it with a dignity it had never known since the days of Cromwell. He saw himself abandoned and ridiculed by his master's ministers; but he was not a man to recoil before such adversaries. If he had assumed an unwarrantable tone, his situation might well justify it. He

* Sir Philip Yorke, Earl of Hardwicke, formerly Lord Chancellor.

† John Carteret, Earl of Granville, some time Prime Minister to George the Second.

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broke out with great asperity, and told them dictatorially, they should not alter an iota of the letter. Rhodomontade had been too favourite a figure with Lord Granville to leave him the dupe of it in another man. He himself had made glory but a step to ambition, instead of making ambition a foot-stool to glory. He neither admired Pitt's exalted diction, nor exalted views; and continuing to canvass the point with him, said, he had understood from Bussy— "From Bussy," interrupted Pitt; "nor you, nor any of you shall treat with Bussy: nobody shall but myself."

The Duke of Bedford, whom the rest always summoned when they wanted to combat Pitt and did not dare, said, "he did not know why he was called to council, if he was not at liberty to debate; and since he was told they were not to be permitted to alter an iota, he would come thither no more," and retired. Some of the others were less stout. Lord Bute said little, but that he thought the King's honour was concerned in sticking to our own terms; and therefore, he should be for adhering to them. This short turn in the favourite produced a like sentiment in some who waited on his nod. Besides Mr. Pitt and Lord Temple, the Chancellor, Lord Halifax, and Lord Ligonier, assented to the favourite's opinion; Hardwicke, Newcastle, Mansfield, and Granville, adhered to the softer method. The Duke of Devonshire remained, who had uttered no opinion. At last he said, if they were not permitted to alter the draft of the letter (which implied his inclination to have it altered,) he should give no opinion. Mr. Pitt asked what he should report to the King as his Grace's advice? He replied as he had said before, "he would give no opinion."

Newcastle was alarmed, and jealous of the sudden and unexpected turn Lord Bute had taken, but was soon satisfied by his Lordship that he was in no connexion with Mr. Pitt; and indeed, it is probable that he had only been overawed, and had apprehended being taxed by Pitt with any unpopular measure. On the 25th, another council was held, to which, notwithstanding his declaration, the Duke of Bedford returned. He and Devonshire seemed to have no concern but lest any wayward humour of Newcastle should be crossed. Pitt at this council was more temperate, and submitted to some small concessions.

On the 7th of September, the new Queen landed at Harwich. Lord Harcourt,* whose peace had been made by Lord Talbot, had been sent to fetch her, with the Duchesses of Ancaster† and Hamilton;‡ but as an earnest of the prison prepared for her, and to keep her in that state of ignorance which was essential to the views of the Princess, they were forbidden to see her alone. Her mother, who

* Simon Lord Harcourt, formerly Governor to the King. See an account of his resignation of that post, in the preceding reign, (Memoirs of George the Second, vol. i. p. 254.)

† Mary Panton, second wife of Peregrine Bertie, Duke of Ancaster.

‡ Elizabeth Gunning, Duchess Dowager of Hamilton, married, secondly, to John Campbell, Marquis of Lorn, eldest son of John Duke of Argyle.

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died during the treaty of marriage, ordered her to put herself entirely into the hands of the Princess. Mrs. Katherine Dashwood* of a Jacobite family, and intimate of Lady Bute, was destined to live in the palace. No privy purse was allowed to the Queen, but Mr. Stone† received twenty thousand pounds a-year to pay her servants.

She had been educated in that strict course of piety, which in Germany, reaches to superstition; a habit in which she was encouraged to such a degree, that when the King visited his mother, which he soon, at the desire of the Princess, began to do, without the Queen, she was afraid of staying alone, and retired to her two German women; her English ladies not being suffered to keep her company. Yet this weakness seemed solely the result of a bad education. Her temper appeared to be lively, and her understanding sensible and and quick. Great good nature, set off by much grace in her manner, recommended all she said. Her person was small, and very lean, but well made. Her face pale and homely, her nose something flat, her mouth very large. Her hair was of a fine brown, and her countenance pleasing.

When first she saw the palace she trembled. The Duchess of Hamilton smiled. The Queen said, "You may laugh; you have been married twice; but it is no joke to me." The King received her in the garden of St. James's; she would have kneeled, but he raised and embraced her, and led her to the princess, where they and Lady Augusta dined together. Between nine and ten at night they went to chapel. The Duke of Cumberland gave her away; and after the ceremony they appeared for a few minutes in the drawing-room, and then went to supper. She played and sung, for music was her passion, but she loved other amusements too, and had been accustomed to them; but excepting her music, all the rest were retrenched; nor was she ever suffered to play at cards, which she loved.‡ While she was dressing, she was told the King liked some particular manner of dress. She said, "let him dress himself; I shall dress as I please." They told her he liked early hours; she replied, she did not, and "qu'elle ne voulait pas se coucher avec les poules." A few weeks taught her how little power she had ac-

* Mr. Hammond had been in love with her, and then forsaken her. The poems which he wrote on her have been published.

† Mr. Andrew Stone, was appointed Treasurer to the Queen on her arrival. He was the well known confidant of the Duke of Newcastle and Mr. Pelham, over both of whom he exercised great influence. He had been private, and afterwards under secretary to the former. Latterly he had been sub-governor to the King when Prince of Wales. He was a fine scholar, and had distinguished himself at Oxford, where he was the rival and friend of Murray (Lord Mansfield.) Bishop Newton, who knew him well, says that his tastes and feelings were better suited to the Church than to politics. Lord Waldegrave likewise commends his integrity. Walpole can find no fault in him, except that he had a tendency to Jacobitism, a charge which his conduct and connexions proved to be unfounded. He appears to have been entirely devoid of ambition, honest, and most disinterested. He died in 1773, aged 72. The best account of Mr. Stone, is in a note to Coxe's Life of Pelham, vol. i. p. 430.—E.

‡ She did some years afterwards with the King, but quite in private.

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quired with a Crown. The affection she conceived for the King softened the rigour of her captivity. Yet now and then a sigh stole out, and now and then she attempted, though in vain, to enlarge her restraint. What must have penetrated deeper, was, that policy did not seem to be the sole motive of the mortifications she endured. At times there entered a little wantonness of power into the Princess's treatment of her. The King made her frequent presents of magnificent jewels: and as if diamonds were empire, she was never allowed to appear in public without them. The first time she received the sacrament, she begged not to wear them, one pious command of her mother having been not to use jewels at her first communion. The King indulged her; but Lady Augusta carrying this tale to her mother, the Princess obliged the King to insist on the jewels, and the poor young Queen's tears and terrors could not dispense with her obedience.

Previous to the Coronation the vacant Bishopricks were bestowed. The Archbishoprick of York was given to Dr. Drummond;* and Hayter† of Norwich, who had been disgraced with Lord Harcourt, was, by the interest of the same patron, Lord Talbot, promoted to the See of London. Newcastle vehemently opposed it, and solicited for Thomas of Lincoln,‡ but received this thundering sentence from Lord Bute:—"If Thomas is such a favourite with your Grace, why did not you prefer him when you had the power?" The Duke, however, obtained the mitre of Norwich for Dr. Yonge; and being bidden to observe that the King's answer to the address of Oxford on his marriage was kinder than that to Cambridge, he replied, it is

* Dr. Robert Hay Drummond, brother of the Earl of Kinnoul, and Bishop of Salisbury, a man of parts and of the world. He was the second son of George eighth Earl of Kinnoul, formerly Ambassador at Constantinople. He had attended George the Second in the campaign of 1743, and preached the thanksgiving sermon at Hanover, for the battle of Dettingen. On his return he was made a prebendary of Westminster, and in 1748 Bishop of St. Asaph. He was a dignified and accomplished prelate. He died in 1776, in his 66th year. In 1803 one of his younger children, the late Mr. George Drummond, published a volume, intituled "Sermons on Public Occasions, and a Letter on Theological Study, by Robert, late Archbishop of York," &c. The Archbishop's eldest son became tenth Earl of Kinnoul.—E.

† Dr. Hayter was supposed to be the natural son of Dr. Blackburne, Archbishop of York. This supposition is indignantly attacked in an article on the first part of these Memoirs, in the Quarterly Review. In justice to Walpole, it is only fair to state, that this was a report generally believed at the time. In the quarrel in the Princess's household which led to the Bishop's disgrace, Mr. Cresset, the Princess's confidant, was charged with calling him a bastard.—Edinburgh Review, No. 73, p. 5. note. The suspicious report was rather strengthened than otherwise by Archbishop Blackburne's leaving him a large fortune. What is of more importance to Bishop Hayter's memory is, that he bore a high Character for generosity and learning. He only survived his translation a single year, having died in 1762, aged 59. Nichols' Literary Anecdotes, vol. ii. p. 505.—E.

‡ There were at this time two bishops of the same name; Dr. John Thomas, Bishop of Winchester, and Dr. John Thomas, Bishop of Lincoln; the latter had been promoted by Lord Granville.

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true; but two of the new Bishops are Cambridge men—so easily did he comfort himself even with the shadow of power!

Here ended almost as soon as it began, the credit of Lord Talbot. He was sometimes well, sometimes ill with Lord Bute, and though remaining in favour at Court, never seemed to have any influence there. A trifling circumstance, because it occasioned an event, that made much noise afterwards, must be mentioned. As Lord Steward, Lord Talbot composed part of that ridiculous pageant at the coronation, the entry of the Champion. So fond was Lord Talbot of his share in this mummery, that he rehearsed his part on his steed in Westminster-Hall, and carried his new Bishop of London to be witness of his feats. The Duke of York calling Hayter, who was lame, up to the *haut pas*, which he ascended with difficulty, the bishop said, "You see, sir, how hard it is for me to get a step." When the day came, Lord Talbot piqued himself on not turning his back to the King, and produced a strange hubbub of laughter by trying to force his horse to retire backwards out of the hall. With the City, with the Knights of the Bath, and the Barons of the Cinque Ports, Lord Talbot had various squabbles, by retrenching their tables at the coronation. Beckford told him it was hard if the citizens should have no dinner, when they were to give the King one, which would cost them ten thousand pounds. This menace prevailed. Sir William Stanhope, brother of Lord Chesterfield, a man of not less wit, and of more ill-nature than his elder, said, "it was an affront to the Knights of the Bath; for *some* of us," added he, "are *gentlemen*." It was a more bitter speech he made against the Scotch and their Protectress. "He would not go to Court," he said, "for fear of the itch, which would reduce him to go to the Princess's Court for brimstone." To the Barons of the Cinque Ports Lord Talbot said, "If they came to him as Lord Steward, their request could not be granted; if as Lord Talbot, he was a match for any of them." This boisterous and absurd behaviour drew aside much odium from the favourite; but as puppet-shows were not exhibited every day, the zany was forgotten, and the hisses of the mob soon fastened on the principal performer.

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CHAPTER VI.

Interposition of Spain in behalf of France.—The Duke of Bedford and Bussy.—Mr. Pitt's indignation at the demands of Spain.—Resignation of Mr. Pitt and Lord Temple.—Exultation of Lord Bute and other Ministers.—Lord Talbot's advice to the Duke of Newcastle.—Effect on the Nation of Mr. Pitt's Secession from the Cabinet.—His acceptance of a Peerage for his wife, and of a pension.—Insidious Conduct of the Court.—Mr. Pitt's Successors in Office.—George Grenville.—Injudicious Conduct of Mr. Pitt.—Address to him from the Common Council of London, and from Provincial Towns.—Mrs. Anne Pitt's sarcasm against her brother.—Meeting of Parliament.—Choice of a Speaker.—Sir John Cust.—The King's Speech.—The Address.—Lord Temple's Speech.—The King and Royal Family dine in the City with the Lord Mayor.—Mr. Pitt's reception in Guildhall.—Riots.

It was not without reason that the nation took an alarm, when almost all who conducted our affairs were determined to take none. Spain for some time had interposed officiously in behalf of France, which, said the Spaniards, was sufficiently humbled, and must not be ruined. It was known that they had furnished her with money: and, as if they sought an open breach with us, they demanded for all Spain the same privilege as Biscay and two other provinces enjoyed, of fishing on the coasts of Newfoundland. This was peremptorily refused; and had Mr. Pitt's influence been equal to his spirit, Lord Bristol* had been immediately recalled from Madrid. But the other ministers, who desired nothing better than an excuse for their pusillanimity, begged to temporize. They pretended to dread being overpowered, but were more afraid of a new field being opened to success. The Spanish ministers of the French faction had blown up their opinionative and ignorant Prince† with ideas of holding the balance between England and France: but the old Spaniards lamented a system so abhorent from the true interest of their country. The King of Spain was possessed with a notion that his lights were equal to his grandeur. He listened, or thought he listened, to no advice: but if any thing is more fatal to a nation than a foolish indolent Prince, it is a foolish one that is active and obstinate. Our ministers cried out against a war with Spain as unnatural; but when the interest of Spain did not direct Spain, were we to act as if it did? The Duke of Bedford, who, like Don Carlos, could be made to take

* George William Hervey, Earl of Bristol, Ambassador in Spain, son of the famous John Lord Hervey.

† Charles third King of Spain, and before of Naples; commonly called Don Carlos.

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half of what he meant for the whole, was clamorous against a Spanish war; and as he always compensated for the arguments he leaped over, by excess on the other side, he told Bussy he was sorry for his departure, as we were no longer in a situation to make war.*

Bussy, however, still lingered, and invented frivolous excuses to palliate his delay. Lord Hardwicke, considering a treaty in the light of a bill in Chancery, begged some *binding* words might be inserted in the treaty. But Mr. Pitt had fixed his resolution. It was by one bold stroke to assert the honour of his country, or to quit the rudder. He insisted that a fleet of twelve or fourteen men-of-war should be instantly sent to Cadiz; and that Lord Bristol should be ordered to demand a sight of the treaty between Spain and France; and if not accorded, to leave Madrid without delay. When Spain had given such indications of her partiality to France, nothing could be more justifiable than this measure. But Spain had not restrained herself within the bounds of favour. In the midst of the negotiation between us and France, to which Spain pretended to offer herself as guarantee, she had committed a most flagrant and unheard-of instance of taking part, nay, of adding herself as a party to the grievances complained of. Bussy, tolerated here as a negotiator, and without even a character from his own Court, presented to Mr. Pitt a cavalier note in the name of Spain, demanding restitution of some prizes we had made on Spain during the war, satisfaction for the violation of their territory by the navy of England, liberty of fishery on Newfoundland, and destruction of our settlements on the Spanish territory, in the bay of Honduras. A power in amity with us, and affecting to act as mediator, selects our enemy's agent to convey their complaints!—what could surpass this insult?—the patience of our ministers under such indignity—not of Mr. Pitt. He replied with the Majesty of the Crown he served,—the vengeance of that Crown slept in other hands.

His hands tied, the nation affronted, and duped by the partial breaking off of the treaty with France, no proper resentment permitted against Spain, Mr. Pitt found he could do no farther good. His character had been lost by acquiescence; and nothing could rouse the nation, but his quitting the sphere of business, where he was so treacherously controlled. He had desired to enter his protest in the council books against the temporizing advice of his colleagues. He and Lord Temple delivered to the King their reasons and advice for a war with Spain; and October 2d Mr. Pitt took leave of the Council, thanking the ministers of the late King for the support they had given to the war; and on the fifth he resigned the Seals. Lord Temple quitted on the ninth following.

It is difficult to say which exulted most on this occasion, France, Spain, or Lord Bute, for Mr. Pitt was the common enemy of all three. Newcastle, Hardwicke, Bedford, Devonshire, Mansfield and Fox,

* The Duke positively denied having made any such communication to Bussy. See *infra*.—E.

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were not less pleased,* for they had all concurred to thwart his plan. Lord Talbot alone, though of the same faction, seemed to see farther

* The following note is transcribed from the manuscript memoirs of Sir George Colebrooke, Bart., M.P., Chairman of the East India Company; an eminent merchant, who sat many years in Parliament, and possessed the confidence of some of the leading statesmen of his day.

"During the time I attended Newcastle House and the Treasury Chambers on the Contract business, I had frequent opportunities of knowing how despotically Mr. Pitt governed his ministerial colleagues, and how much he was dreaded by the Duke. Some years afterwards I recollect his Grace making this the subject of lively conversation at table, at Claremont; but it was no subject of merriment at the time the transaction passed. More than once I was summoned to the Treasury to give an account of the state of the provisions, and of the money, for the army, Mr. West giving, for reason, that Mr. Pitt threatened the Duke, that if at any time a want of either should be found, he would impeach him in the ensuing session. At the Treasury I frequently met Mr. Wallis, Commissioner of the Navy, who mentioned the following memorable instance. A train of artillery was wanted at Portsmouth for an expedition. Mr. Pitt told Wallis that it must be down by a certain day he named. Wallis made some excuse for the delay, either that the transports were not ready or the winds were contrary; upon which Mr. Pitt insisted that they should go by land, a method of conveyance which was afterwards pursued.

"General Harvey, who had been sent by Prince Ferdinand to prepare matters in England for the campaign, and to carry over the English drafts, waited on Mr. Pitt to take his leave. Mr. Pitt asked him whether he had obtained every thing he wanted, and the General answered not; and he therefore came to take leave, that no blame might fall on him from the Prince. Mr. Pitt desired the General to enumerate what he wanted, and immediately rang his bell for Mr. Wood, who in the names of the different Boards signified to their officers his Majesty's commands for the despatch of what was required for Germany, and in four days General Harvey had in readiness what he had been as many months soliciting.

"West, the Secretary, always looked frightened; and well he might, for Mr. Pitt would have been as good as his word, which was to impeach the Commissioners of the Treasury, if they neglected any thing needful for the war. At times he depended so little on them, that notwithstanding a contract to supply the army, he caused provisions to be sent by victualling transports.

"Proceeding in the way I have mentioned, of writing in the names of the different public officers, there were numberless hiatus in their books of correspondence, and instances of orders carried into execution without their sanction. The name of Lord Barrington was principally used as Secretary at War, who did not know more than a stranger of troops being ordered on service, till the embarkation had actually taken place.

"The Duke of Newcastle, speaking himself of the cavalier manner with which Mr. Pitt treated the Cabinet, mentioned the instance of some foreign expedition which Mr. Pitt had proposed, but which, in the opinion of the ministers, and of Lord Anson, First Lord of the Admiralty, deprived Great Britain of too great a part of its internal defence. Lord Mansfield had not yet given his opinion; but Mr. Pitt, apprehensive that it would be against him, summed up the opinions of Council, a majority of which, he declared to be for the expedition; adding, "The Chief Justice of England has no opinion to give in this matter;" thereby stopping his mouth. The Duke told Lord Coventry that Mr. Murray, when Attorney-General, and in the House of Commons, had acknowledged to him that he was intimidated by Pitt. The more the latter found Murray to be intimidated, the more he naturally pressed him.

"I never saw the Duke in higher spirits than after Mr. Pitt, thwarted by the Cabinet in his proposal of declaring war against Spain, had given notice of resignation. The Duke had done more wisely, if he had followed Lord Hard-

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than any of them. He advised the Duke of Newcastle, "not to die for joy on the Monday, nor for fear on the Tuesday."

The nation was thunderstruck, alarmed, and indignant. The City of London proposed to address the King to know why Mr. Pitt was dismissed? but it being replied, that the King would tell them he had not dismissed Mr. Pitt, but had wished him to continue in employment, the motion dropped. Some proposed a general mourning; others, more reasonable, to thank Mr. Pitt for his services; but this too was damped; for the favourite's agents were not idle, and insinuated that Mr. Pitt had acted with mischievous views; for they who were incapable of great views, were excellent in undermining. The King was advised to heap rewards on his late minister. The Princess pressed it eagerly. A peerage, a vast pension, the Government of Canada (as a mark that it was not to be restored at the peace,) were offered to him. He had the frailty to accept a peerage for his wife, and a pension of three thousand a-year for three lives!

The Court, impatient to notify their triumph, and to blast his popularity at once, could not resist the impulse of publishing in the very next night's Gazette, Mr. Pitt's acceptance of their boons*—the first instance, I believe, of a pension ever specified in that paper.† At the same time, to decry his councils, and to stigmatize them with rashness, they added an article from Spain, setting forth the pacific intentions of that Court. But in this instance their ardour outran their discretion, for the article published was dated September 4th. Other letters had been received from thence of the 8th, which not being divulged, implied, that the letters of the 8th were of a hostile cast, and consequently justified Mr. Pitt's sentiments. Subsequent events were a still clearer vindication of his conduct.

The Seals, which Mr. Pitt had resigned, were given to Lord Egremont; and his brother-in-law, George Grenville, was entrusted with the management of the House of Commons. Grenville had

wicke's advice, and had resigned on the death of his late master. The Duke could not endure to part with his power, much less to devolve it on one who meant to keep it. When he last resigned the Treasury to the Duke of Devonshire, it was with a view to have it back again at a convenient season."—E.

* The following extraordinary notice was published in the Gazette of the 9th October: "The Right Honourable William Pitt having resigned the Seals into the King's hands, His Majesty was this day pleased to appoint the Earl of Egremont to be one of His Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State; and, in consideration of the great and important services of the said Mr. Pitt, His Majesty has been graciously pleased to direct that a warrant be prepared for granting to the Lady Hesther Pitt, his wife, a Barony of Great Britain, by the name, style and title of Baroness of Chatham, to herself, and of Baron of Chatham to her heirs male, and also to confer upon the said William Pitt, Esq., an annuity of three thousand Pounds sterling, during his own life, and that of Lady Hesther Pitt, and their son John Pitt, Esq."—E.

† It certainly is not the practice now (1844,) to insert pensions in the Gazette. Whether it ever was so it would be difficult to ascertain, as there is no index prior to the year 1787. The impression of two very old officers, who have frequent occasions to consult the Gazette, is, that no such general practice ever prevailed.—E.

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been destined for Speaker; an office to which his drudgery was suited; and which being properly the most neutral place in government, would have excused him from entering into the contest between Mr. Pitt and the favourite. But Grenville's temper, though plodding and laborious, had not the usual concomitant, prudence. He lent himself to the views of Lord Bute, to promote his own. Lord Temple, who had as little decency, as his brother George had judgment, was exasperated beyond measure; broke out in bitter invectives against him, and threatened to leave from him the paternal estate and give it to James, the third brother, who had resigned with him and Mr. Pitt.

The public, though staggered by the pension, did not abandon their idol. At first the Common Council, which had been summoned to thank him for his services, dropped the intention, and separated, after voting an address to Parliament for widening the streets. But on one hand, Lord Temple's zeal kept alive the flame; and on the other, the rancour with which Lord Bute's and Fox's partisans pursued Mr. Pitt, only served to alarm the nation, and to endear the man to them who they saw suffered for his patriotism. Yet his own conduct was not judicious. Incensed at the abuse thrown on him, he wrote a letter into the City to explain his resignation, pleading that he had no longer been allowed to *guide*. A term so engrossing gave offence, and handle to ridicule. Fox's agents did not overlook it, but published some cutting pamphlets on Pitt's arrogance. Yet his condescending to appeal to the City against the Court bore down all opposition. The Common Council agreed to thank him, and to instruct their members; and though Patterson, an agent of Fox, opposed the motion, it was carried by 109 to 15. The contagion soon spread, even to part of Scotland. Stirling, Exeter, York, Chester, and other cities and towns complimented Mr. Pitt on his conduct.

His own sister, Mrs. Anne Pitt, who was of the opposite faction, furnished his enemies with a severe sarcasm. She had been Maid of Honour to Queen Caroline, and was warmly attached to her brother, with whom she lived. On his promotion to the Pay-office, he had shaken her off in an unbecoming manner. She had excellent parts and strong passions. Lord Bolingbroke had recommended her to the late Prince, on whose death she had been made Privy-purse to the Princess; but being of an intriguing and most ambitious nature, she soon destroyed her own prospect by an impetuosity to govern her mistress, and by embarking in other cabals at that Court. Her disgrace followed, but without dismission; on which she had retired to France. On her return, though she could never recover the favour of the Princess, she so successfully cultivated the patronage of Lord and Lady Bute, that she kept her ground at Leicester Fields, and obtained a large pension. This she had notified by letter to her brother. He had coldly replied, that he congratulated her on the addition to her fortune, but was grieved to see the name of Pitt

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in a list of pensions.* On his accepting one, she copied his own letter, turning it against herself; and though restrained by her friends from sending it to him, she repeated what she had done, till it became the common talk of the town.

On the 3d of November the Parliament met. George Grenville made a very handsome panegyric on the late Speaker; and then the House proceeded to the election of his successor. The choice had been very difficult; not from the number of competitors, but from a total deficiency of proper subjects. Grenville, who would have filled the chair with spirit and knowledge, had been taken off to a province, for which he was far less qualified. Lord Bute had solicited Prowse† to accept the office, who was the most knowing and the most moderate of the Tories, but he had declined from bad health. The Duke of Newcastle had proposed Bacon,‡ who had more Whiggism than abilities; but the favourite determined on Sir John Cust,§ who was a Tory, and had nothing but industry; he was

* It was by such expressions as this that Mr. Pitt created the disappointment in the public mind, that followed the announcment of his pension. To use the words of Lord Brougham: "He did not sustain the exalted pitch of magnanimous independence, and utter disregard of sublunary interests, which we should expect him to have reached and kept as a matter of course, from a mere cursory glance at the mould in which his lofty character was cast." Statesmen of the Time of George III., 1st series, p. 45. A pension of £4000 a-year to Lord Holderness passed without a murmur, while one of £3000 a-year to Mr. Pitt raised a general burst of indignation, only because the country regarded the latter as lowering their idol to the level of the jobbing statesmen of the day. The cry against Mr. Pitt was, indeed, almost universal. See letter to Mr. Conway, vol. iv. of Walpole's Collected Correspondence, p. 184; and particularly the note containing the opposite opinions of Mr. Gray and Mr. Burke. Mr. Pitt's noble refusal of the vast emoluments of the Pay-office, which so enriched those who preceded and succeeded him as Paymaster, entitles his conduct in all pecuniary matters, to a liberal construction from posterity. What is really to be regretted, is the humiliating tone of his correspondence with Lord Bute, in accepting the pension. Chatham Correspondence, vol. ii. p. 152, and his language at the interviews with the King on that occasion.—Annual Register, for 1761. But we will not dwell on the defects of a man who certainly was far above his age, not only in talent, but in real independence.—E.

† Thomas Prowse, member for Somersetshire, which he had represented in five successive Parliaments, having been every time unanimously elected. He was an opulent, well-informed, and influential country gentleman. He died, after a long illness, in 1767, aged 59, and was buried in Axbridge Church; where the long panegyric on his tomb states—"That though frequently solicited, he never could be prevailed upon to accept any employment in the state." Collinson's History of Somerset, vol. iii. p. 563.—E.

‡ Edward Bacon, of Earlham Hall, Norfolk, barrister-at-law, and M.P. for Norwich.. He was son of Walter Bacon of Earlham Hall, and M.P. for Norwich. Mr. Edward Bacon had been member for Lynn in 1742. He represented Norwich from 1752 to 1784, when he retired from Parliament. He died in March 1786, and was buried in the chancel of Earlham Church. His portrait is still preserved at Earlham Hall.—E.

§ A more favourable character of Sir John Cust is given in the preface of Moore's General Index to the Journals of the House of Commons, vol. iv.: a very useful work, to the compilation of which he contributed. He added to great industry, a considerable knowledge of Parliamentary history and constitutional law;

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indeed a very poor creature. Lord Barrington named him, his friend Lord Egmont praised him, and he was chosen.

Two nights before, at a meeting of the principal men in the House of Commons, to hear the King's Speech, and the respondent Address read, Charles Townshend, who was offended at the lead being assigned to Grenville, found fault that there was no mention of the militia. Grenville said, it was not usual to insert any thing in the Address which was not touched upon in the Speech; and added, that he found there were very different opinions in members of Parliament on the usefulness of the militia. Lord Barrington and Charles Yorke supported Grenville: Stanley agreed with Townshend, who again debated the point with much warmth. The next night, at a larger meeting at the Cock-pit, Townshend recanted to Grenville all he had said, professed he believed he had been infatuated, begged it might be forgotten, and that Grenville would not take it to himself. Grenville replied, he had not: that for himself he forgot it: as the King's servant, he could not forget it.

On the 6th, the King made his speech. Lord Northumberland* and Lord Berkeley† of Stratton, moved and seconded the Address. Lord Temple rose, and opened on his own and Mr. Pitt's resignations, the motives to which he explained; found fault that no mention was made of the militia, and that the Parliament had not been thanked for establishing it. He talked on court favour, and on those who disposed of all things; endeavouring to provoke Lord Bute to rise. He said, the crisis for a war with Spain had been most advantageously held out to this country, and complained of those who had betrayed the secrets of our situation to Bussy. It was a time, he said, when a first minister was necessary; but now, *who* remained fit for that office? *Who* thought himself capable of *guiding*? He uttered this in his usual languid manner, though the matter was not ill conceived; nor, though indiscreet, was he so intemperate as had been expected. The Duke of Bedford replied with much applause, and said, he did not know why the militia deserved more thanks than the grant of regular troops. He declared,‡ upon his honour, that he had told no such thing, as had been hinted at, to Bussy; and concluded with hoping never to see a first minister. Lord Shelburne, attached to Fox, and profuse of application to Lord Bute, spoke against the German war. The Duke of Marlborough§ and Earl Gower moved the congratulation to the Queen.

and his amiable disposition and obliging temper, were no insignificant recommendations to the Speakership. He was a Lincolnshire country gentleman, of ancient family, and had inherited a great estate from his mother, the heiress of the Tyrconnels.—E.

* Sir Hugh Smithson Percy, Earl of Northumberland.

† John Berkeley, fifth and last Lord Berkeley of Stratton. He died without issue in 1773, having left his principal estates to Lord Berkeley.—E.

‡ It is certain that Monsieur de Bussy told different persons what the Duke of Bedford had said to him, particularly to Lady Hervey, from whom I heard it.

§ George Spencer, Duke of Marlborough, K.G. He was son-in-law of the Duke of Bedford. He died in January 1817, aged 78.—E.

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The decency of Lord Temple's prelude to new opposition soon changed its hue in a manner more suited to his factious turbulence. On the 9th, the King and all the Royal family dined in the City with the Lord Mayor. Thither, too, went Mr. Pitt and Lord Temple in a chariot together,—a step justly censured, and very nearly productive of fatal consequences. To *them*, all acclamations were addressed; and the distinctions paid in the Guildhall to Mr. Pitt, to the total neglect of the King, bestowed all the honour of the triumph on the former. Little was wanting to turn the pageant into a tragedy. Riots ensued, and many persons were insulted. The favourite had taken the precaution of having a guard of butchers and bruisers; and by the defence of that convoy alone, escaped mischief. Sir Samuel Fludyer, the Lord Mayor, caused diligent inquiry to be made into the proceedings of the day, and learned that Beckford himself had visited several public houses over night, and had appointed ringleaders to different stations, and had been the first to raise the huzza in the hall on the entrance of Mr. Pitt. *His* joining himself to a pomp dedicated to a Court that he had just quitted, was not decent. The ambition of drawing to himself the homage of the people was not modest. To offer himself as an incentive to civil tumult, and to how dangerous consequences he could not tell, was not a symptom of very innocent intentions.

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CHAPTER VII.

Mr. Wilkes's censures on the King's Speech, seconded by Dempster.—The Debate on continuing the War.—Speeches of Beckford, Cust, Harvey, Forester, Pitt and George Grenville.—The Queen's Dowry voted.—Ministerial Manœuvres on the secession of Mr. Pitt.—Meeting at the St. Alban's Tavern.—Discussion on the Militia Act.—Speech, in the House of Commons, of Charles Townshend, Secretary at War.—Policy of the Court.—Fox's Faction.—Debate on the War in Germany.—George Grenville's desertion of Pitt.—Pitt's Reply.—Walpole's Reflections on that Statesman.

On the 13th of November the Address to the King was moved in the House of Commons by the Lords Middleton and Parker.* Mr. Wilkes,† a man of whom much will be said hereafter, passed some censures on the King's speech, which, in the language of Parliament, he said, he was authorized to call the speech of the minister; though of what minister he could not tell. The extraordinary Gazette, he said, which had vaunted the pacific disposition of Spain, had been contradicted by facts: it had appeared that we were rather in a state of war with that Crown. Yet no notice had been taken of those transactions in the speech, though all mankind was apprized of their notorious insults. He himself had seen a Spanish memorial, that had been delivered by a French agent. Unless some communication was made to Parliament, how could Parliament lay the state of the nation before his Majesty? As little mention, he observed, was made of the militia, though the ground on which the war had stood. Dempster,‡ a young Scotch member, seconded Wilkes, though less peremptory in opposition; for though he pleaded for the extension of the militia to Scotland, and said the militia had felt the heavy hand

* Thomas Lord Parker, eldest son of the Earl of Macclesfield, whom he succeeded in that title in March, 1764. Like his father he cultivated the mathematics successfully, and was much respected. He had been defeated in the great contest for the county of Oxford in 1757, but was seated on petition. He died in 1795, aged 72.—E.

† The famous John Wilkes, member for Aylesbury, and author of "The North Briton."

‡ George Dempster, an East India Director, and for nearly thirty years member for the Perth district of Boroughs. He was the friend of Dr. Johnson, and the patron of Robert Burns; and is described by Mr. Croker as a man of talents and very agreeable manners. He took an active part in all the debates of the House on East India questions; and was one of the few who, after defending Warren Hastings, gave a zealous support to Fox's India Bill. He died about the year 1790, at a very advanced age. Croker's Boswell, vol. i. p. 418. Annual Necrology, vol. iii. p. 141.—E.

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of administration, yet he censured the German war, as having neither object nor end; condemned faction, and said, he was pleased to see that his Majesty had emancipated himself from the chains that had been prepared for him.

Beckford, with his usual rhodomontade, said, our situation had never been so comfortable, nor the national union ever so complete. It was not the mob, nor two hundred great lords (who received more from Government than they paid to it) that made us so firm: the middling rank of men it was in which our strength consisted, and who called upon us to demand peace, sword in hand. Nor had our abilities ever been so great. He was astonished our ministers—who they were he knew not, nor did he look on Grenville and those in the House of Commons but as subalterns—were afraid of any power upon earth: he was amazed they could suffer such memorials from Spain so derogatory to our honour. The answer should have been made by the mouth of cannon. The revenues of Spain were pitiful, were foreign: must be brought home,—and that we might have prevented. You are near shore, continued he; will you go back? and without a pilot? A king should not govern by a faction: the late King had been governed by one, who resigned in the midst of rebellion, and flung an empty purse in his face; but we had now no Earl of Warwick, no king-makers. Hope must come from the rising generation: we had tried the old in vain. The war in Germany *had* an object, and had almost obtained it. The French ought to be kept there. He did not desire to see France and England engaged single-handed. France said, let us both get out of Germany, for she felt the mischief of warring there. The manner indeed in which we had conducted our affairs there, had been too expensive; of which he produced instances: but speak out, cried he; will you quit all your allies? Two points must be obtained, the security of America and of our fisheries. We had already conceded too much: he was sorry for it—was sorry Mr. Pitt had softened at all. He would be ready to second Mr. Wilkes in moving for the Spanish papers, and to know if they avowed Bussy.

Beckford was answered by Cust* (the Speaker's brother,) and by Harvey;† the last, a lawyer; both of Tory families, and the latter very sensible. The former spoke on the burden of the war, and said, that to raise six millions, we ran in debt two: this year would cost us between nine and ten. He would appeal to our very successes for the impropriety of continuing the war. The King had told us he would never depart from our true interest: if we never *had* departed from it, we should not be debating now. Harvey condemned the war in Germany, and justified the intentions of Spain. Fuentes had declared, that if his Court had had any hostile designs, it would itself have made the demands; but the other end of the town, said he,

* Peregrine Cust. He is mentioned in Churchill's Satires.

† Eliab Harvey, brother of William Harvey of Chigwell, in Essex, died in 1769.

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will always promote a Spanish war: had done so in the last reign; had driven it on by the feigned cruelties exercised on Captain Jenkins,* who, however, died with his ears on his head. Forester, another and still shrewder lawyer, endeavoured to ward off the rising spirit by showing there was no such question before the House as what was then in debate, Wilkes not having made any motion: (this was a usual art in old members, and often served the purpose;) nor was the militia more the subject of the debate, nor as yet to come on. Thus was the House free from any influence but of ingratitude to the militia, as they had been encamped without law, and only because we had a greater war abroad than we could bear. He hoped that night's mail would not carry to the continent news of disunion in the new Parliament.

Mr. Pitt, on whom all eyes were fixed, rose; and said, he wished the turn of the debate had permitted him to sit still; but he found himself called upon. He professed great zeal for his Majesty and for the administration, when it should be settled; and was desirous to leave his own justification to his past conduct. For the militia, he should have been glad it had been mentioned in the speech. He had advised that measure last year against the greater part of the Cabinet Council. For a war with Spain, the motives for it were not founded on the French papers: those, he concluded, would be published here: the silence of the ministers made him conclude so, or it would be unfair dealing with the Parliament. When those papers should appear, he would, as a member of Parliament, speak his opinion: did not desire on that question that any man should think with him, but form his judgment on the fact itself. As the contrary sentiment had been adopted by his Majesty, he hoped not to have the bulk of the nation on his side. God alone knew what the opinion would be, when the whole should come out. The probability was, that himself had been erroneous. His own situation was awful; he stood there to be *examined*—hoped the ministers would produce the advice, signed by Lord Temple and him, and delivered to his Majesty. He would conceal nothing as far as was consistent with his oath of Privy Counsellor. Nor would he inflame—how could he—he, who stood so unsupported? He had been taxed with assuming to *guide*. He declared he had never abetted the publication of his letter to Hodges—never had consented to its publication; but now published, he did avow it. Early he had contracted an indifference to party-papers, and had rather read two passages in Virgil or Horace. He had resigned the Seals, in order not to be responsible for measures he was no longer suffered to *guide*, and from seeing the question of Spain in the light he saw it. He had acted from conviction, as he supposed the great lords, who had opposed him, had done likewise. He blessed himself that no question had been moved

* During the administration of Sir Robert Walpole the Opposition propagated a report, which was universally believed, that the Spaniards, though at peace with us, had taken one of our ships, and cut off the captain's ears.

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that day to bar unanimity. All vigour was recommended from the Throne: he would not have the post depart with many arraignments of the German war, and without any minister saying a word in its behalf. In their situation he would have lain by: did they advise a speech of vigour, and yet hold their peace, when vigorous measures were condemned? Himself was never stopped by popularity, or by the turn of the tide. He would speak though a private man: hoped never to be a public man again. He never would come into place again; he never could; for he never could but by his own accord. He had been nursed in the lap of fortune, but now had not weight enough to make but one Lord, with whom he would live and die, of his opinion. Hoped his Majesty's rest would not be disturbed, as his had been: he had been robbed of his sleep for many days, and now should be robbed of his honour, if our troops were recalled from Germany. Nothing but that spectre of an invasion, which the Ministry had not had constancy enough to look at, had frightened us out of Mahon. So would it be again, if the troops of France found themselves at liberty to quit Germany. He had known five thousand French occasion our recalling seventy or fourscore thousand men to look them in the face. He paid a handsome compliment to Admiral Hawke and the Navy; but said, ask the French whether they could not engage you hand to hand, if delivered from the war in Germany. The way to peace was not by lessening our efforts. England was equal to both wars, the American and the German; and if continued, nothing but conquest would follow—all owing to the German war. If we abandoned our allies, God would abandon us. When we had spent a hundred millions, should we throw away the fruit, rather than spend twelve more? Let a man so narrow-minded stand behind a counter, and not govern a kingdom. [This was pointed at Cust, who was a director of the African Company.] *America had been conquered* in *Germany*.* Prince Ferdinand had been the saviour of Europe, and had shattered the whole military power of that military monarchy, France. It was not from what young members had said against the German war, but from what had *not* been said for it, that he augured ill for this country. He hoped so insignificant a name as his would be sent to every hostile Court, though every other man in the House should be against the German war; he would stand single, and undergo the shame. Government, he hoped, would in due time lay open the proceedings of Spain, lest gentlemen might be misled from not knowing the precise time of the arrival of Fuentes.† Harvey was sure Spain could not have acted as alleged, yet owned he knew nothing of the matter. But were people to go away, thinking he himself had courted a war with Spain? He might have declared his private opinion in council; but let Parliament see the whole of the negotiation: let them know his patience and long-suf-

* This was the famous sentence so often quoted, and so often ridiculed, in the pamplets of that time.

† The Spanish Ambassador. See *infra*.

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fering, till he was afraid he should be answerable for it. He gave a flat contradiction to the notion of his having courted a war with Spain, and protested he had done all he could to avoid it. He had stated his opinion in writing, lest false whispers from those who ought to be above such underhand machinations, should prejudice him in the eyes of his countrymen. In delicacy, not in obligation, he would sit down rather than divulge what had passed. Yet altercation, opposition would have ensued, had there not been a determination to preserve unanimity. He would even persuade gentlemen not to be too fastidious in their criticisms on the Treasury and the budget. For his relaxing on the article of the fisheries, with which his friend Beckford had taxed him, he said, it was best to own the truth; he had been overborne by numbers. He and Lord Temple would have made exclusive fisheries the *sine quâ non* of the peace. Were the negotiation to recommence, provided circumstances concurred, he would stand for exclusive fisheries; nor sheath the sword till they were given up, even at the expense of another campaign. He was going to sit down, but added a few words on the note of Fuentes, which, said he, that minister knows was never remitted to me. He did read me an extract; it was to the effect alleged. I did not much attend to it; said I had written to Lord Bristol, and would let it rest there. He did read something like it, but did not deliver it.

This guarded, artful, and inflammatory speech, remained unanswered. George Grenville, indeed, said a few words on the form of proceeding; as, that it would be precluding those great questions, to insert them either in the Speech or Address: and to justify Spain, he read a letter in which they ordered one of our cutters to be restored. As a rising minister, he spoke more largely on himself, disclaimed any ambition, and professed he would do his duty without fear. The Address passed without a negative. The next day Lord Thomond* and Lord Villiers moved the Address to the Queen, and, on the 19th her dowry was voted.

The secession of Pitt, and his popularity, that still kept its ground, warned the administration to a closer union. At least, the old ministers, who had separated from him, thought it prudent to draw nigher to the favourite. The Duke of Devonshire, governed by Fox, who hated Pitt, and aspired to be lieutenant to Lord Bute, meditated a coalition of the latter with Newcastle. The house of Bedford were already devoted to the favourite, and concurred in that connexion. In consequence of this conjunction, the Privy Seal was delivered to the Duke of Bedford; great promises were made to Rigby. Lord Thomond, brother-in-law of Grenville, was ap-

* Percy Windham Obrien, Earl of Thomond, second son of sir William Windham, and brother of the Earl of Egremont. Their sister was married to Mr. George Grenville.

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pointed Cofferer; Lord Powis* Treasurer of the Household, and Lord George Cavendish† Controller.

On the 25th, at night, some forty persons, or fewer, met at the St. Alban's tavern, in Pall Mall. The Act that had granted the militia, was within a year of expiring. It was become irksome to many of the country gentlemen, was much disliked by the chief ministers, and by great part of the House of Commons. The friends of the measure had wished to get it renewed for five years more. Some desired it perpetual. Pitt, while minister, had staved off even the shorter term. He now went to this meeting, spoke four times warmly for the perpetuity, and said, this was the moment to push it. Charles Townshend, who attended the meeting too, spoke earnestly, but only for the term of five years. The company signed a paper, engaging to stand by one another in the measure; and they who held commissions in the militia promised to throw them up, if the perpetuity should not be carried, agreeing only to await the arrival of General Townshend, the patron of the plan, who was expected from the army. The Court was as much set against the militia. The Duke of Devonshire told George Grenville he believed he could not induce his own brothers to vote for it. The very same day intelligence had been received of an intended invasion from France. Grenville told the Duke he could not come into any measure that would disband seven and twenty thousand men, when we should have so much occasion for them: it would be better to grant the perpetuity, and repeal it afterwards.

The same morning, Charles Townshend,‡ now Secretary at War, moved for the land forces, which were granted without opposition. His new office gave him an opportunity of venting his vanity. He assumed much, and called himself trustee for the honest claims of the officers. On December 9th, he opened to the House the state of the foreign troops in our pay, the expense of which came to near a million. Townshend pleaded the inconsiderable loss we had sustained in the last campaign, not above two thousand men, which would easily be recruited; and that next year, as in the last four, we should cover our allies against any force France could bring against us. Should we for next year continue the same army, or break off abruptly? The Parliament had been called upon day after day to disapprove or ratify the measure; and had ratified it. The totality of the war had been one of the great causes of its success. Had we neglected any other part for Germany, it had been fatal; but a mixed system, and attention to the whole, had given us vic-

* Henry Arthur Herbert Earl of Powis, having become male heir of this illustrious family by the death of the last peer, Henry Lord Herbert, of Cherbury, in 1738, he was created Lord Herbert in 1743 and Earl of Powis in 1748. His lordship married Barbara, sole daughter and heiress of Lord Edward Herbert, brother of the last Marquis of Powis, and died in 1772, leaving a son, on whose death, in 1801, the Earldom became extinct.—E.

† Next brother of the Duke of Devonshire.

‡ Second son of Charles Lord Viscount Townshend.

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tory in every quarter. France had resisted every where, had been disgraced every where. Their navy, the last sanguine promise of still another minister, was annihilated. We ought not to desist but from inability to pursue up the blow. It ought to be manifest that we were disabled. But where was a symptom of decay? In our trade, credit, agriculture, where was failure? Yet he thought our situation nor comfortable, nor desperate. Five millions he allowed would be expended this year on the war in Germany. He concluded with high encomiums on what he called *Mr. Pitt's divine plan;* but added, that a larger portion of fame remained for those who should take up the plan and terminate it by a good peace.

The Court, who wished to veil their eagerness for peace, and who instead of attaining that peace, were on the brink of a war with Spain, took great pains to prevent their creatures from openly attacking the German war. Lord Egmont was persuaded to be absent from the House; but Fox's faction was more intent on discrediting Pitt than even on paying their court—and perhaps knew how easily they should be forgiven. Rigby said he had voted for all very large sums; was sorry he began to have a doubt; wished an end was put, had been put to the whole war. The Germans were entitled to the protection of the House, but ours was no protection. They were in a worse condition than if conquered. The treaty with Prussia would expire on the 12th of the month; he hoped we would make no more such with that *little power*. Not to quit the alliance ought only to be a condition on the party subsidized. In no one treaty did there exist an article that obliged us to continue our national troops in Germany. Nor could we supply our army with men; since 1758, we had sent over twenty-nine thousand men. We had but thirteen thousand remaining. Could this country furnish four thousand men a-year to Germany? Marshal Ligonier had ordered the old corps to be recruited at any rate. We had three thousand sick in hospitals, and were reduced to send boys of ten years old—a good way to make the war last! He spoke, he said, neither from fickleness nor discontent; was very well contented; had tried to swallow the measure, but found it would not do. If these troops had been brought home, we might have disbanded the militia. Wished he could see the negotiation for peace renewed; wished even a bad peace was offered. He concluded the French account of the rupture was authentic, or would have been contradicted. He spoke, he said, to the country gentlemen; *they* were not included in the picture of our *comfortable* situation. If so much was given to glory, their cups of comfort would not be drunk so often as they used to be. Sir Robert Walpole, whom he thought the greatest minister that this country had known, had always declared the nation could not stand under a debt exceeding a hundred millions.

Stanley defended the measure of pursuing the German war, and said it was evident from every page of the printed negotiation, that France wished to get out of Germany; that she was not equal to

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both wars, and had therefore neglected every thing to make her push there, hoping it would exasperate the people of England against Hanover. That none of our allies were in a situation to make conquests, and therefore we must part with some of ours, to obtain tolerable conditions for them.

George Grenville supported the question solely on the foot of treaties, which he recapitulated, but took care to assert that he had neither advised nor approved them; he had not been able, he said, to stop a torrent; let those who had given the advice, drink the dregs! he did not desire to steal the fame due to another. It had not been the German war, but the want of seamen, that had disabled France from prosecuting the war in America and from invading England. Let us know what has been the obstacle that had broken off the treaty. An immense load of debt had been laid upon us: he would not call on any light of Government, who had brought us into these distresses, to help us out of them. If they had overlooked these things, he must be sorry. But our honour was pledged, and he would not be for an ignominious peace; nor, on the other hand, would he intoxicate the people with unattainable objects. He would not hang out our distresses; to know them was the first point; to conceal them, the second.

Thus were hostilities openly commenced by Grenville. He had during the last reign avowedly or silently supported every one of Pitt's expensive German measures. Indeed he had held by Pitt's favour one of the most lucrative places under the Government, the Treasurer of the Navy. The scene was changed, and Grenville with it.

Pitt replied in a long speech, but with much temper, which he professed he would keep, though so marked out; but in contempt of Grenville, he affected chiefly to answer Rigby, falling into the familiar, and not in a masterly style; desiring to expostulate, not to altercate on who was in or out of place; but considering himself as in a council of state, engaged to find out the point of truth, and how to wind up the war. He complimented our troops, whom he called the *glory of human nature*, and Charles Townshend on his moderation and clear method of stating the question. If Rigby, he said, had had communication of papers, he must have seen the distresses of France, but would advise him to reconsider his positions, before he published his political code, before he should come to *guide*—but begged pardon for his levity; he chose to be in good humour, for fear of being in bad. He would not enter into the wretched consideration of what himself had done. Grenville had treated his counsels as pernicious—nobody indeed had asserted it—somebody did shrewdly convey it—for his part he liked better a man that affirmed. Grenville, however, would not entirely take away the lustre of this measure, already more than half exploded by the King's servants. Himself, an individual, had been called, compelled to the service; he had found this measure bound on upon the nation, both by the concluding and breaking the treaty of Closter Severn. It was an

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electoral measure, not advised, but submitted to in silence by the piety of the Duke of Cumberland. The subsidy to Prussia had been dictated by Hanover, not by Great Britain. Little Princes are subsidized, when not worthy of reciprocation; but necessity had driven that great Prince to accept our money; yet his Prussian Majesty did not think that he thereby lost his equality of not being deserted. Both the Empresses had received subsidies from us. He himself, he said, had resisted the measures of the closet, nor would subscribe to them till qualified. His late gracious master had suffered his representations; and he had boldly urged them, fearing our own defence and America would be neglected; nor would he agree to the German war, till every other service had been provided for. Was it candid, was it just to throw the whole burden on him, who had been but an acceder to a plan settled? an acceder to a ministry that had wanted vigour. He had *borrowed their majority* to carry on their own plan. He had seen where they had been right, where wrong. He had brought the American war, and taken up the German; had seen that we must be strong enough to baffle France, or should do nothing. France had been *dedecorum pretiosus emptor*. It was true our expense had been great, and he offered himself *confitentem reum*, if he had not thereby annihilated their power both in East and West Indies. Perhaps, he had done it the wrong way; and Mr. Grenville could have done it some other way. The business, however, was done, by whatever way done; and he would now divide the House alone against abandoning our allies. Relaxation could only invite inflexibility in our enemies; nor ought we to give the money, and at the same time blast the measure. As Germany had formerly been managed, it had been a mill-stone about our necks; as managed now, about that of France. Let a man get possession of the Government, and act as late ministers had acted, and he would endeavour to make his heart ache. Now we were leagued with the King of Prussia, who was born to administer military wonders to the world; his motto should be, *adversis rerum immersabilis undis*. To him was added Prince Ferdinand, for whom he could not find adequate words. That great Prince had stood like a rampart to cover Germany—and at last, *comperit invidiam supremo fine domari*.

Legge spoke a few words in praise of the measure, and against abandoning our allies; and the debate ended without a division.

The recapitulation of many speeches may perhaps weary the reader, but, in equity, he must remember that at this period at least it was essential to detail them. When Mr. Pitt was driven from the management of the war, he existed as a public man; but in his speeches and past services, his own defence of his measures was necessary from his own mouth. Libels on libels were published against him, and he wrote none. I am sensible that I do not do justice to his arguments, and less to his eloquence; but what I give was faithfully taken from his own mouth in the House of Commons; and unless better transcripts appear, this rude sketch may be welcome to posterity. No flattery is intended to him. When I thought him

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blameable, I have marked it, as will appear hereafter, with the same impartiality. The debates, too, of a free nation, arrived at the summit of its glory, may be worthy the attention of future times. Our descendants will see what their ancestors were in arms and eloquence, and what liberty they enjoyed of discussing their own interests. Grant, Heaven, they may not read it with a sigh; reading it in bondage and ignominy!

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CHAPTER VIII.

Mr. Pitt's Enemies.—Debates in Parliament on the German War, and on our Affairs with Spain.—Speeches of the leading Members.—Mr. Pitt's Defence of Himself.—Colonel Barré's insulting Conduct to Mr. Pitt.—Libellous Pamphlets against that Statesman, by the Rev. Philip Francis.—Justification of Mr. Pitt's Measures.—Family-compact between France and Spain.—Portugal invaded by Charles the Third of Spain.—The Queen's desire that her Brother should come to England.—Pratt compelled to be Chief-Justice of the Common Pleas.—Lord Hardwicke and his Son.

Mr. Pitt's enemies did not content themselves with traducing him in pamphlets and satires. A deeper blow was meditated, which, though not carried to the extent which the projectors hoped, could not but wound his mind, and did to a degree lower him in the opinion of some men, though the brutality with which it was conceived and executed, raised almost general indignation. I will just touch the surprise it wrought on me, which may convey some idea of what effect it must have had on others.

The report on the foreign troops was made the day after they had been removed. Mr. Bunbury,* who married Lady Sarah Lenox, had spoken, for the first time in Parliament, against the German war. Lord George Sackville, with more caution, but no less hostile intention to Pitt, had declared for the measure, as no alternative was proposed, though he hoped ministers would concert with our allies how to draw us out of this scrape. He did not believe that France was in a worse situation than she had been at Gertruydenburg,† when she rejected insolent terms. She could, besides, subsist her troops on easier terms than we could. She brought to account the contributions raised by her armies; he did not know that we did. Lord George was finishing his speech as I came into the House. My ear was struck with sounds I had little been accustomed to of late, virulent abuse on the last reign, and from a voice unknown to me. I turned, and saw a face equally new; a black, robust man, of a military figure, rather hard-favoured than not young, with a peculiar distortion on one side of his face, which it seems was owing to a bullet lodged

* [Thomas Charles Bunbury, called, after his father's death, Sir Charles Bunbury.] He represented the county of Suffolk for forty-five years and, died in March 1821, in his 81st year. He forsook politics for horse-racing, which he found a more congenial pursuit, and was long considered as the father of the turf. See more of him in Selwyn's Correspondence, vol. ii. p. 180.—E.

† At the conferences held there previously to the Treaty of Utrecht.

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loosely in his cheek, and which gave a savage glare to one eye. What I less expected from his appearance, was very classic and eloquent diction, and as determined boldness as if accustomed to harangue in that place. He told the House that in the late King's reign we had been governed solely by Hanoverian measures and councils; and though called to order (in truth unparliamentarily,) he proceeded with the same vociferous spirit to censure all ministers but Lord Bute; and for Mr. Pitt, who was not present, he received the appellation of a profligate minister, who had thrust himself into power on the shoulders of the mob. The present King, said this new Court-tribune, was so English, that he did not believe he had looked into the map for Hanover;* and he commiserated the present ministers, who were labouring through the dregs of German councils.

The reader must imagine the astonishment occasioned by this martial censor. He was a Colonel Barré, of French extraction, born at Dublin, and had served for some years in the war in America with reputation, prosecuting his studies with assiduity in the intervals of duty. With General Wolfe he had been intimately connected, both as an officer and penman; but had thought himself ill-used by Mr. Pitt, though the friends of the latter, and Lord Barrington, lately Secretary at War, bore witness that Mr. Pitt had made it a point to serve him. In his younger years he had acted plays with so much applause, that, it was said, Garrick had offered him a thousand pounds a-year to come upon the stage.†

This man, therefore, had been selected by Lord Fitzmaurice (become Earl of Shelburne by the death of his father) as a bravo to run down Mr. Pitt. Lord Shelburne held a little knot of young orators at his house; but Barré soon overtopped them; and Fox had pushed on the project of employing him to insult Pitt—to what extent was surmised by all the world. The consequences will appear in the next debate.

Glover,‡ the author of "Leonidas," uttered a speech in most

* In twenty-eight years, viz. to 1788, the King has not once been at Hanover, nor seems to design it.

† Additional particulars respecting Colonel Barré are given in Chatham Correspondence, vol. ii. pp. 41, 168–171. See especially the notes, containing extracts from the Mitchell MSS.—E.

‡ Richard Glover, a merchant, who by superior intelligence, great fluency of speech in public, and some reputation as a poet, had gained considerable influence in the City, and was thought of sufficient importance to be admitted into the councils of Leicester House. This distinction, and the success of his poems, which had all a political tendency, made him fancy himself on an equality with Pitt, Lyttelton, and the other men of talent who surrounded the Prince of Wales. The illusion was painfully dispelled. The sudden death of the Prince broke up the party; Mr. Glover's services were no longer required; and happening to be at the time under commercial embarrassments, he sunk into obscurity. In a few years, however, by diligent application, and a successful speculation in the copper trade, he retrieved his fortunes, but he never forgave the neglect of his former associates; and the memoirs he left behind him show the angry feelings he entertained, particularly against Mr. Pitt. To this circumstance he probably owed his seat for Weymouth, the borough being one of those which Mr. Dodington placed

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heroic fustian, but not without good argument, to show that all our great advantages had been obtained before we went deeply into the German war. Charles Yorke, Attorney-General, defended the measures of the late King against Barré and his own friend Mauduit's pamphlet, urging that his Majesty had reduced himself to poverty to support the war in Germany. Elliot made an admirable oration to reconcile himself to consistence: owned he had opposed the treaties in 1755; and was then told they were calculated to prevent a war in Germany. He had since been dazzled with the national enthusiasm on the King of Prussia's victories, and confessed that on the like appearances he should again be led to approve the German war. It was true that war had its object, collateral division; but would the House wish to Germanize this young King, and make him turn his thoughts thither more than he did? He concluded with a pathetic ejaculatory wish that the peace had succeeded.

Oswald* took the same turn of endeavouring to palliate his inconsistencies; but though his parts were still shrewder and quicker than Elliot's, he did it much worse. Dr. Hay† attempted, too, an apology for himself, but with the worst success of the three; and the necessity which the principal men in Parliament found themselves under of justifying their abandoned corruption and versatility, stamped disgrace on this Parliament itself, which it did but increase by fresh and repeated instances of servility in ensuing sessions on every change of Administration.

The next day, Dec. 11th, Mr. Cooke‡ moved for all memorials relating to our fisheries, &c., which he introduced by saying, he wished to know what was the state of our affairs with regard to Spain—he hoped, peaceable; but desired to see the papers relating to their claims, and to know if they had treated us with contempt and disdain. Beckford seconded him, urging that the Gazette and Bussy's memorial contradicted one another. The King had asked advice of Parliament: if ministers should refuse these papers, they refused to comply with the King's request. He did not know who were the ministers, nor whether we had a single minister, or a minister depute. It was necessary to have *one* minister.

Grenville replied, that though he had heard of this motion he could not believe it would be made. It was our right to have papers, when essentially necessary; but power of negotiation belonged to the Crown; and negotiations ought not to be made public, when real mischief might be the consequence. Had his Majesty asked advice

at the disposal of Lord Bute. Mr. Glover died in 1785, aged 73. His autobiography from 1742 to 1757 was published in 1813, under the title of Memoirs of a Distinguished Literary and Political Character. They are not without spirit, but show few signs of a powerful mind, and are in every respect inferior to what might have been expected from him.—E.

* James Oswald, of Brunnikier, joint Vice-Treasurer of Ireland.

† Dr. George Hay, of the Commons, one of the Commissioners of the Admiralty.

‡ George Cooke, Prothonotary, member for Middlesex.

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as to Spain? would you ground advice on those papers? or were they wanted to answer newspapers? Should a minister or minister depute make that answer? He had heard with surprise that *one* man ought to direct. What had been the constant charge against Sir Robert Walpole, but his acting as sole minister? Yet his modesty had declined the appellation. Prime minister was an odious title: he was sorry it was now thought an essential part of the constitution. He did believe the Gazette had contained, word for word, the sense of the despatch. The assurances of a peaceable disposition had been given, but who could answer that they were depended upon? It would be breach of trust to communicate the papers demanded without particular leave: nor, should they be communicated, would they be sufficient ground for advice. Would the House, if they contained offensive words, lay them before the public to inflame the people? The subject was not fit at that hour for the intervention of Parliament. If ministers are called upon, and tell our distresses, they are repeated abroad; if silent, are supposed to allow them. There was no reason to suspect the King of exercising his power improperly.

Lord Strange said he had not believed that any men would be so hardy as to bring on this affair, and thought they could not word it so as to obtain his assent: but the motion was now so unexceptionable, that he could not object to it. No letters of a private nature were demanded. The House had a right to tender its advice, even unasked. Who doubted but Spain had communicated all those papers to France? Yet ministers would not produce them to Parliament. They were divided amongst themselves; therefore the people ought to interpose. By showing no confidence to the people, the administration would destroy their zealous attachment to the Crown.

Wilkes maintained that Spain ought to be considered as hostile. Sir Francis Dashwood said he would agree to the motion, if he saw either utility or meaning in it, but such as he would not express. Parliament, he owned, had a right to all papers, yet Parliament had a right too to consider if there were any use in asking for them. He saw a proper answer had been made to the memorial, and the Spanish minister had been desired to recant—(Mr. Pitt cried out, "where?") Spain said to France, you are making peace, try if you cannot obtain something for me. He had heard, he said, of no faction in the administration; he hoped there was none any where else. Why should not confidence be placed in the King and administration, till it was abused? There might be something in the papers which Spain would not like the City of London should know—yet he supposed there was not more than appeared. Was it wished to address the Crown to declare war? But that was the prerogative of the Crown. Spain, too, would probably think twice before she embarked in hostilities. There might be different opinions in the council of Spain. That secret we were bound in honour to keep.

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Lord Frederick Campbell* said, he did not believe there were any factions in the ministry: if there were, the King would put an end to them: but if the administration were distracted, this measure would distract them much more. He had great hopes that these ill appearances would end in peace. Nugent† lamented there being any divisions, as unanimity was never more necessary. Bamber Gascoyne said, if any of the papers were of too secret a nature, a secret committee might be appointed to examine them. *By destroying parties, we had created factions.*‡ He himself had never been in a minister's house, nor ever intended it.§ The conduct of this *patriot* will appear hereafter.

Sir John Glynn said, that that time twenty years had been famous for calling for papers; with intention then to condemn a minister; now it was with a view to applauding one. A paper had been produced at that time which the King of Prussia never forgave. Himself had never seen any benefit arise from motions of that sort. Rigby said, he should be sorry if that motion were likely to be complied with; but that did not seem very probable. But what? had the City instructed its representatives to demand a First Minister? He had heard the Excise adopted by a sort of First Minister. He would tell the House who were the Administration; the two Secretaries of State, the Chancellor, the President, &c., and in their deliberations there had been twelve against two; proof enough of union. The other House had a right to judge as well as the Commons; and was the natural barrier between the Crown and people. Whoever sought the Administration, might find them in the Duke of Cumberland's late lodgings at St. James's, (where the councils were held.) At a time when not a man whispered to his friend, but in commendation of the King, would the House wish to set a First Minister over him?

Mr. Pitt expressed much concern at the flame that had arisen, and that the House, by losing its temper, had lost its reason, and degenerated into barbarism. His friend Beckford, he feared, had thought more of him than he had done of himself; but the word *guide*, commented as it had been, had misled him. If the present question tended to make one individual minister, he should be against it; but

* Second son of John Duke of Argyle, for many years Lord Register of Scotland in Mr. Pitt's administration.—E.

† Robert Nugent, Esq. of Gosfield, in Essex, afterwards Earl Nugent. See *infra*.

‡ This became a stronger truth every day.

§ Mr. Gascoyne was the only son of Sir Crispe Gascoyne, Lord Mayor of London, from whom he inherited a considerable estate. He had a strong understanding, and was esteemed highly as a man of business. His rough deportment had gained him at the University (we are told by Wilkes) the appellation of the Butcher; and he took no pains to get rid of it. He was also called "the King of Barking," his country residence and principal patrimony being in that village, where he was much respected, and where he lies buried. He died in 1791. The late Marchioness of Salisbury was his grand-daughter, and inherited his estates.—E.

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when he looked at the complexion of the House, he had no such apprehension. Censured as he had been for using an expression so much condemned, he could not find reason to retract it. Lord Egremont, he believed, would not hold the Seals an hour, if not permitted to guide his own correspondence. Thus, he himself, who he hoped had not lessened his country, had insisted on the same right. In the Treasury, in the Military, in the Navy, he had never assumed or claimed any direction; had never spoken to the King on those heads, but had always applied to the ministers of those several departments; had transmitted every thing through the channels of each office. He hoped, he said, to have these egotisms pardoned; he would now come to the question in agitation with a temper that nothing could ruffle. Even the virtues of the King, on which the House had been so much advised to rely, must be a little the fruit of time; hoped his Majesty would be aided by wholesome and deep-sighted advice. From the present motion what mischief could arise? he wished some necessity had made him absent—but would it be decorous in him to be shy? in a House where, he believed, he did not stand too well? He believed the *bottom of the bottom* of this affair would be dangerous; not so, while confined to memorials. Spain had made three demands in a most extensive manner; the right of fishery, which he had said he would as soon give up the Tower of London, as grant; nor would the King, he was sure, accord it; himself had never been ordered to hold any other language. But why, might it be said, call for these papers? because, if you temporized, or let Spain think you temporized, she would more assuredly push her claims. Suspense might be wholesome, if they were prepared, and you were not. The contrary being true, contrary measures should be pursued. Himself would not press the motion, if told by authority that it was premature; but then let the ministers say so, and mark the era, without moulting a feather of England's crest. The note in the memorial, said to be delivered, was no departure from their demands. Did they even say they would not impede the peace on the consideration of these demands? Let ministers declare this, and he would second to withdraw the motion—but he saw, he said, he should not be told so. Or had France given up her insulting menace, that she would stand by the demands of Spain? This was the Gordian knot, that he himself had not been able to cut; had feared it would rise in judgment against him; hoped it would not against any other man. Divisions had always existed; when were twelve men cast in the same mould? Divisions were sometimes salutary. Queen Elizabeth had promoted them in her Councils. When he left administration, had never seen such unanimity; he had said in high place, that his consolation was, to leave such men in power; and had declared that he would only oppose what he would have opposed with the Seals in his hand—but to have stayed and have done that, would only have been prejudicial. It was the extent of Spain's claims that had shocked him, not her lofty idioms, the most insignificant of all things. Whoever should cede to them

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but a cock-boat, ceded all. But the very present debate would strengthen the King's hands. He then made an encomium on the diligence, activity, and punctuality of the Earl of Bristol. Should the fisheries not be settled, the man who should give them up would one day or other be impeached. For himself he wished he had not been so much in the right; *wished he had not known so much as he did.* What he did know was buried in the centre of the earth. France had told us with good faith, that if we did not make up with Spain, they would break off the Treaty with us. If Spain declared war, he should think her *felo de se.* It would not be equal imprudence in her to abet France. Could the House proportion its supplies without knowing in what predicament Spain stood with France? Should the former declare war, she could lend money to the latter. The revenues of Spain were under five millions, and she employed seventy thousand men to collect them, besides twenty thousand that were engaged in the affair of tobacco. Was this a formidable enemy? To him it was indifferent to derive justification from this situation of things; should he prove to have been in the wrong, he should comfort himself with having thought he was right. All foreign Courts, especially Spain, would think the present motion wise. Were he not limited, or self-limited, he could enforce his arguments with more strength. The Gazette had been printed to persuade eight millions of people that Spain was amicable; but if there were indisputable proofs to the contrary, it was deceiving all the world. It was of no consequence to establish on which side lay truth; Bussy's memorial had proved the connexion between the two Houses of Bourbon. Should the event end in a rupture, we had lost our opportunity—if affairs were in accommodation, would the honour of England be preserved? Would Spain be obliged to England who bowed, or to France, who should extort from us, in the height of our conquests, advantages for Spain?

Colonel Barré, whether (as he gave out afterwards) to show that he had not taken advantage of Mr. Pitt's absence to abuse him the day before, or whether (as is more probable) to pursue the point to which he had been instigated, rose, and renewed the attack with redoubled acrimony. Insult of language, terms, manner, were addressed, and personally addressed, to Mr. Pitt, by that bravo. His variations, inconsistencies, arts, popularity, ambition, were all pressed upon Pitt with energy and bitterness, and the whole apostrophe wore the air of an affront more than of a philippic. He told the House he could not amuse, but he would not deceive them. That the disagreeable posture of our affairs with Spain was solely owing to the late resignation, which had thrown our councils and the nation itself into distraction. That Mr. Pitt, though professing it, had no confidence in the King himself. Here Pitt, who had remained in astonishment at so bold and novel an attack from a new speaker, called him to order, declaring that no word guilty of so foul a crime as want of confidence in the King had fallen from him, and sat down, leaving Barré to proceed in his invective; but the latter

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was interrupted by Fox, who said the King's name was never to be mentioned in a debate; that the House had listened with pleasure while justice was done to his Majesty's virtues; that Colonel Barré had a right to show to what he thought Mr. Pitt's arguments had tended; and that he chose to give the former this hint, because he seemed so able and willing to make use of his right. Charles Yorke said the King's name could not be used to influence debate. Pitt said he had referred to the King's speech, because it asked advice of the House. Fox, still fearing lest the interruption and ignorance of the forms of the House should disconcert Barré, replied, that the speech might be quoted, because it is always understood as the speech of the minister. Barré went on, saying, that if any man opposed, and not from the truest reasons, he would wish him to be silent. Should there be a man whose whole life had been a contradiction and a series of popular arts, he would judge him from his actions not from his words. Beckford called to have the question read, to prevent such deviation into personality. Rigby insisted that Beckford always deviated more than Barré had done. Barré added, that he had less reason to deviate than Beckford, not allowing himself to be so distracted; and that his front was not broad enough to write contradiction on; nor would he desert the King's service when most wanted.

Pitt made no manner of reply; only turning to Beckford, and asking pretty loud, "how far the scalping Indians cast their tomahawks?" It seemed to some a want of spirit, but it was evident by the indignation of the House, that such savage war was detested: and Pitt perhaps did not care to put them in mind how far himself had often pushed invective; nor chose to risk their preferring the new master of abuse to the old. It had not been unwise, it should seem, to have uttered a few words, stating to Barré the indecence of treating an infirm and much older man with such license, showing him that insult could not be resented when offered in a public assembly, who always interpose, and putting both him and the audience in mind, that a man, who had gained the hearts of his countrymen by his services, could only forfeit them by his own conduct, and not by the railing of a private individual. With the public this outrage did Mr. Pitt no injury. Barré was abhorred as a barbarian irregular, and Fox, who had lent such kind assistance to a ruffian, drew the chief odium on himself. Charles Townshend, being asked soon after, when the House would rise for the holidays, replied,* "I do not know; but when it does, the roads will be as dangerous as if the army were disbanded." And Barré having said that he would not answer for his head, but would for his heart, "Yes," said George Selwyn,† "if he could not, the former would have been broken long ago."

* Soon after, seeing another member give Barré a biscuit, Townshend said, "Oh! you should feed him with raw flesh."

† George Augustus Selwyn, of Matson, Gloucestershire, famous for his wit. His Correspondence has been recently published in 4 vols. 8vo.—E.

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The debate was terminated by Lord George Sackville and Elliot; the latter pleading against producing papers in the height of a negotiation; and adding, "perhaps an express is now on the road from Spain determined for war." The motion was rejected with a division, scarcely six voices being given for the question. Not one Tory spoke in the debate but Sir John Glynn, and he declared against Pitt. The next time Barré went to Court, the King took most gracious notice of him.

The city of Dublin addressed Mr. Pitt on his resignation. The same was proposed at Lynn, and rejected; and at Leicester such a motion was stopped by a person producing and reading a libel called *Mr. Pitt's Letter versified*. It was done by Francis,* a clergyman attached to Lord Holland, who supplied the notes. Another, by the same hand, called *A Letter from the anonymous Author of the Letters versified*, was published, reviling Mr. Pitt on bearing Barré's ill-usage. Lord Melcomb, at Lord Bute's table, constantly held the same language.

These specks were soon effaced in the confusion that fell on the ministers themselves, and by the justification, which, in spite of them, burst forth of Mr. Pitt's measures. The war which they had so poorly attempted to ward off, broke upon them, when they had no longer his assistance. A courier arrived on the 24th from Spain with a refusal of showing us their treaty with France. This treaty was the famous *Family Compact*, to which even the House of Austria had acceded, of which Mr. Pitt, by a masterpiece of intelligence, had got notice,† and of which our dastardly ministers had hoped to deprecate the effects by pusillanimous palliatives and submission: a compact formed because we were become so formidable, and the very signature of which had terrified Lord Bute and his associates into departing at once from our superiority. This was the secret at which Mr. Pitt had so often hinted, and which he had now the satis-

* Philip Francis, translator of Horace and Demosthenes, and the father of Sir Philip Francis, K. B.; a scholar and a man of talent, and a most active political partisan. He was for some time the tutor of Gibbon.—E.

† "Of this very alarming connexion Mr. Pitt had the most early and authentic intelligence, together with the most positive assurances from persons of undoubted veracity, who are at this moment in no common sphere of life." History of the Minority, p. 30. Mr. Adolphus states the treaty itself to have been communicated to Mr. Pitt by the Earl Marechal Keith, in gratitude for the reversal of his attainder, but "that the fact, if it existed, was not disclosed to the cabinet. Adolphus, vol. i. p. 44. This story receives some confirmation from a cotemporary memoir of the Earl Marechal recently published by the Spalding Society of Aberdeen, and supposed to have been written by Robert Strange, who had once been a zealous Jacobite. Neither the Chatham Correspondence nor the Mitchell manuscripts contain any thing on the subject; and the papers of the Earl Marechal, at Cumbernald, have never been thoroughly examined. The Editor is disposed to believe the intelligence received by Mr. Pitt did not go so far as the existence of the treaty, but consisted of facts, sufficient in his estimation, to leave no doubt of the object of the negotiation between France and Spain, and of the general intentions of the Spanish government. These facts he had imparted to Lord Bute, who had not drawn the same conclusions from them. Hist. of Minority, p. 33.—E.

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faction of hearing published by the mouths of his enemies. We had avoided the interception of the Spanish fleet, as Mr. Pitt had earnestly recommended. It was now arrived, and they temporized no longer. Fuentes was recalled, and Lord Bristol was consequently forced to return. Previous to his departure Fuentes delivered a memorial to the foreign ministers, in which Mr. Pitt was arraigned by name; an honour almost unheard of. Alberoni had been accused by George the First; but though that precedent was not flattering, Mr. Pitt could want no vindication, when the Court of Spain, and Barré, the tool of Lord Bute, conspired to charge him with being author of the war.

We had been the *willing* dupes of the Spanish House of Bourbon. It was a more horrid insult on all good faith—on humanity—on ties of blood, that Spain summoned Portugal to declare against us. The ruins of Lisbon were almost smoking yet! The Queen of Portugal was the Spanish Monarch's sister; her husband and children were dwelling in tents at a distance from their late capital. Assassination and conspiracies had beset the Throne. This was the moment that Charles the Third selected to invade their kingdom! France, it was said, in vain dissuaded this perfidy—not from delicacy; but the meditated conquest of Portugal was likely to engross the whole attention of the Court of Madrid. If we should support Portugal, it might be a division of our forces; but France needed all the assistance Spain could lend. Timber was wholly exhausted in France. She had sent even to Dalmatia, and to little purpose. The expense of ship-building is far greater in France than in England. Her cities and trading companies set themselves to building ships and presenting them to the King, but this was a distant and slow resource.

The Queen, who bore great affection to her brothers, was desirous that the second, Prince Charles of Mecklenburgh, should come over. The King would not venture to propose it to Lord Bute, but wrote to him, and after a reluctance of a fortnight on the part of the favourite, the boon was granted.

The ministers were solicitous to remove Pratt* from the House of Commons, and offered him the dignity of Chief Justice of the Common Pleas. He demurred; but was forced to accept it, for they would not only have removed him from being Attorney General, a post that required a more pliant officer, and which he was willing to give up; but they had the injustice to refuse him his gown as King's counsel, and he must have pleaded below the bar, or have quitted his profession. Mr. Yorke was made Attorney, and Norton, Soliter Generals. This enforced destination of Pratt to be Chief Justice, preserved the Constitution afterwards from the same men,

* Charles Pratt was a younger son of Lord Chief Justice Pratt, and became afterwards Lord Chancellor and Baron Camden, as will appear in these memoirs. Pratt had been made Attorney General by Pitt, in 1757, and their connexion was too close for the Government to feel easy at his continuing any longer in office.—E.

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whose policy exerted such rigour against him. Mr. Yorke had lost the precedence over Pratt when the latter was made Attorney General. It was on the coalition of Mr. Pitt, after the affair of Minorca, with the Duke of Newcastle and Lord Hardwicke. Pitt then offered to restore Lord Anson to the lead at the Admiralty, or to make Yorke Attorney, but would not grant both. Lord Hardwicke preferred his son-in-law to his son; a partiality which the latter, whose eye was fixed on the Great Seal, and which, by these means, Pratt afterwards obtained to his prejudice, never forgave to his father.

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CHAPTER IX.

Fuentes, the Spanish Ambassador, quits England.—Return of Lord Bristol from Madrid.—War declared against Spain.—Projects of Lord Bute, Mr. Fox, and the Duke of Cumberland.—The Duke of Bedford.—Mr. Pitt's influence with the Nation.—Divisions in the Council respecting the War with Spain.—Expedition to the Havanna.—Meeting of Parliament.—Lord Bute's harangue.—Mr. Pitt's Speech in the House of Commons.—Rigby's attempt to show the inutility of our Conquests.—Other Speakers in the Debate.—Pacific Disposition of the new Czar.—Court Intrigues in France against Marshal Broglio and his Brother.—Prejudices and resentments of the Tories.—Preponderating Influence and Haughtiness of Lord Bute.—The Duke of York's contempt of Lord Bute and the Scotch.—Proceedings in the Parliament of Ireland.—Lord Halifax.—William Gerard Hamilton.—Bill for continuing the Militia.

On the first day of the year Fuentes, the Spanish ambassador, quitted England, and was received at Calais, and all the way to Paris, with distinguished honours, as the saviour of France. He was a dull cold man, and wedded to all the weakness of his religion.* Lord Bristol,† a very Spaniard too in formality and pride, was recalled at the same time. His abilities had never been esteemed, and were now much called in question; but the publication of his negotiations did him much honour. Though he stooped to be the tool of Mr.

* He nevertheless made a favourable impression on the Duke of Newcastle, at their first interview; and at a later period we find him very handsomely mentioned by Lord Rochford. Some of his private letters in the Chatham Correspondence, as well as his public despatches in the Parliamentary Papers, are those of an ambassador who understood his duty, and performed it. He laboured hard in conjunction with his friend the Marquis of Grimaldi, to restore the old connexion of his country with France; and one result of their success was, the appointment of Grimaldi to succeed Wall as First Minister of Spain. Fuentes, then, for some time, replaced Grimaldi at Paris; and subsequently returning to Spain, he employed all his influence, which was considerable, in supporting Grimaldi's administration, until the latter imprudently allowed his son, the Prince of Pignatelli, to accompany the expedition to Algiers, under the Count O'Reily, in 1777, where the Prince perished; and Fuentes, who had refused his consent to his going, was so deeply offended, that he immediately joined the opposition to Grimaldi, and contributed essentially to his retirement from office. Coxe's History of the Kings of Spain, of the House of Bourbon, vol. v.—E.

† George William Hervey, Earl of Bristol, son of the famous John Lord Hervey, and grandson of John Earl of Bristol, whom he succeeded in the title. His despatches prove him to have acted with great prudence as long as the disposition of the Spanish Court was doubtful, and with great spirit afterwards. His connexion with Mr. Pitt was in no degree of a servile character. It appears to have strengthened as that great minister was losing his ascendancy in the Cabinet, and it stood the test of his downfall. Lord Bristol died, unmarried, in March 1775, aged 54.—E.

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Pitt, he had not disliked to receive instructions that authorized him to be imperious. His very parsimony gave way to any ostentation about his own person.

On the second, the King, in full council, declared his resolution of making war on Spain: for the ministers, who had driven out Mr. Pitt, rather than embrace this necessary measure, were reduced to adopt it at the expense of vindicating him and condemning themselves; and, what was worse to the nation than their shame, had not him, nor his spirit, to conduct them. Nor yet were they unanimous on this point, or an any other part of the war. Lord Bute's object was, peace at any rate, that he might pursue his plans of power at home. Fox aimed at the destruction of Pitt, and at favour with and through the favourite, to which he sacrificed his views of wealth, as Paymaster, in the German war. The Duke of Cumberland, who was now rather openly, than confidentially, consulted, was inclined to support the German war; either from partiality to the Electorate, or hoping to command there in the room of Prince Ferdinand. His Royal Highness was reconciled to the Duke of Newcastle, who to please the Duke and Lady Yarmouth,* fluctuated again towards the war in Germany, though he could not lead back his friend Lord Hardwicke† to that side. The bias too had been too strongly given to the Duke of Bedford, who declared he would move in Parliament to recall our troops from Germany. Lord Bute, fearing the Duke would gain too great popularity by this conduct, and inclined enough to heap any mortifications on the King of Prussia and the House of Brunswick, took the same side; but was persuaded, as the money was already voted and the contracts made, to suffer the troops to make one more campaign there. The Duke of Bedford was assured by the King, that measures would be taken for recalling the troops, without recurring to the authority of Parliament. Yet so much did they dread the effects of Mr. Pitt's influence with the nation, and of their own unpopular measures, that they agreed to give the King of Prussia his subsidy for another year, but would not renew the treaty with him, which now expired.

They were still more divided and embarrassed on the war with Spain. Unavoidable as it was, the Dukes of Newcastle and Bedford, Lord Hardwicke and Lord Mansfield‡ were against engaging in it; and Hardwicke, when the affirmative was decided, declared he would return no more to Council. But Lord Bute, Lord Granville,§ Lord Egremont, George Grenville, and, I think, Lord Ligonier, prevailed for the declaration of war. Lord Anson¶ was ill, and the Duke of Devonshire out of town.

* Amelie Sophie de Walmoden, Countess of Yarmouth, mistress of George the Second.

† Philip Yorke, Earl of Hardwicke, Lord Chancellor in the preceding reign.

‡ William Murray, Lord Mansfield, Lord Chief-Justice of the King's Bench.

§ John Carteret, Earl Granville, President of the Council, and formerly Prime Minister to George the Second.

¶ George Lord Anson, first Lord of the Admiralty.

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Yet, though the war with Spain was a popular measure, the City and the country had so mean an opinion of those who were to direct it, that the stocks immediately fell to 66½, though in the Rebellion they had never been lower than 72. The declaration from Spain luckily arrived there three days after the first subscription on the new loan had been paid—yet it sunk four per cent.—three days sooner, and it would not have been paid at all.

On the fourth, war was declared. The next day came news of the reduction of Colberg, almost the last hope of the King of Prussia. Nor yet were the ministers ready to decide, whether they would blow up the fortifications of Belleisle and abandon it, or whether they should undertake to support Portugal. They determined first to send Lord Tyrawley* thither, while Lord Albemarle† kissed the King's hand for the command of the expedition, which was so often set forth and so often countermanded, and which at last laboured to sea. It was to take up troops at Martinico, and thence sail to attack the Havanna.

On the nineteenth the Parliament met, and the King acquainted both Houses with the new war he had undertaken; a ceremonial decorated by the favourite himself, who, as if he had wrenched the thunderbolt out of Mr. Pitt's hands only to wield it himself with mightier vigour, now harangued the Parliament for the first time. Every preparative of pomp, attitude, and lofty language were called in to make him worthy of himself. His admirers were in ecstasies; the few that dared to sneer at his theatric fustian, did not find it quite so ridiculous as they wished. It was enough for the former that their god was not dumb, and there was no danger that he would familiarize himself too often with the multitude. He affected to adopt parliamentary measures, and to wish that all the negotiations with Spain might be laid before them; graciously promising to beseech the King that not only papers might be produced, but that the Cabinet-counsellors themselves might be permitted to divulge the opinions they had given. This was a puny piece of chicane, the ministers endeavouring to prove that the hostilities of Spain were subsequent in date to the period in which Mr. Pitt found it advisable from their conduct to attack the Spaniards. He had early detected their league with France, and was not of a humour to weigh dates against facts, or memorials against combinations. Nor Hardwicke's forms nor Mansfield's subtleties could persuade the seeing part of mankind that a war at our doors ought to be treated with the same literal circumspection as an action of trespass or battery at common law.

Mr. Pitt himself, in the House of Commons, with much seeming modesty, assumed the honour that was due to his intelligence and

* James Lord Tyrawley, formerly Ambassador at Lisbon, Governor of Port Mahon and Gibraltar, and Colonel of a regiment of Guards.

† George Keppel, third Earl of Albemarle, one of the Lords of the Bed-chamber to William Duke of Cumberland.

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foresight; and by disclaiming any triumph on the necessity into which the ministers had fallen of making war, asserted the right, to which his councils had entitled him, of having pointed out the moment when the war ought to have commenced—a moment, lost by his enemies, without the benefit of having warded off the war with Spain. Lord North,* who seconded the address of thanks for the King's speech, had injudiciously furnished Pitt with an opportunity of vindicating his measures, calling him an abdicated minister, and violently taxing him with a fondness for new hostilities. Nothing could be more cool or artful than Pitt's reply. It was all panegyric; all gratitude for his Majesty's resentment of Spain's provoking conduct, and for the *caution* with which he promised to engage in so large a war. In his own particular situation, he might be supposed not to like such firm, and yet such *cautious* measures—but he did; he heartily thanked the ministers for their *caution*; and meaned to conciliate unanimity, which he hoped would spread from one end of the island to the other. Himself for five years had laboured successfully—but he did not mean to pride himself that way—yet he had proved not to have been so much in the wrong as his enemies had thought; and, however Lord North had disparaged his intelligence, activity, and discernment, he hoped his successors would not be endowed with worse or less; and that the people would place confidence in the administration, whose large and wide-spread connexions must be followed by confidence and favour. A poor individual like himself could have no such favour and following! He should easily have been blamed, if any slip had appeared in his conduct. *Now* it must be the King—it must be the Administration, the Parliament, nation, army, and navy, who were to carry on the war; and he prayed to God it might all be enough! Yet he thought us equal to the whole. However, he had not sought the Spanish war; and if it were not too much for a poor individual, *for an abdicated Minister*, to say, he hoped it would appear, that for five years together he had made much political court to Spain, and great persons had concurred with him in those councils. The sacrifices he had offered would show how much he and they had been in the right; and that he had not been so haughty as was represented in rejecting Bussy's memorial. He would never call for the papers which would exemplify the temper he had used towards Spain. If his Majesty should think they would satisfy the nation, would satisfy Europe, he knew he should appear to have had the unanimous approbation of the whole Cabinet to several of the papers he had sent to Spain. But what imported it what one man or another had thought three months before? Since that era he had received such public marks of royal approbation, together with a pension and peerage (for his wife,) as few individuals could boast. The moment was come when every man ought to *show himself* for the whole. I do, said he, cruelly as

* Frederick Lord North, eldest son of Francis Earl of Guilford.

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I have been treated in pamphlets and libels. Arm the whole! Be one people! This war, though it has cut deep into our pecuniary, had augmented our military faculties. Set that against the debt, that spirit which has made us what we are. Forget every thing but the public!—for the public I forget both my wrongs and my infirmities.

Grenville told him he would have his wish: orders were given for laying before the House all the papers from the time of Bussy's memorial. "I have no wish for their coming," replied Pitt. "If for the benefit of his Majesty's affairs, let them come; and if they do come, shall it be with no farther retrospect than Bussy's memorial? How condescending is the boon! how futile! how unsatisfactory!

Yet notwithstanding their affected alacrity for war on this occasion, the new ministers took every opportunity of raising disgust in the nation against the late measures. Rigby, at the instigation of Fox, moved that Colonel Boyd should lay before the House of Commons the muster-roll of the Hessians, on whom he threw out many reflections, and affirmed that 9,000 men were wanting out of the 22,000 which they ought to furnish. He said the muster-rolls of our mercenaries were not returned to the office of the Secretary at War; and complained that not a single order was gone to recruit the army in Germany, which ought to amount to 96,000 men. He hoped Prince Ferdinand would be allowed to give no more orders to British troops. He pretended to approve the declaration against Spain, but then endeavoured to show that we were unequal to a new war. It required, he said, 38,000 men to garrison our conquests; and yet those garrisons fell short by 11,000 men. Belleisle alone had cost near half a million; yet what did it furnish but sprats and little cows? Canada gave us only furs; yet hats were not become cheaper; nor were sugar or rum fallen by the acquisition of *opulent* Guadaloupe; nor negroes by the conquest of Goree: gum was the only commodity reduced. For Louisbourg, he hoped the fortifications would be blown up. The enemy was hurt, but were we enriched, except from the successes in the East Indies? He wished, in short, not to keep our conquests, and to put an end to a ruinous war, in which we had no allies but mercenaries.

Charles Townshend took the same key, and said it had been fortunate, if our apprehension of Spain had driven us to make peace with France. He feared we should sink from a dream of ambition to a state of bankruptcy.

Stanley maintained that France had been in earnest in the negotiation, but had been buoyed up by the ambition and revenge of Spain. Was France so weak, and yet not in earnest? The object of his own labours had been to keep France divided from Spain, and with that view England had offered to yield more than she had asked in return. This was a strong vindication of Mr. Pitt's conduct, and from a competent witness.

Grenville, in answer to Beckford, said, he would pawn his life that no assurances had been given to the City that there would be no

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Spanish war. Thomas Walpole* replied, that he had never been told from the Treasury that there would not be war with Spain; yet he would say, that had the City apprehended it, they would not have lent their money so easily. The Hessian papers were ordered to lie on the table.

In prosecution of the same hostilities to Pitt, the Duke of Bedford, resisting the most earnest entreaties of the Duke of Cumberland, and even without the approbation of the Court, determined to make his motion, which, however, he softened, from a proposal of recalling the troops from Germany, into a resolution of the ruinous impracticability of carrying on the war. He might as decently have termed it an exhortation to Spain not to dread our arms. Lord Bute, to show the Court did not countenance so gross a measure, moved the previous question, and was supported by Newcastle, Melcomb, and Denbigh. Lord Temple of course opposed the Duke of Bedford. The Lords Shelburne, Pomfret, and Talbot, spoke for the motion; but the previous question was carried by 105 to 16, which latter were the friends of Bedford and Fox. Six or seven even protested.

In the course of the debate Lord Bute dropped hints of important good news, which he had received that very morning. It was supposed to mean the pacific disposition of the new Czar. Elizabeth, his aunt, was just dead, and Peter the Third had mounted the Russian throne. So far from inheriting her animosity to the King of Prussia, the young Emperor was his enthusiastic admirer, and more likely to war under his banners than to continue to overwhelm him with torrents of barbarians.

The Duke of Bedford receiving such a rebuff from the Lords, the faction dropped the design of renewing the motion in the Commons, the consequence having been a side-wind of approbation to Mr. Pitt, and almost applause to Lord Bute for taking up the military spirit—an approbation the latter did not wish to receive, nor intend to merit. However, 5,000 men were ordered for Portugal, and the command destined to Lord Tyrawley. Lord Albemarle too, and his brothers, Commodore and Colonel Keppel,† set out for Portsmouth on the expedition to the Havanna; but they did not sail till the beginning of March. Lord Tyrawley went to Lisbon at the same time, whither M. Dunn, or Odunn, who had married a daughter of Parsons,‡ a famous Jacobite alderman in the last reign, was despatched from Versailles to traverse his negotiations.

Dr. Osbaldiston,§ the aged Bishop of Carlisle, was translated to

* Thomas Walpole, second son of Horatio Lord Walpole, only brother of Sir Robert Walpole, Earl of Orford. Thomas married the eldest daughter of Sir Joshua Vanneck, with whom he dwelt in the City.

† Augustus Keppel, second son, and William Keppel, Groom of the Bed-chamber to William Duke of Cumberland, third son of William Anne second Earl of Albemarle.

‡ Humphrey Parsons, formerly Lord Mayor of London, a great brewer. Odunn was an Irishman.

§ Bishop Newton gives an anecdote of this prelate, not much to his credit.

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the See of London, on the death of Bishop Hayter; and was succeeded by Lyttelton* Dean of Exeter.

In France, Marshal Broglio, and his brother, the Count, were disgraced by Court intrigues. They were the best, and almost only successful officers in the French service. The marshal† was a mere disciplinarian, of no parts. The Count‡ was lively, and earnest to inform himself; and by being quicker than his brother, with not much better parts, was only more likely to be in the wrong: but they were both men of strict honour. Having presented a memorial against the Prince of Soubize, in which they attacked Stainville, brother of the Duke of Choiseul, the latter, who possessed the favour of Madame de Pompadour, procured the marshal and his brother to be banished to their country-seats.

The Tories, triumphing in the partiality of the Court, and rather offended than alarmed at the jealousy with which they were beheld by the Whigs, who in power, property, and credit were beyond comparison the preponderating part of the nation, took every occasion of displaying their old prejudices and resentments. On every contested election they acted in a body against the old Whigs, or later converts, however attached to the Court. Thus they exerted all their interest against Lord Gower,§ and Lord Orford,‖ on election-causes, and against the Duke of Bridgwater¶ and Lord Strange, on a bill for

When it was proposed to allow monuments to be erected in St. Paul's Cathedral, he violently opposed the plan, on the ground that as there had been no monuments in all the time before he was bishop, there should be none in his time. Bishop Newton's Life, p. 145.—E.

* Charles Lyttelton, brother of Lord Lyttelton, and President of the Antiquarian Society, died in 1768, aged 54. Warburton sneers at "his antiquarianism," to which he was more exclusively devoted than strictly became his high position in the Church. On the other hand, he was what bishop Warburton certainly was not, a very amiable, kind-hearted man. In early life he had been a barrister.—George Selwyn and his Contemporaries, vol. i. p. 71.—E.

† A greater military critic, General Jomini, was of a different opinion. He pronounces Broglio to be the only French commander of that day whose operations were uniformly skilful. He had fought in more battles than perhaps any of his contemporaries. An authentic account of his life would still be of value, but his fame was eclipsed by the exploits of younger heroes, and he had even ceased to be an object of interest when he died, in exile at Munster, in 1804, at the advanced age of 86.—E.

‡ The Count de Broglio's talents were undeniable. It was his misfortune not less than his fault, that they were seldom well directed. His brilliant defence of Cassel during the seven years' war, showed that he had no mean capacity for war; but his ambition was, to shine as a statesman, and, unhappily for him, the enmity of Choiseul excluded him from civil employments. Partly, perhaps, out of revenge, and partly from his love of political intrigue, he condescended to take charge of the secret correspondence which Louis the Fifteenth carried on for many years, independently of his ministers, at the principal foreign Courts, a system which made it almost impossible for an honourable man to serve the King with benefit. M. de Broglio eventually fell into disgrace, and died in obscurity in 1781, aged 62.—E.

§ Granville Leveson Gower, Earl Gower, a converted Jacobite.

‖ George Walpole, Earl of Orford, grandson of Sir Robert Walpole.

¶ Francis Egerton, Duke of Bridgwater, author of the famous Navigation.

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a new northern navigation—points, on every one of which the Tories were rancorous and unsuccessful. Nor was Scotland wiser. One Haldane had stood for Bridport, lost it, and petitioned. Sir Henry Erskine, a creature of the favourite, had the indecency and folly to call the English party in the House of Commons, *a profligate majority;* an offence not forgotten, though the Scots were beaten by three to one. The inconsiderable number that in either House of Parliament adhered to Mr. Pitt, and the almost universal acquiescence to the favourite's influence persuaded both him and his dependents, that they had but to give the tone, and prerogative would master all opposition. Nor did his partisans do more than was practised by the favourite himself. If they insulted the nation, he ruled the Court with a rod of iron. The Queen, her brother, and the brothers of the King, were taught to feel their total want of credit. The Duke of York, as Lord Anson was dying, ambitioned the post of Lord High Admiral, but did not dare even to ask it. Prince William,* the favourite brother of the King, wished also to be employed abroad, and ordered Legrand,† his governor, to solicit Lord Bute for a command. The haughty Earl treated Legrand with scurrilous language for putting such things into the Prince's head. The Duke of York, who, though the elder, was by far the more indiscreet of the brothers, openly expressed his resentment and contempt of Lord Bute and the Scotch; and as a mark of disobedience, went to a hunting party at the Duke of Richmond's, to which he had been invited with the Prince of Mecklenburg; but the latter was not suffered to go to a disaffected house in disaffected company.

But while inactivity reigned in the Parliament of England, that of Ireland was not idle. Lord Halifax,‡ their new Lord Lieutenant, was, like most of his predecessors, very popular at first. They voted him an additional salary of four thousand pounds a-year. He had the decency, though very necessitous, not to accept it for himself, but desired it might be settled on his successors. The House of Commons, however, would not wait till it should take place, to pay themselves, but passed a vote to make their Parliaments, which existed during the life of each King, septennial. The party attached to the Castle,§ voted for it, concluding it would be thrown out by the Lords. The Lords, as provident for their popularity, thinking it would be rejected in England, passed it likewise. It was rejected here, but not without much disposition in some of the Council to

* William Henry, afterwards Duke of Gloucester.

† Edward Legrand, Esq. Governor to Prince William and Prince Henry.

‡ George Montagu Dunk, third and last Earl of Halifax, of that house. He was a nobleman of great elegance of person and manners, and of a cultivated mind, and was quite equal to his post, which did not then, as now, require decided ability as well as rank and good intentions to satisfy the expectations of the country. "He never," says Cumberland, "could be mistaken for less than he was." He maintained the magnificence of the Vice-Regal Court, whilst he attended closely to public business.—E.

§ The Court of the Lords-Lieutenant.

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have it granted. Lord Hilsborough,* who had great weight with Lord Halifax, stayed with him in Dublin, and openly made war on the Primate;† while William Gerard Hamilton,‡ the Secretary, gained such applause in that Parliament, that a motion for augmenting the troops was carried by the sole power of his eloquence.

March 19th, the bill for continuing the militia for seven years was passed by the House of Commons in England; and the counties, that had not raised theirs, were ordered to pay five pounds a man. This was settled by a compromise, lest a longer term should be insisted on. Its own friends were sick of it, and had clogged it with many clauses, in hopes it would be rejected by their opponents. But the ministers would not risk the unpopularity of a negative, and were even afraid to part with so large a body of men.

* Wills Hill, Earl of Hilsborough. He had gone over to Ireland professedly on his private affairs; a large estate having recently been bequeathed to him by Sir William Cowper. Letter from Lord Barrington to Sir A. Mitchell.—Ellis's Original Letters, vol. vii. p. 443.—E.

† Dr. George Stone, Archbishop of Armagh. See the preceding reign.

‡ William Gerard Hamilton, son of a Scotch lawyer, made two good speeches, and only two, in the English House of Commons. One being forgotten (the last being of inferior merit to the other,) he was long known by the name of *Single-speech*. He came into Parliament in 1754, and after sitting silent for somewhat more than a year, at length delivered that *single speech* upon which his reputation has exclusively rested down to the present day. This speech, which we are told was set and full of antitheses, was in favour of the Ministry, and was speedily rewarded by a place at the Board of Trade."—Edinburgh Review, vol. xv. p. 164. He had a promptitude of thought, and a rapid flow of well-conceived matter, with many other requisites that only seemed waiting for opportunities to establish his reputation as an orator. These were set off by a striking countenance, a graceful carriage, great self-possession, and personal courage."—Cumberland's Memoirs, i. 225. With all these advantages he did not rise to eminence, nor did he deserve it, for his views were narrow, and he was selfish and cold-hearted. He resumed his silence upon attaining the lucrative and sinecure office of Chancellor of the Exchequer in Ireland, and died in 1796, rich and unmarried. His "Parliamentary Logic" is an insignificant work.—E.

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CHAPTER X.

Conquest of Martinico.—War in Portugal.—Lord Tyrawley.—Count La Lippe.—The Cock-Lane Ghost.—Pacific disposition of the new Czar.—His popular Measures.—Count Schouallow.—Meditated War with Denmark by the Czar and the King of Prussia.—Insurrections in Ireland, quelled by the Earl of Hertford.—Lord Bute's Ambition.—The Duke of Newcastle.—His friends.—The Portuguese War, and the War in Germany.—The Duke of Bedford.—Fox's Observation to Walpole.—Lords Mansfield, Hardwicke, and Lincoln.—Newcastle's tenacity of Power.—Creation of seven new Peers.—Private negotiation with the Court of Vienna.—The new Peers.—Buckingham House purchased by the Queen.—Seclusion of the King and Queen.—The King's younger Brothers.

On the 22nd of March arrived news of the conquest of Martinico by General Monckton* and Admiral Rodney:† a plan ascribed by the people to Mr. Pitt, though executed under the auspices of the favourite. In truth, the valour of the nation had taken such a bent that Lord Bute could not check it: nothing but a peace could chain it up. If the Earl did favour any part of the war, it was that in Portugal. Colonel Burgoyne‡ was ordered thither with five thousand foot and six hundred horse; and there was a plan for regimenting twenty-five thousand papists in Ireland for the same service: but the Irish Government did not approve of giving discipline and arms to such dangerous inmates. For General-in-Chief, it was proposed to send to Lisbon the Prince of Bevern. He had been suspected of infidelity by the King of Prussia,§—had been disgraced, and his intellects were not reckoned sound. Lord Tyrawley sent home his aides-de-camp, affecting to wonder that we expected any invasion of Portugal. This was imputed to his disgust at not obtaining the command himself; he who was a brave and old general, and who was

* Robert Monckton, brother of Lord Galway, a very gallant officer, who signed the reddition of Quebec, and performed other memorable services in that war.

† Sir George Bridges Rodney, afterwards Lord Rodney, the great naval commander. He died in 1792.—E.

‡ Colonel John Burgoyne, natural son of W. Benson, Lord Bingley. He proved a very unfortunate commander in the subsequent American war. He was also an author, and wrote that excellent comedy, "The Heiress."

§ Infidelity was then no uncommon charge against an unsuccessful commander. The Prince had in 1752 been worsted at Breslau, where he had only twenty-four thousand men to oppose to an army of ninety thousand, under Daun and Prince Charles of Lorraine. In return, he defeated Daun in 1762, at Reichenbad, a victory that decided the fate of Schweidnitz, and thus contributed to the final success of Prince Henry of Prussia at Friedberg.—E.

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perfectly acquainted with the country.* The Prince of Bevern declined the offer; and Count La Lippe accepted it. He was born in England, had distinguished himself in every hussar-kind of service, and in his dress and manners copied Charles XII. of Sweden, though with more politeness. He found the Portuguese troops in the most deplorable state of cowardice and want of discipline. The English could not, and did not disguise their contempt of them. The Spanish army might have marched to Lisbon, had they met with no obstruction but from the natives. The English troops saved that country; and Count La Lippe, before he left Portugal, formed a regular army there.†

* Considering that Lord Tyrawley was in his 72d year, and had not been employed on active service for a very long period, the government surely acted discreetly in not appointing him to this command. He died in 1773, in his 83rd year. His life had been singularly licentious, even for the Courts of Russia and Portugal, where, however, he acquired extraordinary influence, for he had a thorough knowledge of the world, a great deal of humour, and an undaunted spirit. See more of him in Walpole's Memoirs, vol. ii., p. 291; and Lord Chatham's Correspondence.—E.

† This remarkable man was Sovereign of Lippe Buckebourgh, a petty state, lying on the confines of Hanover and Westphalia. His mother was daughter of George the First, by the Duchess of Kendal. He received the early part of his education in England, and held a commission in the Guards: at nineteen, he served at the battle of Dettingen; and two years after he showed signal intrepidity as a volunteer under Prince Lobkowitz, in Italy. At the outset of the seven years' war he joined the Confederates with his small contingent, and bore a prominent part in the various military operations that ensued. His bravery, in common with his opinions, had a tinge of eccentricity, but the boldness and originality of his mind were not ill directed. He became an enterprising and successful partisan, and an able commander of artillery; in which latter capacity he distinguished himself both at Minden and at Kampen. Being intrusted with a separate corps for the reduction of Munster, he not only captured the place, but defeated General Armentieres, who had been sent with a French army to its relief. It was in Portugal, however, that he established his reputation. "He found the army there," says his biographer, "in a state of thorough disorganization, without either food or pay; even the guards at the Royal Palace implored alms from strangers, with bended knees and outstretched caps. The officers, impelled by want, followed various humble crafts. There were instances of the husband working as a journeyman tailor, whilst his wife earned her subsistence as a washerwoman; and captains might be seen bringing baskets of linen from the wash. Many were servants in the households of generals and governors; indeed servants were sometimes presented with commissions in order that their pay might serve in lieu of wages." All these abuses the Count, unsupported, if not opposed by the Court and the ministers, succeeded in rectifying. With the assistance of the English, he checked the progress of the Spanish troops; and defeated them in several encounters. He built the citadel of Elvas. He organized a plan for the defence of the kingdom; and at the end of the war he quitted Portugal, followed by the gratitude and attachment of the King and the people. Indeed, the House of Braganza were not under greater obligations to his illustrious predecessor, Marshal Schomberg. His reforms show considerable acuteness and knowledge of character, and were completely successful. One of the most questionable was, that while he punished officers in Germany for accepting a challenge, he punished the Portuguese for refusing, with the view of restoring a martial spirit among the troops. The remainder of his life he passed at Buckebourgh, the chief town of La Lippe, beloved by his subjects, and always employed in promoting their prosperity, though he has been charged with sometimes mistaking himself for a great

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The facility which the favourite found of mastering so great and victorious a kingdom, and of removing the man who had carried the glory of his country so high, was not the only evidence, that however enlightened an age may be, knavery and folly need never despair. The tares they sow will shoot amidst any harvest. Will it be credited that, while the Romish superstition was crumbling away even in Spain and Portugal, a set of enthusiastic rogues dared to exhibit in the very heart of London, a pantomime of imposture, which would hardly have been swallowed in a paltry village of Castile? The methodists had endeavoured to establish in Warwickshire, not only the belief, but the actual existence of ghosts. Being detected, they struck a bold stroke, and attempted to erect their system in the metropolis itself. A methodist family, at first out of revenge, endeavoured to fasten on one Parsons the imputation of having debauched and murdered his wife's sister. A young girl was reported to be visited by the deceased, whom she called Fanny, and with whom she established a correspondence of question and answer—not by words, but by scratching. A certain number of scratches signified "yes;" another number, "no." At first this farce, which was acted in Cock-lane, in the city, was confined to the mob of the neighbourhood. As the rumour spread, persons of all ranks thronged to the house. Two methodist clergymen constantly attended the child, who lay in bed in a wretched chamber, with only a dim rushlight at one end. These worthy divines affected to cast an air of most serious import on the whole transaction, and by their interposition prompted Fanny and the girl on any dilemma. A servant wench commented and explained Fanny's oracle. The father would accept no money from the various visitants, for which he was promised an adequate recompense by the chiefs of the sect. When the story had gained a requisite footing, Fanny had the indiscreet confidence to declare that her body was not in the vault where it had been interred. Samuel Johnson, author of the Dictionary, was in the number of the deluded, and with some others as wise as himself, visited the vault, where, to the disappointment of their credulity, they found the body.* Had the precaution been taken of conveying it away,

monarch, while he was only a petty prince. He married in 1765, the Countess of La Lippe Bustafeld, a young lady of great beauty and accomplishments, and had one daughter, whose early death was quickly followed by that of the mother; and the Count, inconsolable under this double affliction, fell into a lingering disorder, of which he died in 1777, at the age of 53. He enjoyed the warm friendship of the King of Prussia, the Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, and other great commanders. They entertained a high opinion of his military capacity. He inspired a sort of enthusiasm in all around him. Even the Spanish officers, who used to ridicule his reforms, and when they first descried him in the field, with his large hat and little sword, contemptuously asked whether the Portuguese were commanded by Don Quixote, eventually partook of the general feeling of admiration that attached to his generosity—his extreme disinterestness—his abilities and valour. Biographische Denkmale, von K. Barnhagen von Ense.—E.

* Doctor Johnson, in the newspapers of the day, published an account of this inquiry. His weakness consisted in so far giving confidence to this flimsy imposture, as to think a solemn inquiry necessary. Croker's Boswell, vol. i. p. 415, note.—E.

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the fury of the people might have been actuated to strange lengths; for so much credit had the story gained, that Parsons, the accused, fearing a prosecution, began first. A regular trial* instantly unravelled the cheat: the girl was detected of performing the scratchings herself, and one of the clergymen proved to be her abettor. Lord Chief Justice Mansfield tried the cause: the divine had the impudence to present a letter to him on the bench from the Archbishop of Canterbury,† interceding on his behalf, for Secker had a fellow feeling for hypocritical enthusiasm. The Chief Justice put the letter into his pocket unopened, saying it was impossible it could relate to the cause in question. Yet the punishment of these impostors was very moderate: whereas the same Judge inflicted most severe penalties on one Anett, who published weekly papers against the book of Genesis. The methodists, did not take shame. They turned informers against profaners of the Sabbath, tried to establish great rigour on Good-Friday and the fast-days, and to revive the superstition of holidays, when even the late Pope himself, Benedict XIV.,‡ had struck several out of the calendar. But the ritual of the Church of Rome was too rich in materials not to be copied by new zealots. They introduced into their service hymns sung in parts by children, as very captivating to the multitude; and the Countess of Huntingdon,§ the

* Though so notorious at the time, we have been able to find only one pamphlet on the subject in the British Museum, and the papers seem to have been very reluctant to give the names of the parties. July 10, 1762, William Parsons, Elizabeth his wife, Mary Fraser, the Ghost's interpreter, a clergyman, and a respectable tradesman, were tried at Guildhall, and convicted of a conspiracy to defame a Mr. Kent. In the Annual Register, it is said, "The Court chusing that Mr. Kent, who had been so much injured on the occasion, should receive some reparation by punishment of the offenders, deferred giving judgment for seven or eight months, *in hopes that the parties might make it up in the meantime.* Accordingly, the clergyman, and tradesman agreed to pay Mr. Kent a round sum—some say between 500*l.* and 600*l.* to purchase their pardon, and were, therefore, dismissed with a severe reprimand. The father was ordered to be set in the pillory three times in one month—once at the end of Cock-Lane; Elizabeth his wife to be imprisoned one year; and Mary Fraser six months in Bridewell, with hard labour. The father appearing to be out of his mind at the time he was first to stand in the pillory, the execution of that part of his sentence was deferred to another day, when, as well as the other day of his standing there, the populace took so much compassion on him, that instead of using him ill, they made a handsome subscription for him."—*v.* Annual Register, vol. cxlii. and Gentleman's Magazine, 1762, pp. 48 and 339. The liberty to speak to the prosecutor, described above as sanctioned by Lord Mansfield, would not now be so openly permitted, even by a bench of Middlesex Magistrates. Churchill's Poem mentions "the Ghost," only as a peg to hang a satire upon. It has much vigour, but a key is wanted, and probably nobody can supply one to the allusions, or even the regularly drawn characters of the greater part; Johnson, Warburton, Mansfield, and one or two more are apparent. "The Ghost" has also furnished the very clever scene of the trial of Fanny the Phantom, in Foote's farce of The Orators.—E.

† Dr. Thomas Secker.

‡ Prospero Lambertini, one of the most learned, enlightened, and virtuous prelates that ever filled the Papel chair. Protestants have vied with Catholics in doing honour to his memory. He died in 1758, at a very advanced age.—E.

§ Lady Selina Shirley, Countess Dowager of Huntingdon. Her "Life and Times," published a few years ago in 2 vols. 8vo., contains a graphical and interesting account of the sect which she originated and supported. Notwithstand-

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patroness of the rising Church, erected a chapel at Bath, and at other places of drinking waters, the sick and diseased being an obvious prey to Reformers. Hogarth exerted his last stroke of genius on the occasion above mentioned; the print he published on the Cock-lane Ghost had a mixture of humorous and sublime satire, that not only surpassed all his other performances, but which would alone immortalize his unequalled talents.

The expectations conceived of the new Czar were now verified. He declared to the Empress Queen, to France, and to Sweden, that he was ready to abandon his conquests for peace, and hoped they were in the same disposition—not at the same price. France, indeed, had many losses to regain, few acquisitions to restore—but her hopes were placed on Spain. Sweden had made no conquests, and must obey the dictates of so powerful a mediator; but the Empress Queen was far from being equally tractable. Peter, however, having sacrificed the first moments to decency, gave the next to the gratification of his will; and without stipulating for his allies, whose politics and procrastination were incompatible with his ardour, he not only made peace with his favourite monarch,* but promised the same troops, which under the late Czarina had almost crushed him. Nor was this a bare promise, but faithfully executed. Such admiration of a hero was not likely to content itself with merely becoming his ally. Few men idolize heroism but they who feel the passion in their own breasts. Having obliged Sweden to make peace too, the young Czar turned his eye towards military exploits in a new field, and determined to attempt the conquest of the Duchy of Sleswick from Denmark. Yet if he was dazzled by the martial talents of the King of Prussia, Peter had a heart susceptible of the most extensive humanity. One of his first acts on his accession was to bestow liberty on the Russian nobility. For the poor he lessened the tax on salt, and for the relief of all, abolished the Inquisition of the State. All the exiles were recalled, or received great mitigation of their punishments. There was one man to whom the Czar, though not so bountiful as he ought to have been, was very kind. This was Count Shouvalow, the favourite, and supposed husband of the late Czarina. A man, who in twelve years of absolute power had never made an enemy; and who, had he ambitioned a crown as much as he deserved one, might have reigned. This upright man told the Czar that he had in his possession a very large sum of money, which he believed the Empress, his late mistress, had intended he should take for his own use, but not having been a specific gift, he thought it his duty to surrender it to his Majesty. The Emperor said he was in great want of money, took it, but ordered him to choose two thousand pounds a-year in land wherever he pleased.

ing Walpole's sneers, she appears to have been a woman of genuine piety; and her zeal, though sometimes misdirected, did, on the whole, essential service to the cause of religion.—E.

* Frederic the Third, King of Prussia.

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I knew this amiable person afterwards, wandering about Europe,* possessed of nothing beyond that revenue, and sighing after a country to which it had been imprudent to return.

The Czar and the King of Prussia wished to engage us in the war with Denmark; but though the Council was divided on the measure, Denmark was too intimately connected with us, and as a maritime power, was too near a neighbour to Scotland. In this exigence the King of Denmark marched with a considerable force to Hamburgh, and obliged that opulent city to furnish him with a million of rix-dollars.

In Ireland seemed approaching a scene of a new kind. The jealousy of commerce had ever swayed England to keep that kingdom in a state of humiliation and restraint; consequently of poverty. The lowest class of people in no country less enjoyed the sweets of being; and in no country sought less to emerge from their state of barbarism. Proud and slothful, they created a kind of dignity to themselves from inactivity. To labour no more than noblemen, was a sort of nobility; and ignorance of a happier fate was happiness. They preserved their ancient poetry and traditional genealogies; hated the English settled amongst them as invaders, and necessarily were bigotted to their old superstitions in opposition to the religion of their masters. In short, they wanted but luxury, to have all the passions and prejudices of great lords. A considerable part of the island was plunged in this dismal darkness and misery. As a spirit of opposition and independence had spread amongst the Protestant inhabitants, a spirit of improvement had gone forth too. Manufactures were established, roads and bridges made, and rivers rendered navigable. Inclosures for cultivation of lands had followed. Occupation of commons seemed usurpation to a race of lazy savages; and the first murmurs were carefully blown up to rage by their priests. A massacre had been the last instance in which the Catholics of Ireland had had any superiority and Popish priests are historians enough to be ignorant of no such era. It was the cause of property to throw down inclosures; of heaven, to cut the throats of inclosers—and of France and Spain, to promote the good work. The tumults, however, began upon the single foot of their grievances. Great insurrections appeared in Waterford, the chief improvements having been made upon the Burlington estate. The rabble soon distinguished itself by the name of *White Boys;* and their instructors, to veil one nonsense under a greater, taught them to give out that they were subject to the Queen of the Fairies, whom they called *Sieve Oltugh,* in whose name their manifestoes were signed. It appeared afterwards on the trials of some of their chiefs, that this fairy sovereign resided at Versailles. French officers were discovered among them; and during the Duke of Bedford's regency, a rising had actually been made in the same quarter just as Thurot

* Count Schouvalow afterwards passed some time in England, and was a frequent guest at Strawberry Hill.—E.

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landed. After many outrages, they proceeded to cruelty, and buried three persons up to their chins, who had declared they knew the ringleaders. As their numbers and impunity increased, so did their insolence: They obliged the town of Lismore to hang out lights, and forced a justice of peace to fix up a proclamation by which they regulated the price of provisions, and forbad any cheese to be made till after Lent, that the poor might have the milk—a proof that the devotees of the Queen of the Fairies, and of the Virgin Mary, were equally attached to the observation of the Fast.

For six weeks this insurrection was neglected; and two regiments of dragoons, that were sent against them, proved unequal to the work. At last the House of Commons took up the affair, and foot being ordered out against the seditious, the matter was quashed, though not entirely suppressed, till the Earl of Hertford* was Lord Lieutenant, who refusing to pardon some of the chiefs, notwithstanding very considerable intercession, an end was put to the affair—but unless that country is more civilized and reclaimed from barbarism, or better guarded before another war breaks out, it will probably be selected by France and Spain for the first scene of their operations. At the time of which I have been speaking, France was more earnest to make a general peace, than to incense us by opening a war within our very gates,† and which might have made it dangerous for the favourite to second their views.

He was hotly pushing his schemes to projection; and resolved not only to make the peace, but to be indisputably first minister when it should be made. Mr. Pitt was removed, who could have obstructed the first object; but while the Duke of Newcastle held the Treasury, there was a division of power, which all the lustre of favour could not entirely surmount. They who looked forward, bowed to the idol; but they who held by gratifications to the Treasury, could not but kiss the hand that dealt the bribe. At first it was designed by disgusts to drive the Duke to resign. Elliot and Oswald‡ were instructed to treat him rudely at his own board: but an old minister or an old mistress endure many shocks before they can be shaken off;§ nor could all his own treacheries persuade the Duke of Newcastle that Lord Bute could so soon forget how instrumental his Grace had been in undermining Mr. Pitt. He still had a mind to be of the plot, though himself was become the object of it.

* Francis Seymour Conway, Earl of Hertford, appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, in 1765, while he was Ambassador in France.

† Nevertheless, the French were at the time suspected of promoting, if not of originating, the insurrection. Lord Drogheda, who was employed with his regiment against the Insurgents, told Sir Richard Musgrave that French money was found in the pockets of some of those killed, by the soldiers. Musgrave's History of the Rebellion in Ireland, p. 35.—E.

‡ Gilbert Elliot and James Oswald, Scots, and Commissioners of the Treasury. —See *infra*.

§ It appears by a letter from the Duke to Lord Hardwicke, of the 7th May, that the Duke's earnestness to prosecute the German war, in opposition to the wishes of Lord Bute, caused a final breach between them. Adolphus, vol. i. p. 68.—E.

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Newcastle's friends were quicker sighted; and foreseeing that they must again range under Mr. Pitt, if cast off by the Court, they began to have doubts and difficulties—and did but hasten their fall, by daring to resume a right of opinion. The expense of the Portuguese war administered their first pretence of complaint, and the protection given to the King of Prussia by the Czar, changed the posture of his affairs so advantageously, that it had no gross appearance, when the Dukes of Cumberland, Newcastle, Devonshire, and their faction, grew earnest for the continuance of the war in Germany. The Duke of Bedford, who was more than half-gained to the Court, but who always added some contradiction of his own, was averse to both wars, Portuguese and German; and Fox, who was willing to preserve an interest in the Duke of Cumberland, had a difficult part to act. He said to me, "the Duke of Devonshire says it is a Tory measure to abandon the Continent: for my part I do not know who are Whigs: they bore the partiality of the Pelhams* to the Tories, and Mr. Pitt's declaration in their favour, who had complained that they enjoyed none of the favours of Government." Lord Mansfield would have preserved Newcastle to the Court, but Lord Harwicke pulled the other way. Lord Lincoln† was devoted to Pitt, and wished to unite him and his uncle Newcastle. The Duke of Devonshire advised the latter to resign; but so great was his inclination to keep even the dregs of power with the dregs of life, and so great his fear of being called to account for the waste of money on the German war, that though the King, as a fresh affront, declared seven new peers, without acquainting him, he not only overlooked it, but begged his cousin, Mr. Pelham,‡ might be added to the number, and got the barony of Pelham bestowed on himself, with reversion to that relation.

I am forced to detail these intrigues, because the moment was critical, and because it gave birth to a new party, and to many subsequent events. The Court was the more stiff, because they had conveyed a message through Count Virri,§ the Sardinian minister in England, to the Bailli de Solar,‖ the Sardinian minister at Paris, desiring to renew the negotiation where it had been broken off. Lord Bute had gone farther: he had ordered Sir Joseph Yorke to treat privately with the Court of Vienna, without the knowledge of the

* Thomas, Duke of Newcastle, and Henry Pelham, his only brother.

† Henry Clinton, Earl of Lincoln, nephew of the Pelhams, and afterwards Duke of Newcastle.

‡ Thomas Pelham of Stanmore, afterwards Lord Pelham.

§ This subtle insinuating Italian had paid his court to Lord Bute in the preceding reign, and obtained a great ascendency over him. Though a man of quality, he had been a monk, and the world and the cloister had united to make him an accomplished statesman. He eventually rose to be first Minister of Sardinia. His main fault was that he used too much finesse and precaution, and attached too great importance to trifles. Some amusing anecdotes of him are told in Memoirs of a Traveller now in retirement, vol. ii. p. 63.—E.

‖ The Bailli de Solar had been the Sardinian Ambassador at Rome, at the same time that the Duc de Choiseul was the French Ambassador there, and a warm friendship had existed between them from that period.—E.

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King of Prussia. For some time the Court of Vienna did not vouchsafe an answer. To the confusion of the favourite, the first news he had of any answer to come, was from the Baron de Knyphausen, the King of Prussia's minister here.*

April 28th, the new peers kissed hands. Lord Wentworth† and Sir William Courtenay,‡ Tories, were made Viscounts. Lord Egmont,§ Lord Milton,‖ Lord Brudenel, the Duke of Newcastle, Sir Edward Hussy Montagu,¶ Mr. Vernon,** of Sudbury, and Mr. Lane,†† the two latter Tories, were made Barons, and Lady Caroline Fox, a Baroness. Lord Ligonier's Irish peerage was entailed on his nephew. Mr. Vernon,‡‡ clerk of the Council, and Mr. Olmius,§§ were created

* The communication made by Lord Bute to the Court of Vienna appears to have originated in the belief that the Austrians were, on national grounds, more inclined to peace than any of the other powers. Considering the close connexion existing between the Courts of Vienna and Paris, and the certainty that such a step would be viewed in the worst light by the King of Prussia, it must be regarded as a blunder. The correspondence that passed on the occasion, is printed in the Appendix to Adolphus, vol. i. p. 578. There is an able Essay on the subject in the Appendix to the 1st vol. of Belsham.—E.

† Sir Edward Noel, Bart., Baron Wentworth, of Nettleshead, created Viscount Wentworth of Welsborough, county of Leicester.

‡ Sir William Courtenay, Bart., chief of the great house of Courtenay. He had, like his father, represented the county of Devon for many years. He survived his creation only ten days. The title became extinct on the decease of his grandson, the late Earl of Devon.—E.

§ John Percival, Earl of Egmont.—An amusing account of the importunities and intrigues by which he wrung his title from Lord Bute, is given by his friend Doddington, in the Diary of the latter.—E.

‖ Joseph Damer, Lord Milton, created Baron Milton, of Milton Abbey, county Dorset: married Caroline, third daughter of Lionel Duke of Dorset. Sat in several Parliaments, from 1741 to 1754. He claimed a descent from the ancient Barons d'Amorie; but his wife's genealogy, and his own wealth, of which the origin had certainly nothing distinguished in it, were the more probable causes of his elevation.—Banks, vol. iii. p. 516. He died in 1798. The title became extinct upon the death of his son George, second Lord, unmarried, in 1808.—E.

¶ Created Baron Beaulieu, of Beaulieu, county Southampton, 11th May, 1762, to hold to him and the heirs male of his body, by Isabella Duchess Dowager of Manchester, eldest daughter of John late Duke of Montagu, deceased, his then wife. In 1743, on the death of his father-in-law, the Duke of Montagu, he had taken the name and arms of that noble family, by Act of Parliament. Installed a K.B. 1753. In 1784 advanced to the dignity of Earl Beaulieu, and died 1803, when his honours became extinct. He was a comely, athletic, and spirited Irishman, and his marriage with the Duchess disappointed many aspirants to that honour. One of them, Sir Charles Hanbury Williams, revenged himself by a well-known lampoon.—E.

** Francis Vernon, (some time M.P. for Ipswich,) created Baron Orwell, of Newry, county Down, in the Kingdom of Ireland, 7th April, 1762. He was second son of James Vernon, of Great Thurlow, county Suffolk, Esq., by Arethusa, daughter of Charles Lord Clifford, only son of Richard first Earl of Burlington, which James was younger brother of the well-known Admiral Vernon.—E.

†† George Fox Lane, created Lord Bingley—he had married the only daughter and heiress of the last Lord of the same name. He died in 1773, s.p.—E.

‡‡ George Venables Vernon, Lord Vernon, of Kinderton. He was the son of Henry Vernon, Esq., M.P., and therefore grand-nephew of Peter Venables, last Baron of Kinderton. He died in 1780.—E.

§§ John Olmius, many years Director of the Bank. In 1737, M.P. for the Wey-

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Irish Barons. The Prince of Mecklenburg,* brother of the Queen, was made a Major General. Lord Bute had often waved her request. She was advised to apply to the Princess, and the favour was immediately granted. Soon after, Buckingham House† was purchased and bestowed on her Majesty, St. James's not seeming a prison straight enough. There the King and Queen lived in the strictest privacy, attended absolutely by none but menial servants; and never came to the palace but for the hours of levies and drawing-rooms. The King's younger brothers were kept, till they came of age, in as rigid durance. Prince Henry, the third, a very lively lad, being asked if he had been confined with the epidemic cold, replied, "Confined! that I am, without any cold;" and soon after, when the Garter was bestowed on Prince William and Lord Bute, Prince Henry said, "I suppose Mr. Mackinsy‡ and I shall have the green ribands."

mouth boroughs. Created 8th May, 1762, Baron Waltham, of Philipstown, and died in September following.—E.

* Charles Lewis Frederick, Prince of Mecklenburg, brother of the Duke of Mecklenburg and of Queen Charlotte. Born 1741.—E.

† Buckingham House, in St. James's Park, built by John Sheffield, Duke of Buckingham, was purchased of his natural son, Sir Charles Sheffield, and named The Queen's Palace. The mob called it in derision, Holyrood House.

‡ James Stuart Mackenzie, only Brother of the Earl of Bute. He had been Minister at Turin from 1758 to 1762, when he was appointed to Venice; but, before he could leave Turin, the death of the Duke of Argyle caused Lord Bute to bring him home abruptly to take the direction of the Government in Scotland; an exercise of the favourite's power, which proved him to be virtually at the head of the Administration. From the same feelings of exclusiveness, Lord Bute subsequently selected Mr. Mackenzie, in preference to any of his colleagues in the Cabinet, to assist him in the early part of the negotiations for peace. Whatever points were settled by his Lordship with the King, were then communicated, through Mr. Mackenzie, to the Count de Virri, by whom they were transmitted, through the Bailli de Solar, to the Duke of Choiseul, and it was only after an article had been actually agreed upon that it came officially under the cognizance of the Foreign Department; so that these two foreigners appear to have possessed more of Lord Bute's confidence, as well as more influence over the negotiation, than the Secretary of State, Lord Egremont; a circumstance which rather explains the jealousy shown by the Cabinet, when the preliminaries had been settled, of any independent authority being given to the Duke of Bedford. These duties Mr. Mackenzie discharged irreproachably, and, far from sharing his brother's unpopularity, was much esteemed by all parties. He is described by his secretary, M. Dutens, as having been most amiable, remarkably cheerful and pleasant in society, with very simple tastes, and no ambition; "well versed in the sciences, particularly in mathematics, algebra, and astronomy." He took little part in public affairs after Lord Bute's resignation, and died in 1800, at the age of 81 years, only a few months after the death of his wife, the daughter of John Duke of Argyle. Memoirs of a Traveller now in retirement, vol. i. p. 159; vol. iv. p. 229.—E.

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CHAPTER XI.

Debate in the House of Commons on a Vote of Credit and the Support of Portugal.—The German War.—Pitt's Speech.—Colonel Barré's Reply to Mr. Pitt.—Lord Bute's ambition.—The Duke of Newcastle's Resignation.—Fox and the Duke of Devonshire.—Ingratitude of the Clergy to Newcastle.—Unwise conduct of Lord Bute. He is declared First Lord of the Treasury.—Sir Francis Dashwood, Chancellor of the Exchequer.—His unfitness for that Office. His general Character.—His establishment of a Society of Young Travellers.

MAY 12th. The House of Commons debated on a vote of credit, and the support of Portugal. Glover the poet pleaded against Portugal's claim to our assistance, from their many infractions of treaties, from their cramping our trade, and from the impossibilities our merchants had found of obtaining redress; a complaint that seemed to bear hard on the late ministry: to which he added reflections on the extravagance of the German war, which, contrary to the professions of ministers, had grown from £200,000 to six or seven millions. Pitt was offended, and corrected Glover, who threw his information on some nameless merchants, by whom he had been told that their remonstrances on the difficulties of the Portuguese trade had not been read by the ministers. Wilkes censured the weakness and irresolution of the ministry; their abandoning Belleisle, and neglecting to send over the officers to Germany. It was even said, he affirmed, that they had been humiliating themselves at the Court of Vienna. Legge more gently, and Beckford with more rhodomontade, pressed the same accusations. The latter was for invading Spain by sea; declared that the city suspected the ministry of wavering, and demanded to have their *old minister* again. Grenville answered finely and compared the smallness of the sum demanded, £300,000, with the expense in Germany. Belleisle had cost more than what was now asked for Portugal. That Court knew how we were embarrassed, and asked not more than she knew we could give. What proof was there of irresolution? was not Martinico conquered? was not the Havanna likely to follow; or did Beckford think that great words, blustered in Parliament, constituted resolution? Fluctuating reports were rather owing to stock jobbers than to fluctuation in the measures of Government. He affirmed that not one step had been taken at Vienna derogatory to any of our connexions. We had only tried to feel how they relished the family-compact among the Bourbons. But whether the resolution was taken to recal our troops from

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Germany, or at all events to go on, would it be prudent to declare which was to be the measure?

Lord George Sackville was liberal in blaming the expense of the German war, which he compared with that of Queen Anne; *the whole* of which, he maintained, except in 1711 and 1712, did not amount to what this German war had cost alone, though we had then employed more British and other troops than at present. Queen Anne's war had never exceeded eight millions, including garrisons, fleet, &c. The expense of 172,000 men from 1709 to 1711 had not gone beyond what one year had recently cost in Germany. If there had not been new inventions for expense, we should not now be ready to beg peace.

Pitt, in a very capital style took up the cause of Portugal: he did not stoop to that little hackneyed practice of party, opposing whatever was the measure of the adversary. He had stood forth for general war, and for reduction of the House of Bourbon. To advise still larger war was constancy to the same plan; and it was still safer to advise it, when he was no longer answerable for the event. To oppose vigorous steps would have been more truly lending aid to the Court, who wanted to get clear of the war.

As having been a public minister, he must not, he said, intrench himself within his present private situation, but speak his opinion. He should not wait for events, but speak boldly as a counsellor. If he voted for this measure, it was giving the Crown his advice, as if he was called to Council. He did think we ought to support Portugal, both for commercial and political reasons. Portugal is in the immediate predicament of nearness to us after Ireland and our colonies. *It assists, without draining us.* Assistance was a matter of justice due from us to an oppressed, insulted ally. There had not been such an infraction of treaties as would release us from the ties of treaties. Should we sit with folded arms while the two branches of Bourbon, those proudest of the proud, would exclude us from neutral ports? We must set Portugal on its legs, not take it on our shoulders. He then expatiated on the character of Carvalho, the prime minister of Portugal, his inflexibility to danger, his intrepidity; and drew a picture that might almost have passed for his own, as he seemed to mean it should. Would there be danger in this measure? he was a co-operator in it. If you, as a maritime power, cannot protect Portugal, Genoa will next be shut against you; and then the ports of Sardinia:—what! ports shut against the first maritime power in the world! He then turned Glover into ridicule; said he admired his poetry, but *quanto optimus omnium poeta, tanto*—he would not, he said, go on. For the sum demanded, it might easily be raised, or a million more; and he would give the same opinion, whether the Duke of Newcastle continued minister, or should be succeeded by Mr. Fox, as was generally said to be the intention. The only difficulty was to find funds. It had been predicated for three years that we could not raise more money; therefore it was plain we could.

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Lord George should have put into the scale what our enemies had lost; they had been losing, we acquiring. He hoped we should keep up our officers and our marine, and not decrease the latter, as we had done after the last peace. France had last year spent eight millions in Germany. To outlast an enemy was worth perseverance. But we would not distinguish between contracting our expenses and contracting our operations. He paid great compliments to the officers of land and sea, and pleaded earnestly against relinquishing Germany. It would be turning loose a hundred and forty thousand French to overrun the Low Countries and Portugal. If there was any odium from the German war, he begged it might fall on him; though he had never seen a contractor, yet he would not disculpate himself by censuring others; and he spoke in mitigation of the blame thrown on the Treasury, owning he thought some little might have been saved, but not suspecting them of dishonesty. Yet, were an inquiry moved, he would second it; he would screen nobody. After the King of Prussia had been so ill-treated on our account, would we throw such a power out of our alliance, only to save three or four hundred thousand pounds? But he thought he had heard the army was not to be recalled—was transported to find Lord Granby was going to it. Himself was the only man that agreed with the whole administration, for he approved both of war in Germany and war in Portugal; and he was so far from meditating opposition, that he should regard the man who would revive parties as an enemy to his country. Himself had contributed to annihilate *party*, but it had not been to pave the way for *those who only intended to substitute one party to another.** Should the least cloud arise between London and Berlin, he prayed for temper and reconciliation. He wished to move that the continuation of the subsidy to Prussia might be added to the vote of credit; but it did not become him to move for more than was asked by the King's servants: yet he wished the vote of credit had been greater, and knew the Duke of Newcastle wished so too. He should rejoice to see the session closed with the grant of a large sum of money, because England could not well treat but at the head of all her force. Russia had acceeded to Prussia—how much wiser to give money to that monarch now, when he is in a better situation, than, as you would do, if he were still more distressed! Nay, that little teazing incident, Sweden, was removed by dread of the Czar. Sweden is a free nation, *but factions and a corrupted senate have lowered it from the great figure it made a hundred years ago.* Act now, continued he, upon a great system, while it is in your power! A million more would be a pittance to place you at the head of Europe, and enable you to treat with efficacy and dignity. Save it not in this last critical year! Give the million to the war at large, and add three, four, or five hundred thousand pounds more to Portugal;

* Meaning Lord Bute, who was introducing the Tories in the place of the Whigs.

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or avow to the House of Bourbon that you are not able to treat at the head of your allies.

This speech, so artful, elevated, so much in character, and so distressful to the junto that were endeavouring to steal disgrace upon themselves and their country in the face of the world, by setting up one war against another, and dividing the attention of the public, till impotence and mismanagement should render peace welcome,—this speech did Colonel Barré attempt to answer; and did answer it, only in length. He was sensible that he had disgusted mankind by his indecent brutality to so great a statesman: his friends had told him that his invectives, illiberal as they had been, were reckoned the produce of study; and that he must shine in cool argument, lest he should be thought a bully rather than an orator. If they apprehended this, the result of their lessons was a proof that their apprehensions had not been ill-founded. Nothing could be more cold and dull than Barré's reply to Mr. Pitt. It revenged the latter for the former insult. Calvert,* a mad volunteer, who always spoke what he thought, and sometimes thought justly, was so struck with Barré's phlegmatic impropriety, that he told the House it had put him in mind of a poet, who being at sea in a tempest, and being missed while all hands were on deck, was found half asleep in the cabin; and, being asked why he did not assist to save the ship, replied, he was thinking how to describe the storm?† The money was voted, and nothing more of consequence passed that session in Parliament.

Both Houses thus complaisant and submissive, there wanted but the office of prime minister to glut the favourite's ambition: and no wonder that he, who had dared to strike the name of the first monarch in military glory in Europe from the list of Great Britain's pensioners, only to gratify the feminine piques of the backstairs; and who had ventured successfully to remove Mr. Pitt from the command of that country which he had saved, restored, exalted;—no wonder such a Phæton should drive over a ridiculous old dotard, who had ever been in every body's way, and whose feeble hands were still struggling for power, when the most he ought to have expected, was, that his flattery and obsequiousness might have moved charity to leave him an appearance of credit. It was absurd for him to stay in place; insolent to attempt to stay there by force, and impudent to pretend to patriotism when driven out with contempt. Against his will he was preserved from having a share in the infamy of the ensuing peace.

* Nicholson Calvert of Hunsdon House, Hertfordshire; member for Tewkesbury, and sheriff for Hertfordshire in 1749. He was the second son of Felix Calvert of Furneaux Pelham Hall, but succeeded to the family property by the death of his elder brother. It is a pity that his madness was not catching, for he was one of the most honest and independent members in the House, an eminent agriculturist, and an active county magistrate. In politics he was "a Whig, and something more." He died without issue in 1793.—E.

† This speech "is said to have silenced all future attacks by the poet either on Mr. Pitt or his administration, and was well received on all sides." Hansard's Par. Hist. xv., p. 1227, note.—E.

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May 14th, the Duke* acquainted the King that he would resign, who answered coldly, "Then, my Lord, I must fill up your place as well as I can." Still Newcastle lingered; and, as he owned afterwards to the Duke of Cumberland, his friends had laboured to prevent the fatal blow. Lord Mansfield, he said, had *pleaded* with Lord Bute for above an hour, and could not extract from him a wish that the Duke should continue in the Treasury. Fox asked Lord Mansfield if this was true? He replied, "Not an hour, for I soon saw it was to no purpose."

Thus disgraced, and disgracing himself, on the 26th the Duke of Newcastle resigned: and he, who had begun the world with heading mobs against the ministers of Queen Anne; who had braved the Heir-apparent† of the new family, and forced himself upon him as godfather to his son; who had recovered that Prince's favour, and preserved power under him at the expense of every minister whom that Prince preferred; and who had been a victorious rival of another Prince of Wales;‡ was now buffetted from a fourth Court§ by a very suitable competitor, and was reduced in his tottering old age to have recourse to those mobs and that popularity which had raised him fifty years before; and as almost the individual crisis was revolved, with a scandalous treaty and a new prospect of arbitrary power, it looked as if Newcastle thought himself young again, because the times of his youth were returned, and he was obliged to act with boys!

Such pains, however, had been taken to disjoint his faction, that his exit from power was by no means attended with consolatory circumstances. The Duke of Devonshire would not resign, though he declared he would seldom or never go to council. Fox had warned him not to be too hasty in embarking in a party in which Pitt must be a principal actor; and remembering his Grace how large a share Pitt had had in planting the Tories at Court, and that, speaking of Legge, Pitt had said, "I will have no more ear for Whig grievances." The rest of Newcastle's friends were as little disposed to follow him: but that he might taste the full mortification of being deserted by those whom he had most obliged, whom he had most courted and most patronised, the clergy gave the most conspicuous example of ingratitude. For thirty years Newcastle had had the almost sole disposal of ecclesiastic preferments, and consequently had raised numbers of men from penury and the meanest birth to the highest honours and amplest incomes in their profession. At this very period there were not three bishops on the bench who did not owe their mitres to him. His first levée after his fall was attended but by one

* Of Newcastle.

† George Prince of Wales, afterwards King George the Second.

‡ Frederick Prince of Wales, against whom the Duke of Newcastle carried the chancellorship of Cambridge.

§ Lord Bute had the ill-natured arrogance to compliment him on his retirement: the Duke replied with a spirit that marked his lasting ambition, "Yes, yes, my Lord, I am an old man; but yesterday was my birth-day, and I recollected that Cardinal Fleury *began* to be prime minister of France just at my age."

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bishop,* Cornwallis of Litchfield; who being a man of quality, and by his birth entitled to expect a greater rise, did but reflect the more shame on those who owed every thing to favour, and scarce one of them any thing to abilities.

The conduct of Lord Bute was not more wise than that of Newcastle. Instead of sheltering himself under that old man's name from whatever danger there might be in making peace, the Earl was driving together all those whom he ought have kept divided, and really seemed jealous lest himself should not have the whole odium of sacrificing the glories and conquests of the war; an infatuation that so far excuses him, as he must have thought he did a service to his country in restoring peace: but what must his understanding have been if he could think that peace would be a benefit, let the terms be what they would? He supposed, too, that Newcastle, having in opposition to Pitt declared for peace, could not retract, and be against the peace. This was not knowing Newcastle or mankind. The situation, too, was materially changed: the weight of Russia was transferred from the hostile to the friendly scale; Martinico was fallen; and Europe could scarce amass the symptom of a fleet. A mind less versatile than Newcastle's could not want arguments against a precipitate treaty. Yet was it not Newcastle, nor a scandalous treaty, that shook the favourite's power. It was his ignorance of the world; it was a head unadapted to government, and rendered still less proper for it by morose and recluse pride, and a heart that was not formed to bear up a weak head, that made him embark imprudently, and retreat as unadvisedly.

Lord Bute, on the resignation of the Duke of Newcastle, was immediately declared First Lord of the Treasury. George Grenville succeeded him as Secretary of State, and Sir Francis Dashwood was made his Chancellor of the Exchequer; a system that all the lustre of the favourite's power could not guard from being ridiculous, though to himself mankind bowed with obsequious, devotion. Grenville was ignorant of foreign affairs, and, though capable of out-talking the whole corps diplomatique, had no address, no manner, no insinuation, and had, least of all, the faculty of listening. The favourite himself had never been in a single office of business, but for the few months that he had held the seals: of the revenue he was in perfect ignorance, knew nothing of figures, and was a stranger to those Magi to the East of Temple-Bar, who, though they flock to a new star, expect to be talked to in a more intelligible language than that of inspiration. When a Lord Treasurer or a First Lord of the Treasury is not master of his own province, it suffices if the Chancellor of the Exchequer is a man of business, and capable of conducting the revenue, of planning supplies, and of executing the mechanic duties of that high post. But in the new dispensation it was difficult to say which was the worst suited

* Frederic, brother of Earl Cornwallis, and afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury. Young, of Norwich, was out of town, but adhered faithfully to Newcastle.

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to his office, the minister or his substitute. While the former shrouded his ignorance from vulgar eyes, and dropped but now and then from a cloud an oracular sentence; the deputy, with the familiarity and phrase of a fish-wife, introduced the humours of Wapping behind the veil of the Treasury. He had a coarse, blunt manner of speaking, that, looking like honesty, inclined men to hold his common sense in higher esteem than it deserved: but, having neither knowledge* nor dignity, his style, when he was to act as minister, appeared naked, vulgar, and irreverent to an assembly that expects to be informed, and that generally chooses to reprehend, not to be reprehended. When a statesman ventures to be familiar, he must captivate his audience by uncommon graces, or win their good-will by a humane pleasantry that seems to flow from the heart, and to be the effusion of universal benevolence. This was the secret as well as character of Henry the Fourth of France: even the semblance of it stood his grandson, our Charles the Second, in signal stead, and veiled his unfeeling heart, and selfish and remorseless insensibility.

Men were puzzled to guess at the motive of so improper a choice as this of Sir Francis Dashwood. The banner of religion was dis-

* Sir Francis Dashwood's want of knowledge of finance opened a fine field for the wits of the day, and was of course greatly exaggerated. One of them describes him as "a man to whom a sum of five figures was an impenetrable secret." His vocation, certainly, was not to the Exchequer; and he was unfortunate in having Mr. Legge for his predecessor. There were other high offices of the Government which he would have filled with credit, for he had respectable talents, was "spirited, frank and manly," and had gained the consideration of the House. (Smollett.) He was the only son of Francis Dashwood, Baronet, M.P. for Winchelsea, by Lady Mary Fane, sister of the Earl of Westmorcland, often mentioned in these Memoirs. In his youth, he had travelled much, especially in Italy, and passed some time at Rome, where he was long recollected from the following anecdote which made a great noise at the time. "It was on Good-Friday, when each person who attends the service in the Sistine chapel, as he enters, takes a small scourge from an attendant at the door. The chapel is dimly lighted, and there are three candles which are extinguished by the priest, one by one: at the putting out of the first, the penitents take off one part of their dress; at the next, still more; and, in the darkness which follows the extinguishing of the third candle, lay on their own shoulders, with groans and lamentations. Sir Francis Dashwood, thinking this mere stage effect, entered with others, dressed in a large watchman's coat: demurely took his scourge from the priest, and advanced to the end of the chapel; where, on the darkness ensuing, he drew from beneath his coat an English horse-whip and flogged right and left quite down the chapel, and made his escape, the congregation exclaiming 'Il diavolo! il diavolo!' and thinking the Evil one was upon them with a vengeance! The consequences of this frolic might have been serious to him, had he not immediately fled the Papal dominions."—(Private Information.) His political life was by no means discreditable; and, in the unfortunate affair of Admiral Byng, he exhibited kindness of feeling not less than tact and decision, which Walpole has elsewhere handsomely noticed.—Memoirs, ii. p. 145. He had a taste for the arts, and brought sculptors and painters from Italy to decorate his country-seat at West-Wycombe, in Buckinghamshire, where he laid out an extensive park with skill and effect, and built a church and mausoleum. His private life was reported to be very licentious. He married the widow of Sir Richard Ellys, Baronet, by whom he had no children, and died in 1781. The peerage, to which his claim is mentioned in a following page, descended to the Stapylton family.—E.

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played at Court, and yet all the centurions were culled from the most profligate societies. Sir Francis had long been known by his singularities and some humour. In his early youth, accoutred like Charles the Twelfth, he had travelled to Russia in hopes of captivating the Czarina; but neither the character nor dress of Charles were well imagined to catch a *woman's* heart. In Italy, Sir Francis had given into the most open profaneness; and, at his return, had assembled a society* of Young Travellers, to which a taste for the arts and antiquity, or merely having travelled, were the recommendatory ingredients. Their pictures were drawn, ornamented with symbols and devices; and the founder, in the habit of St. Francis, and with a chalice in his hand, was represented at his devotions before a statue of the Venus of Medicis, a stream of glory beaming on him from behind her lower hand. These pictures were long exhibited in their club-room at a tavern in Palace-Yard; but of later years Saint Francis had instituted a more select order. He and some chosen friends had hired the ruins of Medenham Abbey, near Marlow, and refitted it in a conventual style. Thither at stated seasons they adjourned; had each their cell, a proper habit, a monastic name, and a refectory in common—besides a chapel, the decorations of which may well be supposed to have contained the quintessence of their mysteries, since it was impenetrable to any but the initiated. Whatever their doctrines were, their practice was rigorously pagan: Bacchus and Venus were the deities to whom they almost publicly sacrificed. The old Lord Melcombe was one of the brotherhood. Yet their follies would have escaped the eye of the public, if Lord Bute from this seminary of piety and wisdom had not selected a Chancellor of the Exchequer. But politics had no sooner infused themselves amongst these rosy anchorites, than dissensions were kindled, and a false brother arose, who divulged the arcana, and exposed the good Prior, in order to ridicule him as Minister of the Finances. But, of this, more hereafter.

* They called themselves the Dilettanti. In the year 1770, they published a pompous volume on some rubbish remaining of two or three temples in Ionia.

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CHAPTER XII.

Honours heaped on Lord Bute.—His first Levée.—Archbishop Secker.—Lord Halifax appointed to the Admiralty.—Lord Melcombe a Cabinet Counsellor.—Lord Bute's Haughtiness.—First appearance of "The North Briton."—Its excessive Audacity.—Sketch of its Author, John Wilkes.—Churchill, Wilkes's Associate.—Earl Temple.—Capture and recapture of Newfoundland.—The French camp surprised by Prince Ferninand.—Propensity of the Court for Peace.—General Conway.—Peter the Third.—The Czarina Elizabeth.—The Empress Catharine.—Horrible Conspiracy against Peter.—Catharine raised to the Throne.—Murder of Peter.—Effect of the Russian revolution on the King of Prussia.

Every honour the crown could bestow was now to be heaped on the favourite. He was fond of his own person, and obtained the Garter in company with Prince William.* His first levée was crowded like a triumph. Archbishop Secker, who waited at it, pretended that, seeing a great concourse as he came from Lambeth,† he had inquired the occasion, and had gone in. Lincoln's-inn-fields, where the Duke of Newcastle lived, was not now in the way to Lambeth. About the same time died Lord Anson, and left the Amiralty too at the disposal of the favourite. He wished to bestow it on Lord Sandwich, to make room for Rigby, as Vice-Treasurer of Ireland; but the shyness of the Duke of Cumberland, whose creature Sandwich was, made that measure impracticable; and the Admiralty was bestowed on Lord Halifax, with permission to retain Ireland for a year. Elliot,‡ a chief confidant of the favourite, was appointed Treasurer of the Chambers; and Lord Melcombe a cabinet-counsellor: but there ended all the ambition of the latter, he dying of a dropsy in his stomach a few weeks afterwards.

* William Henry, third son of Frederic Prince of Wales; afterwards Duke of Gloucester.

† Lord Bute held his levées at the Cockpit, Whitehall, as did afterwards the Duke of Grafton and Lord North. Till then, each minister saw company at his own house; but Lord Bute, who lived in a small house in Audley-street, Grosvenor-square, had not room enough.

‡ Mr. afterwards Sir Gilbert, Elliot, father of the late Earl of Minto. His connexion with Lord Bute does credit to that nobleman's discernment, for he was a most useful co-adjutor; and Professor Stewart says of him, that he "seems to have united with his other well-known talents and accomplishments, a taste for abstract disquisition which rarely occurs in men of the world, accompanied with that soundness and temperance of judgment which in such researches are so indispensably necessary to guard the mind against the illusions engendered by its own subtilty. Philosophy of the Human Mind, vol. ii. p. 530.—E.

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These successes and the tide of power swelled the weak bladder of the favourite's mind to the highest pitch. His own style was haughty and distant; that of his creatures insolent. Many persons who had absented themselves from his levée were threatened with the loss of their own, or the places of their relations, and were obliged to bow the knee. But this sunshine drew up very malignant vapours. Scarce was the Earl seated but one step below the throne, when a most virulent weekly paper appeared, called *the North Briton*. Unawed by the prosecution of the Monitor (another opponent periodic satire, the author of which had been taken up for abusing favourites,) and though combated by two Court papers called the Briton and the Auditor (the former written by Smollet,* and the latter by Murphy,† and both which the new champion fairly silenced in a few weeks,) the North Briton proceeded with an acrimony, a spirit, and a licentiousness unheard of before even in this country. The highest names, whether of statesmen or magistrates, were printed at length, and the insinuations went still higher. In general, favouritism was the topic, and the partiality of the Court to the Scots. Every obsolete anecdote, every illiberal invective, was raked up and set forth in strong and witty colours against Scotland. One of the first numbers was one of the most outrageous, the theme taken from the loves of Queen

* Dr. Smollet, originally a ship-surgeon, was an abusive Jacobite writer, author of a compilation of the History of England, in which he had spoken most scurrilously of the Duke of Cumberland for suppressing the rebellion, and had been punished by the King's Bench for slandering Admiral Knowles. [His "genius," however, to use the words of Walter Scott, "has raised an imperishable monument to his memory," in poems and novels which Walpole does not deign to notice in this allusion to his works. Nor is the criticism just in other respects. Smollet's tracts are not more virulent than most publications of a similar character of that day. His censure of the Duke of Cumberland has been confirmed by subsequent historians, and his punishment for the libel on Admiral Knowles reflects discredit on the Admiral, rather than on himself. See Walter Scott's Lives of the Novelists, vol. i. p. 143.—E.]

† Murphy, once an actor, was turned hackney writer, and had engaged in a paper called *the Contest*, in behalf of Lord Holland. He stole many plays from the French, and published other things long since forgotten. ["The Way to keep Him," and "All in the Wrong," are alone a sufficient refutation of the above harsh criticism on Murphy. He was a person of considerable accomplishments, and wanted only a better temper and more independence of character to have risen to eminence. He died at an advanced age in 1805.—E.]

Smollet and Murphy, with Dr. Shebbeare, who was in Newgate for abusing King George the First, King George the Second, King William, and the Revolution, and Dr. Johnson, another known Jacobite, who even in a Dictionary had vented his Jacobite principles, were selected by Lord Bute to defend his cause, and pensioned by him as a patron of learned men. Johnson's acceptance of a pension was the more ridiculous, as in his Dictionary he had lashed the infamy of pensioners. [Neither Smollet nor Murphy were pensioned by Lord Bute. The bounty of the Crown was never more inexcusably exercised than in favour of Dr. Shebbeare—a pamphleteer, who was a disgrace to his party, and had not long before been concerned in some fraudulent practices at Oxford, when employed by the University to arrange the Clarendon papers. He died in 1788, at a very advanced age. Dr. Johnson's pension was not subjected to any conditions. Boswell, vol. i. p. 292.—E.]

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Isabella and Mortimer. No doubt but it lay open enough to prosecution, and the intention was to seize the author. But on reflection it was not thought advisable to enter on the discussion of such a subject in Westminster-hall; and, as the daring audaciousness of the writer promised little decorum, it was held prudent to wait till he should furnish a less delicate handle to vengeance: a circumspection that deceived and fell heavy on the author, who, being advised to more caution in his compositions, replied, he had tried the temper of the Court by the paper on Mortimer, and found they did not dare to touch him.

This author, who must be so often mentioned in the following pages, was John Wilkes, member of Parliament for Ailesbury. He was of a plebeian family,* but inherited a tolerable fortune in Buckinghamshire, and had been bred at Oxford, where he distinguished himself by humorous attacks on whatever was esteemed most holy and respectable. Unrestrained either in his conduct or conversation, he was allowed to have more wit than in truth he possessed; and, living with rakes and second-rate authors, he had acquired fame, such as it was, in the middling sphere of life, before his name was so much as known to the public. His appearance as an orator had by no means conspired to make him more noticed. He spoke coldly and insipidly, though with impertinence; his manner was poor, and his countenance horrid. When his pen, which possessed an easy impudent style, had drawn the attention of mankind towards him, and it was asked, who this saucy writer was? Fame, that had adopted him, could furnish but scurvy anecdotes of his private life. He had married a woman of fortune, used her ill, and at last cruelly, to extort from her the provision he had made for her separate maintenance; he had debauched a maiden of family by an informal promise of marriage, and had been guilty of other frauds and breaches of trust. Yet the man, bitter as he was in his political writings, was commonly not ill-natured or acrimonious. Wantonness, rather than ambition or vengeance, guided his hand; and, though he became the martyr of the best cause, there was nothing in his principles or morals that led him to care under what government he lived. To laugh and riot and scatter firebrands, with him was liberty. Despotism will for ever reproach Freedom with the profligacy of such a saint!

Associated with Wilkes in pleasure and in the composition of the North Briton was a clergyman named Churchill, who stepped out of obscurity about the same period, and was as open a contemner of decency as Wilkes himself, but far his superior in the endowments of his mind. Adapted to the bear-garden by his athletic mould, Churchill had frequented no school so much as the theatres. He had existed by the lowest drudgery of his function, while poetry amused what leisure he could spare, or rather what leisure he *would* enjoy; for his Muse, and his mistress, and his bottle

* His father was a distiller.

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were so essential to his existence, that they engrossed all but the refuse of his time. Yet for some years his poetry had proved as indifferent as his sermons, till a cruel and ill-natured satire on the actors had, in the first year of this reign, handed him up to public regard. Having caught the taste of the town, he proceeded rapidly, and in a few more publications started forth a giant in numbers, approaching as nearly as possible to his model Dryden, and flinging again on the wild neck of Pegasus the reins which Pope had held with so tight and caustious a hand. Imagination, harmony, wit, satire, strength, fire, and sense crowded on his compositions; and they were welcome for him—he neither sought nor invited their company. Careless of matter and manner, he added grace to sense, or beauty to nonsense, just as they came in his way; and he could not help being sonorous, even when he was unintelligible. He advertised the titles of his poems, but neither planned nor began them till his booksellers, or his own want of money, forced him to thrust out the crude but glorious sallies of his uncorrected fancy. This bacchanalian priest, now mouthing patriotism, and now venting libertinism, the scourge of bad men, and scarce better than the worst, debauching wives, and protecting his gown by the weight of his fist, engaged with Wilkes in his war on the Scots; and sometimes learning, and as often not knowing, the characters he attacked,* set himself up as the Heroules that was to cleanse the State, and punish its oppressors: and, true it is, that the storm that saved us was raised in taverns and night-cellars; so much more effectual were the orgies of Churchill and Wilkes than the daggers of Cato and Brutus. The two former saved their country, while Catiline could not ruin his,—a work to which such worthies seemed much better adapted.

But while the wit and revelry of Wilkes and Churchill ran riot, and were diverted by their dissipation to other subjects of pleasantry or satire, they had a familiar at their ear, whose venom was never distilled at random, but each drop administered to some precious work of mischief. This was Earl Temple, who whispered them where they might find torches, but took care never to be seen to light one himself. Characters so rash and imprudent were proper vehicles of his spite; and he enjoyed the two points he preferred even to power, —vengeance, and a whole skin.

This triumvirate has made me often reflect that nations are most commonly saved by the worst men in them. The virtuous are too scrupulous to go the lengths that are necessary to rouse the people against their tyrants.

While Wilkes and Churchill attacked the plenitude of the favourite's

* Mr. Southey, opposed as he was to the political creed of Churchill, thought more favourably of him. He praises the generosity and straightforwardness of his character, and says of his poems that "manly sense is their characteristic, deriving strength from indignation, and that they contain passages of sound morality and permanent truth." Cowper had a higher opinion of him than of any other contemporary writer, and even goes so far as to style him "the great Churchill." Southey's Cowper, p. 87.—E.

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power, another cloud overcast it, which, though inconsiderable and of short duration, contributed to lower him in the estimation of the people. An account arrived of the French having surprised and made themselves masters of Newfoundland. General Amherst* did not wait for orders from hence, but detaching his brother with a body of forces, recovered the island, and made the French commander prisoner.

Prince Ferdinand, not less active and vigilant, had surprised the French camp, desirous of embarking us farther in the war, and hoping that new successes would animate the nation to resist the propensity of the Court for peace. General Conway took the castle of Waldeck by stratagem; and the Hessians triumphed in other attempts.† The Prince told Mr. Conway that we might be joined by a body of Russians for a *trait de plume*, but neither miscarriage nor success could beat the favourite from his plan of pacification; though, had we been inclined to listen to that overture, a second change of scene in Russia would have disconcerted our treating with that nation.

Peter the Third, with a humane heart, had neither judgment nor patience. He meant to do right, and thought absolute power could not be better employed than in doing right without delay. His approbation and contempt were prompt and strongly marked; and, as his understanding was incapable of embracing many objects, his few ideas took the larger possession of him. Being educated a Lutheran, he despised the clergy of his empire, and had offended the soldiery by enforcing discipline, by restoring the conquests of the preceding reign, by manifesting indiscreet predilection for a regiment of Holstein, his native country, and by so blind a devotion to the King of Prussia, that himself wore that Prince's uniform. Indolence and drunkenness were added to this want of conduct; but he had to struggle with a yet more dangerous evil. The late Czarina, his aunt, finding no issue arise from his marriage with the Princess of Anhalt Zerbst, questioned the latter; and, it is said, was informed by her that she must not expect any lineage from her nephew. Elizabeth replied, the State demanded successors, and left the Grand Duchess at liberty to procure them by whose assistance she pleased. A son and daughter were the fruits of her obedience. But, though her politics were satisfied, it is said the mind of Elizabeth was not, and that she privately saw her cousin, the dethroned Czar Yvan. The opinion is general, though at what time it happened is uncertain, that

* Groom of the Bed-chamber to William Duke of Cumberland, and Commander in America. He was afterwards Knight of the Bath, and called Sir Joseph Amherst. He was subsequently made a Peer and Commander-in-Chief, [and lastly Field-Marshal.. He had been the favourite aid-de-camp of Lord Ligonier during the German wars, and bore through life the reputation of a very able and zealous officer. He distinguished himself particularly in America. He died in 1797 in his eighty-first year.—E.]

† Alluding to the defeat of the French near Giessau, by Prince Ferdinand, on the 26th September, when he drove them from all their posts and obliged them to fly with precipitation behind the Nahn. Annual Register, 1762, p. 49.—E.

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drugs to destroy his understanding had been administered to that poor Prince. Peter, though on obtaining the diadem he openly exhibited a mistress, could not but know that, if his wife had spoken truth, he could have no claim to be father of her children: thence he had the same curiosity as his aunt, visited the Czar Yvan, and, as the rumour went, intended to name him his successor. Such rumours were sufficient to alarm the Empress, who was slighted by Peter, and had reason to think he meant to divorce her. That bold bad woman, who had all the talents for empire that her husband wanted, and who had been educated by a most artful and intriguing mother, and who, with a commanding person, had a heart susceptible of warm impressions, was then under the influence of Orloff her lover, and her confidant the Princess Daskau, a young woman little above twenty years of age, but of an adventurous spirit, and what made her situation singular, sister of the Emperor's mistress.

This junto agreed to believe that Peter would not limit his aversion for the Empress to mere divorce, but intended to put her to death: a charge most improbable, and inconsistent with the Emperor's humane and unsuspecting nature. How early a conspiracy was formed, I pretend not to say; nor in relating the events of so distant a country, and whence truth is so difficult to be procured, do I pretend to give more than the outlines of their general story, collected from the most credible authority. But, however dark and secret the measures were, the facts resulting from them were so glaring, so horrid, so impious, that neither the lying palliatives set forth by the criminals themselves, nor the mercenary flattery of the learned, will be able to wash off from the Empress the foul stains of treason, murder, and usurpation.

The Emperor had not reigned above six months when the plan for dethroning him was formed, and ready to break forth. One of the conspirators being arrested for another crime, the rest concluded the whole was discovered; but, instead of dispersing or seeking safety by flight, the chiefs trusted to rashness for impunity. Orloff galloped off to the Czarina, who was absent from the capital at a separate villa from the Emperor, and told her she had not a moment to lose. That virago having ordered her women to report she was confined by sickness, and placing guards upon the road to prevent notice of her march being sent to the Czar, rode directly to the army and demanded their protection. One only regiment, that of Holstein, refused their support. All the rest saluted her Empress; and the clergy, who trembled for their idols, and resented the loss of their beards, ran headlong into rebellion. The senate, the nobility, the people, all concurred, to raise to the throne in her own name a woman who had no one claim of any sort to be their sovereign.

Nariskin, master of the horse, was the sole subject who had fidelity enough to make his escape and inform the Emperor of the catastrophe that awaited him. That poor Prince was at Oraniebaum, a villa. Thunderstruck with the news, he had not presence of mind to prepare himself to save either his empire or his life. He lost both

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by losing a day, which he wasted in drinking and vain consideration, after having fruitlessly sent to Peterhoff to secure the Empress. Next morning he heard that his wife at the head of fourteen thousand men was marching to seize him. He then attempted to make his escape to Holstein, and embarked for Cronstadt—but it was too late! The garrison had received orders to fire on him. Exhausted with perturbation of mind, with drink and fatigue, he sunk under his misfortunes, surrendered himself, and desired to see his wife, now his sovereign. As incapable of pity as of remorse, she refused to admit him, ordering him to sign a renunciation of his crown, and a most humiliating recapitulation of his errors. Nor did this avail: within very few days he was murdered.

Thus far Catharine had acted like other monsters of both sexes. Her next measures were as weak towards men as they were profane in the face of Heaven. In very silly manifestoes she endeavoured to justify her crimes; and dared even to call on the Most High as the instigator of her abominations, speaking of her husband but as her neighbour, and of his death as a judgment. Vain and contemptible was this attempt; it could blind none but those who would be willing to acquit her without it.

The Princess Daskau soon lost the favour she had so blackly merited; and Rosamouski, Hetman of the Tartars, whom many accused as the very assassin of his master, but who, as his friends urged, was forced into the conspiracy, went into a voluntary exile. Orloff had gained deeper hold on his mistress, and kept her in subjection. Panin, governor of her son, was another of the principal conspirators. Bestucheff, the late chancellor, was recalled; and thus he, Count Munich, Biron, once Duke of Courland, and master of the empire, with the various exiles of the late reigns, found themselves again together at Petersburgh.*

After the murdered Prince himself, no man was likely to be more affected by this revolution than the King of Prussia. The Russians, so lately his enemies, had not been pleased to become his allies. But, though the new Empress was necessitated to comply with the wishes of her subjects in withdrawing them from that service, she was not disposed in so critical a situation to renew the war, or to add provocation to a man whom she had deprived of so useful and essential a friend. She therefore only made the requisition of the

* This narrative of the dethronement of Peter the Third has been confirmed in many essential points by later writers.—Tooke's Catharine the Second.—Castera.—Levesque, Hist. de Russie, vol. v. 298. The precise extent of the guilt of the Empress is still a subject of dispute. The dethronement of her husband might be an act of self-defence, for he seems to have contemplated raising his mistress to the throne. His murder certainly had her ready forgiveness, if not her acquiescence, and there is nothing in her character to controvert its having been committed at her instigation. The attempt to exculpate her in the recently published Memoirs of the Princess Dashkau, is very far from satisfactory, though it in some degree elevates the character of the authoress above the level of her contemporaries at the Court of St. Petersburgh, a court in those days without a parallel for the prevalence of the crimes and vices of a semi-barbarous age.—E.

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thirty thousand Russians in his service, but allowed him for a few days to profit by their assistance, and extricate himself out of this new difficulty. He returned for answer, that he would only drive Marshal Daun from the hills before him, and her troops should return. He did so. This was taking his part with admirable presence of mind. He knew that Daun must in a day or two learn the departure of the Russian troops, and would attack him when weakened.

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CHAPTER XIII.

Birth of the Prince of Wales.—Treasure of the Hermione.—Conquest of the Havanna.—Indifference of the Court on that event.—Negotiations for Peace.—Not popular in England.—Reception in France of the Duke of Bedford.—The Duc de Nivernois.—Beckford elected Lord Mayor.—Duel between Lord Talbot and Wilkes.—Lord Bute's Delegates in the House of Commons.—Grenville and Lord Bute.—Union of Lord Bute and Fox.—The latter reproached by the Duke of Cumberland.—Lord Waldegrave and the Duke of Devonshire decline the proposal of Fox.—Disgust at the union of Bute and Fox.—Purchase of a majority to approve the Peace.—Fox's revenge against the Duke of Devonshire.—The King and the Marquis of Rockingham.—Further severity to the Duke of Devonshire.

On the 12th of August, the Queen was delivered of a Prince of Wales; and the same morning the treasure of that capital prize, the Hermione, arrived in town in many wagons and passed through the City to the Tower. The sum taken amounted to near eight hundred thousand pounds.

In the beginning of the following month came the first news from the Havanna; and before the end of it we learned the entire conquest of that important place by the three Keppels,*—the Earl of Albemarle, the Commodore and the Colonel his brothers. The honour they won was a little soiled by their rapaciousness and by our great loss of men: but to Spain the blow was of the deepest consequence, and the place irrecoverable by any force they could exert. Yet such a victory seemed to infuse as little joy into the Court of St. James's as into that of Madrid. The favourite and his creatures took no part in the transports of the nation; and, when he declined availing himself of any merit from the conquest, it was plain he was grieved either to have more to restore at the peace, or less reason for making that peace but on the most advantageous terms: but he was infatuated, and, breaking through all the barriers of glory, he sent the Duke of Bedford to Paris to settle the preliminaries, whence the Duc de Nivernois arrived for the same purpose.

Sullen and silent as Mr. Pitt was, and feeble and impotent as the faction of Newcastle, still the City and merchants showed some symp-

* George third Earl, Augustus, and William, sons of William Anne second Earl of Albemarle. Frederic, the fourth son, was on this occasion promoted to the Bishoprick of Exeter. Of Augustus (afterwards Lord Keppel) see more in the preceding reign, under the History of Admiral Byng.—Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 174. [A very interesting account of his life was lately published by his kinsman, the Honourable and Reverend Thomas Augustus Keppel.—E.]

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toms of indignation at this obstinate alacrity for treating. The Duke of Bedford was hissed as he passed through the principal streets; and treasonable papers were dispersed in the villages round London. But in France the Duke was received as their guardian angel. The most distinguished and unusual honours were paid to him; and the principal magistrate of Calais, thinking him descended from the other John Duke of Bedford, brother of Henry the Fifth, complimented his Grace (and no doubt felicitated himself on the comparison) on seeing him arrive with as salutary and pacific, as his great ancestor had formerly landed there with hostile intentions.

His counterpart the Duc de Nivernois had been long employed in negotiations at Rome and Berlin, but had not the good-fortune to please at the latter Court, where the King even turned into ridicule his puny and emaciated little figure. His ill-health, the titles that had centred in his person, and had filled him with vanity (for he was Peer of France, Prince of the Empire, Grandee of Spain, and a Roman Baron,) and his affection for polite learning, had disposed him to live in a retired circle of humble admirers, to whom he almost daily repeated his works both in prose and verse; but not without having attempted to soar higher. He had assumed devotion, in hopes of being Governor to the Dauphin: but except in concluding the peace, which, considering our eagerness, he could not avoid concluding, he had never met with brilliant success in any of his pursuits; being, as the celebrated Madame Geoffrin* said of him, "Guerrier manqué, politique manqué, bel esprit manqué, enfin, manqué partout." To England he bore no good-will; and though, till the treaty was signed, he concealed, as much as peevishness would let him, the disgust he took to this country, and was profuse in attentions to all, and in assiduity of court to the favourite and his faction, yet, though he remained here a very little time after the signature, his nature broke forth, and scarce was enough good-breeding left to skin over the sore reluctance of a momentary stay.†

* Madame Geoffrin was proprietor of a great manufacture of glass; yet by her wit, parts, riches, and cabals, and by patronising authors, and the modern philosophers and painters, statuaries and architects, and by keeping an open house for foreigners of all nations, she was much considered, and had great respect paid to her by persons of the first rank in France. [Marmontel draws a spirited portrait of her in his Memoirs.—E.]

† This is a very one-sided view of the character of the Duc de Nivernois. He had no pretensions to the character of a soldier, having been obliged to quit the army from ill-health at an early age. As a diplomatist, he certainly failed at Berlin—as all other diplomatists did, who brought proposals that did not suit the views of the King of Prussia. In England he gave great satisfaction to all parties. His popularity is noticed by Lord Chesterfield. He was a generous, though not perhaps a very discriminating, patron of letters, and a respectable writer for one who made literature only an amusement. His private life was exemplary; and he showed no common strength of mind in the firmness with which he bore the loss of his rank and property, and, above all, his heavy domestic misfortunes. His second wife to whom he was tenderly attached, died a few days after marriage. Of his two sons-in-law, the Count de Gisors, his destined heir, an élève of Marmontel, fell at the battle of Crevelt: the remaining one, the Duke

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The nation was far less impatient than the Court for peace; and, though no great burst of spirit appeared against it, there were sufficient symptoms of ill-humour to warn the prime minister, that, without redoubling his industry and taking more solid measures, he might still be foiled in the attempt of forcing an inglorious peace on the nation. Beckford, who had been desirous of resigning his alderman's gown, was, against his will, elected Lord Mayor; a mark of their good-will to his friend, Mr. Pitt. The North Briton spread the alarm as much as possible; but the flippancy of the author began to draw storms on his own head. Wilkes having in one of those papers ridiculed the flattery of Lord Talbot, who, officiating as Lord High Constable at the Coronation, had endeavoured to back his horse to the gate of Westminster Hall, that he might not turn his own back on the King, was challenged by Lord Talbot; and after a series of letters, which had more the air of a treaty than a defiance, and consequently reflected no great honour on either, they fought a bloodless duel on Bagshot Heath.

These little rubs having alarmed the favourite, he began to consider how ill-qualified his delegates would be to support his treaty in the House of Commons, if either warmly or wittily attacked. It was too precious a cause to trust to Sir Francis Dashwood. Grenville had not much more credit, though more sense and gravity; but was tedious and ill-heard, and had been trained to such obsequious deference for Mr. Pitt, that at that time no man thought him likely or proper to be opposed to so capital a master. Grenville was besides unsatisfied; and, aiming higher, had been unwilling to risk an appearance of honesty when it was not in his own cause. He had neglected to traffic with the members of the House of Commons; had secured none of them; and, being pressed by Lord Bute on that head, fairly owned he would not deal with them, unless the power was his own, and their dependence rested on him. Lord Bute was startled, and would have compromised, as himself was unacquainted with the men, that the recommendation of members to favour—that is, to places and pensions,—should be made through Grenville to himself. But Grenville was obstinate, and soon had cause to repent both his frankness and perverse ambition. It was instilled too into Lord Bute, that Grenville was not so much at variance with his family as he wished to be thought—an imputation of which he soon appeared to be guiltless: but the die was cast; and he heard with unspeakable astonishment, and with a rage not to be described, that he must exchange with Lord Halifax, that is, return to be First Lord of the Admiralty, and quit the seals, and with them the management of the House of Commons, which Mr. Fox had consented to undertake. The blow to Grenville was grievous, but could not be avoided or resented—*then*. No retreat towards his brothers Pitt and Temple

de Brissac, was torn to pieces by the mob at Paris, at the beginning of the Revolution. The Duke of Nivernois died in 1798, at a very advanced age.—E.

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was left him. Avarice decided the conflict, and he submitted to accept the Admiralty.

When Fox thus stooped to be the favourite's agent, he gratified many more passions than he could be supposed to mortify. In truth, except his pride, which had seldom restrained him, what views could he have but this step would gratify? To ravish the glories of the war from his rival Mr. Pitt, to sacrifice them, and to be selected to defend that sacrifice, glutted his spirit of competition. Favourite he could not be, for the Princess* hated, and Lord Bute feared him: but to be necessary to both was worth ambition, and the surest means of gratifying it; and to be master of the secret of the negotiation promised that superabundance of wealth, which by that secret he acquired. Should he succeed in carrying through the piece, he would have the first weight in the House of Commons, (for what harmony there was between these *rival friends* may readily be conjectured;) should he fail, it were but the loss of the Paymaster's place, inconsiderable in peace compared with its produce in time of war: for it must be noted that he would not accept the seals, and thus stood in no responsible light; a strain of prudence that might have administered alarm to the favourite himself!

Thus in the space of four months were the Princess and Lord Bute by their rash and ill-digested measures reduced to lean for support on Fox, whom they had most dreaded as the minister of the Duke of Cumberland; and who would add his own unpopularity to that of Lord Bute, and would necessarily determine Pitt to oppose with increased resentment.

Fox had embraced this invitation with such alacrity that he had signed the treaty with Lord Bute without consulting any of his friends; concluding, as over-refined politicians are apt to do, that he could bring them to his lure, and, while he paid too high compliments to his own abilities, setting too slight estimation on theirs. His first application was to the Duke of Cumberland. That haughty and sensible Prince received him with scorn, reproached him warmly with lending himself to support a tottering administration, and bitterly with his former declarations of having given up all ambitious views. The next trial made by Fox was on Lord Waldegrave,† to whom he urged that his Lordship had so much ridiculed the Princess and Lord Bute, that they had more to complain of than he had; and he endeavoured to enclose the Earl in his treaty with the Court, by asking him, if it should be proposed to call his Lordship to the Cabinet Council, whether he should like it? The Earl, who had been bred a courtier, who was of too gentle manners for opposition, and

* Besides his crime of being the favourite of the Duke of Cumberland, Fox had deeply offended the Princess by advising Mr. Pelham, the very day after the death of her husband, to take her son, the present King, from her, that she might not get an ascendant over him. I one day mentioned this fact to Lord Mansfield: he said, "It was very true, and he believed the measure was not followed, *only* because Mr. Fox had advised it"—so jealous was Mr. Pelham of Fox!

† James Earl Waldegrave, Governor to George the Third when Prince.

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too shrewd not to see that the power of the Crown was predominant, desired time to consider, and went to Windsor to consult the Duke of Cumberland. His Royal Highness acknowledged the attention with many thanks, but would give no advice. The Earl, who wanted not to be told, that not advising him to make his court when he was disposed to it, was advising him against it, was not courtier enough to quit a Prince, his friend, for a Court that he himself despised and hated; and immediately wrote to Fox to desire the proposal might not be made to him. The Duke of Devonshire* was in like manner endeavoured to be softened by Fox, who wished to wear the credit of reconciling his own friends to the peace, and bringing their support to the administration. But here again he was foiled. The Duke gave him a civil answer, assured him of his personal good wishes, but declined any connexion with him as minister.

Abandoned by his highest and most showy friends, Fox felt the mortification of discredit both with his patron and the public, and the keenest appetite for revenge. As a politician, his credit was saved by his industry and success; and by his arts his vengeance was soon gratified on two of those that thus cast him off. But now were the seeds sown, which, though slowly, produced such bitter crops in subsequent years. Detested by the public, Fox could never recover from the stain contracted at this period;—but first we must relate his triumph, and the temporary victory he gained for the Court.

Nothing was so unpromising as the prospect of the new system at first. All the devotion of the Tories to the Court could not reconcile them to the nomination of Fox. They knew the mischief he had done them, and had not the quickness to see that a renegade is tied to make satisfaction by greater benefits. Lord Mansfield, not trusted, as he had expected to be, by Lord Bute, had blown up discontents against the peace. Lord Egremont and George Grenville had adopted those doubts; and doubts from men in high place convey extensive influence. Had the peace been instantaneously proposed to the House of Commons, there is no question but it would have been rejected; so strong a disgust was taken at the union of Bute and Fox, and so numerous were their several personal enemies. Yet in one respect Bute had chosen judiciously: Fox was not to be daunted, but set himself to work at the root. He even made applications to Newcastle; but the Duke of Cumberland† had inspired

* William Cavendish, fourth Duke of Devonshire, Lord Chamberlain.

† Many causes might be assigned for the Duke's dissatisfaction. It is not improbable that a generous Prince might resent the indignity offered to his country. He might, too, resent the unrelenting hatred of the Princess, and his total exclusion from power. He might feel for Germany, his other country, which he saw neglected: or he might have hoped that the aversion of the Princess to the House of Brunswick would not cease without disgusting Prince Ferdinand; and that then, if the war had continued, the command would have once more devolved on himself.

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even Newcastle and Devonshire with resolution! This, however, was the last miscarriage of moment that Fox experienced. Leaving the grandees to their ill-humour, he directly attacked the separate members of the House of Commons; and with so little decorum on the part of either buyer or seller, that a shop was publicly opened at the Pay-office, whither the members flocked, and received the wages of their venality in bank-bills, even to so low a sum as two hundred pounds for their votes on the treaty. Twenty-five thousand pounds, as Martin,* Secretary of the Treasury, afterwards owned, were issued in one morning; and in a single fortnight a vast majority was purchased to approve the peace!

Bad as that peace proved, it was near being concluded on terms still more disadvantageous; for France, receiving earlier intelligence than we did of the capture of the Havanna, had near prevailed on the Duke of Bedford to sign the treaty,—but Aldworth,† his secretary, had the prudence or foresight to prevent that precipitate step.‡

The Court having secured the obedience of Parliament, it was determined to assume a high tone of authority; to awe, and even to punish, the refractory. The King, it was given out, *would* be King, —would *not* be dictated to by his ministers, as his grandfather had been. The prerogative was to shine out: great lords must be humbled." Fox—whose language ever was, that the Crown must predominate whenever it would exert its influence—warmly upheld the doctrine of rewards and punishment; and, having employed the former with so much success, he was rejoiced to inflict the latter to glut his own vengeance. The first fruit of these councils struck man-

* Samuel Martin, a West Indian, had been in the service of the late Prince of Wales. See more of him hereafter, and in Churchill's "Duellist." [He had been brought into the Treasury by Mr. Legge when the latter was made Chancellor of the Exchequer. Sir George Colebrooke's MS. Memoirs represent him as a plain-spoken, honest man, and more to be depended upon than his joint secretary Mr. West.—E.]

† Richard Aldworth Neville, of Billingbere, Berkshire, [son of Mr. Aldworth of Stanlake, by Catherine sister of Mr. Henry Neville Grey of Billingbere, whose estate he subsequently inherited. He filled for some years the office of Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, which occasioned his being employed a Paris; and he represented Wallingford, Reading, and Tavistock in different Parliaments. The Barony of Braybrooke descended on his only son (the late Lord) by a special limitation in the patent obtained by his relative, Sir John Griffin, Lord Howard de Walden, whose large estates he also inherited. History of Audley End, p. 54.—E.]

‡ [This statement rests on Walpole's unsupported testimony. The facts that I have been able to collect on the subject, in the quarters likely to be the best informed, are these:—On the 7th of September Lord Egremont wrote to the Duke of Bedford, informing him of the King's commands that he should not sign the preliminaries without first sending them over for his Majesty's approbation. On the 18th the Duke wrote to M. de Choiseul that he was ready to sign, and that he only *waits his answer to send his messenger to London.* On the 28th or 29th Lord Egremont wrote by the French courier of M. de Nivernois that the Havanna was taken. On the 30th he repeats the news, and promises fresh instructions. The Duke never pretended to sign against the King's orders, though he complained of their tenor. Thus Walpole's story becomes very improbable.—E.]

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kind with astonishment. The Duke of Devonshire, who had kept himself in the country, coming to town on the 28th of October, went to pay his duty to the King, and, as is customary with the great officers, went to the backstairs, whence he sent the page in waiting to acquaint his Majesty with his attendance. "Tell him," said the King angrily, "I will not see him." The page, amazed, hesitated. The King ordered him to go and deliver those very words. If the page had been thunderstruck, it may be imagined what the Duke felt. He had, however, the presence of mind to send in the page again to ask what he should do with his key of Lord Chamberlain. The reply was, "Orders will be given for that." The Duke went home with a heart full of rage, and tore off his key, which immediately after he carried to Lord Egremont the Secretary of State; and the next morning his brother Lord George Cavendish, and Lord Besborough* his brother-in-law, resigned their places. As the court urged that the Duke's disgrace was owing to his refusal of attending Councils, his Grace's friends pleaded that he had asked and obtained the King's leave not to attend them, as he seldom had attended them even in the late riegn; and that, his summons having been made by a commis in Lord Egremont's office, the Duke did not think that such a message interfered with his dispensation. Some said there had been no intention to dismiss the Duke; attributing the affront to a sudden start of passion in the King, who, coming from Richmond that morning, had met the Dukes of Devonshire and Newcastle together in a chariot, whence suspecting a cabal, he had gone home in anger, and, at the moment the Duke arrived at St. James's, was writing to Lord Bute that *now was the time;* words which proved at least that the Duke's disgrace had been meditated, and which in truth nobody doubted. The Princess had more than once termed him ironically *the Prince of the Whigs;* and his Grace having dared to desert from Fox's banner, left no doubt of the latter having contributed to irritate the prejudice already conceived. Nor could Fox wipe off the suspicion; though, as soon as the affront was known, he had hurried to Devonshire House,† and protested his utter ignorance of any such design. The Duke received him coolly, did not pretend to believe him; and his family never forgave it.

The fairness of the Duke's character, his decent and timid caution, and the high rank in which he stood with the party, made the measure much wondered at: yet it was far from producing such open offence as might have been expected, nor did the consequences spread. The Marquis of Rockingham, five days afterwards, resigned the

* William Ponsonby, Earl of Besborough, one of the Postmasters-General, had married Lady Caroline Cavendish, eldest sister of the Duke of Devonshire.

† Mr. Fox did *not* go to Devonshire House to "protest his utter ignorance of any such design." He wrote to the Duke at Chatsworth on the 2nd of November, to express his sorrow at what had happened, and in a subsequent letter of the 9th assured his Grace that "he neither knew nor had the least suspicion" of the intention to strike his Grace's name out of the Privy Council.—*Note by the late Mr. Allen,* on the manuscript copy of these Memoirs.

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Bed-chamber; but, offering to explain his disgusts, the King with much haughtiness refused to hear him—another strain of authority much vaunted, and not without effect. The Peerage itself kissed the rod, which was declared to be held out to humble them. Nor did they take the alarm, though the rigour towards the Duke of Devonshire was prosecuted farther; for, a Privy Council being summoned November the 3rd, the King ordered the Duke's name to be struck out of the Council-book: a severity of which there had been no precedent in the last reign but in the cases of Lord Bath and Lord George Sackville; the first, in open and virulent opposition; the second on his ignominious sentence after the battle of Minden. John Duke of Argyle,* when his regiment was taken from him, was not thus affronted; nor had George the First refused to admit Lord Oxford† to kiss his hand on the Queen's death, nor denied an audience to the Earl Marichal‡ involved in Jacobitism.

* Turned out for his opposition to the Excise Scheme in 1733.

† Robert Harley, Earl of Oxford, Prime Minister to Queen Anne.

‡ William Keith, Earl Marichal, engaged in the rebellion of 1715. When he came out of the King's closet, and was asked what the King had said; he replied in the words of the old ballad,

> The King looked over his left shoulder,
> And a grim look looked he,
> And cried, "Earl Marshal, but for my oath,
> Or hanged thou should'st be."

Lord Marichal was afterwards in the service of the King of Prussia, and Governor of Neufchatel. He was pardoned by King George the Third. He is one of the few persons whom Frederic appears to have really loved. He was a philosopher after the fashion of that monarch, but a more practical and amiable one; for he bore the loss of rank and wealth, and the various discomfits of a long and almost hopeless exile, with unostentatious cheerfulness, conducting himself all the while so prudently that amidst his many political opponents he had not a single personal enemy. The general esteem that followed him through life afterwards attached to his memory: and his name is rarely to be found mentioned in the works of his contemporaries without some expressions showing an earnest desire to represent him in the fairest colours. D'Alembert wrote an *éloge* in his honour. His brother, Marshal Keith, was a man of far superior ability, and his exile was a serious loss to the British army. Lord Marichal died at Potsdam in 1778, in his eighty-sixth year. Wood's Peerage of Scotland.—E.

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CHAPTER XIV.

Preliminaries of Peace with France and Spain.—Secret springs of Political actions.—Embassy to the Court of Spain offered to Lord Sandwich.—Insult to the Duke of Cumberland.—Honours and preferments.—Resignation of Lord Ashburnham and Kinnoul.—Lord Lincoln's ingratitude to the Duke of Newcastle.—Bait offered to Lord Granby.—Mr. Conway.—The Duke of York obliged to go to Italy.—Profusion exercised by the Court.—Charles Townshend's want of judgment.—His bons mots.—Attempt to propitiate Walpole.—Correspondence between him and Fox respecting the Rangership of the Parks offered to Lord Orford.—Conduct of the latter.

On the 8th of the month a courier arrived with the preliminaries signed by France and Spain. I shall not detail those preliminaries, too well known, and to be found in all common histories. It is my part to explain, as far as I could know them, the leading motives of actions and events; and, though the secret springs are often unfathomable, I had acquaintance enough with the actors to judge with better probability than the common of mankind; and where these memoirs are defective or mistaken, still they may direct to the inquiry after sounder materials, and prove a key to original papers that may appear hereafter.

The peace with Spain, as it opened a door for an embassy to that Court, afforded Mr. Fox a new opportunity of revenge; and as this measure at least he could not waive the honour of having suggested, so did it corroborate the belief of his being the author of the other too.* He immediately offered that embassy to Lord Sandwich,† who as greedily accepted it. Sandwich, rejected and exploded by all mankind, had been adopted, fostered, patronised in the most kind and intimate manner by the Duke of Cumberland; nor had he the confidence now to consult his Royal Highness, or to venture in person to notify to him his desertion. He wrote. The insult was too glaring, and could not be pardoned to either Fox or Sandwich, both of whom were forever excluded from the Duke's presence but at his public levées, and there underwent the most mortifying neglect from him; though Fox often sued in most abject manner to be forgiven.

Severity gratified, honours and preferments were amply proffered,

* The disgrace of the Duke of Devonshire.

† John Montagu, Earl of Sandwich. See more of him in the preceding reign, and in the subsequent part of this work.

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and but few rejected. The Duke of Manchester* had been named to the Bed-chamber the instant Lord Rockingham had quitted it. The Duke of Marlborough† and the Earl of Northumberland‡ were made Lords Chamberlains to the King and Queen; the latter of which posts Lord Bristol had refused to accept, from attachment to Mr. Pitt. Lord Egmont was made Postmaster in the room of Lord Besborough. The seals of Secretary of State, with the *feuille de bénéfices*, were once more offered to the Duke of Newcastle; but he replied, it would be time enough to talk of business when the Parliament met. His friend, Lord Ashburnham,§ resigned: and so did his other friend, Lord Kinnoul,‖ who, though his bosom-confidant, dwelling in his very house, had borne his disgrace, and now affected to forget him, and to plead obligations to the Duke of Devonshire, at the same time declaring his reluctance to break with the Court; a reluctance so decisive, that he retired into Scotland, and came no more to London till the year 1770.

Lord Lincoln,¶ Newcastle's favourite nephew and heir, displayed more open ingratitude. He asked an audience of the King, called his uncle a factious old fool, and said he could not forget a message which himself had brought from his uncle to his Majesty in the year 1757, in which the Duke had signified to his then Royal Highness, that, if he would not disturb the tranquillity of the rest of his grandfather's reign, the Duke, in or out of place, though he hoped the latter, would support his measures to the utmost. It was justice to

* George Montagu, fourth Duke of Manchester.

† George Spencer, third Duke of Marlborough.

‡ Hugh Smithson Percy, Earl of Northumberland, afterwards Duke of Northumberland, and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

§ John second Earl of Ashburnham, Lord of the Bed-chamber, and Ranger of the Parks, died on the 8th of April 1802, in his eighty-eighth year, and was succeeded by George the third Earl, K.G., the agreeable biographer of John Ashburnham.—E.

‖ Thomas Hay, Earl of Kinnoul, better known as Lord Dupplin. He had, in the preceding reign, held with credit, at different times, the offices of a Lord of the Treasury, of Paymaster, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, &c., and was a frequent and useful speaker in the House of Commons, "where," says Walpole, "he aimed at nothing but understanding business and explaining it." The Duke of Newcastle chiefly relied upon him in the distribution of the secret service-money and the Government patronage among the members. His embassy to Lisbon is remembered by the satirical verse of Pope,

"Kinnoul's lewd cargo and Tyrawley's crew."

He took very little part in public affairs afterwards; residing usually on his estates in Scotland, and devoting himself to rural improvements and matters of local interest. He died in 1787, aged 77, without issue, and was succeeded by his nephew.—E.

¶ Henry Clinton, Earl of Lincoln, Knight of the Garter, and one of the Lords of the Bed-chamber, was son of Henry Earl of Lincoln and Lucy Pelham, sister of the Duke of Newcastle and Henry Pelham, First Lord of the Treasury; and having married his first-cousin, Catherine, eldest daughter and coheiress of Mr. Pelham, the Duke's estate, and a new creation of the Duchy of Newcastle in reversion, were settled on him. (He died in 1794, and was the grandfather of the present Duke.)—E.

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recollect this promise; but Lincoln's subsequent conduct, at the same time that it was inconsistent, was honourable neither towards the King nor his uncle. He had a second audience, in which he told the King that the Duke insisted on his resigning; "but if I must," said he, "I will show but the more warmly the next day that I remember the message, of which I have kept a copy in writing." The third time, when he went to resign, he said he must oppose. The King told him his tone was much changed since his first audience. But the Court never had much reason to complain of Lord Lincoln's hostilities. His exceeding pride kept him secluded from the world, and rarely did he appear either at Court or in Parliament. For some time he fluctuated between Lord Bute and Mr. Pitt, to the latter of whom he at last attached himself; but with constant derision of, and insult to his uncle, and, whatever were the Duke of Newcastle's faults, cruel and unmerited. The truth was, Lord Lincoln's avarice was as unbounded as his haughtiness. Though possessed of two places for life, and one of them the most lucrative in England, the auditorship of the Exchequer, which never produces less than eight thousand pounds a-year, and during the war had brought in at least twenty, he had resented the Duke's not bestowing on him two more places for the lives of his younger sons.

As every door was to be opened or barricaded that could admit or exclude friends or enemies to the preliminaries, messengers were stationed at the seaports to waylay Lord Granby on his return from the army, with the most advantageous offers, as the Ordinance and command of the army, setting aside the worthy old Marshal Ligonier*

* "This honest old General," as he is called by Lord Chesterfield, owed his high rank entirely to his own merit, being a French Huguenot of not distinguished parentage, and without connexions in this country. He was a very brave, zealous, and intelligent officer. He had served with Marlborough in the German wars, and his conduct afterwards at Dettingen attracted the particular notice of George the Second, who invested him with the insignia of the Bath on the field, in front of the whole army. As an additional mark of the King's favour, he was also raised to a high command in Flanders, from which time all the skill shown in the Duke of Cumberland's military operations,—which at Fontenoy was not inconsiderable, for the battle was only lost by the misconduct of General Ingoldsby,—the army ascribed exclusively to him, his Royal Highness being believed to act in a great measure under his guidance; and, indeed, he was usually called the Duke's military tutor. In the Duke's absence during the Scotch rebellion of 1745, he succeeded to the command of the British troops in Flanders, and was present with ten battalions in the unfortunate battle of Raucoux, where he almost retrieved the errors of Prince Charles of Lorraine, and is admitted to have saved the army from total destruction. The brilliant charges of cavalry by which he protected the retreat of the allies have obtained the praise even of the French historians (Coxe's Pelham, vol. i. p. 322; Lacratelle, vol. ii. p. 350.) The Duke returned in the following year, as if only to lose the battle of Lafeldt; on which occasion Sir John Ligonier reaped the same melancholy glory that had attended him at Raucoux. At seventy years of age, he led a charge of Cavalry that broke the enemy's line, and had he not been taken prisoner, might have turned the fortune of the day. Louis the Fifteenth received him with distinction, and, though a rebellious subject, made him the bearer of the overtures of the peace, which, on the following year, was concluded at Aix-la-Chapelle. The re-

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with a large pension; a bait gulped by the former without scruple. Mr. Conway, to whom they did the honour of thinking they could not bribe him, (and whoever they could not bribe, they concluded, could not approve their treaty,) was decorated with the empty honour of conducting home the army; which would and did prevent his return before the discussion of the preliminaries in Parliament. And the Duke of York, whom they would not silence by favours, they obliged to go on an idle expedition to Italy.

The profusion exercised on this occasion, and which reduced the Court to stop even the payments of the King's Bed-chamber, made men recall severely to mind the King's declaration on the choice of the parliament, that he would not permit any money to be spent on elections.

Their greatest difficulty was with Charles Townsend, who slipped through their fingers at every turn, and could be held down to no decision. He refused to be First Lord of Trade with the same power over the colonies as had been granted to Lord Halifax. At the same time he was loth to resign, though in that quarter the needle rested at last,—a mark of that want of judgment that was conspicuous in all his actions; for, having fluctuated from uncertainty of the issue, he chose the losing side but the very day before the great victory of the Court on the preliminaries. His post of Secretary at War was soon after given to Ellis.* Townshend's bons-mots wounded where his conduct could not. It being reported, to justify the treatment of the Duke of Devonshire, that the King complained he had been kept prisoner; "True," said Townshend, "he is a prisoner, but he mistakes his jailer." Another of his sayings had not only proved a prophecy, but was often applied in the following years. He had said of the last arrangement before Fox was set at the head, that "it was a pretty lute-string administration, which would do very well for summer wear."

After so many considerable names, it will look, perhaps, like vain presumption in me to name myself as one whom it was thought necessary to manage. But, as it proves how low the arts and attention of Fox could descend, and as my answer (at least, I have always suspected so) contributed to an event of much consequence afterwards, I shall be excused by the candid for giving some account of it. I had, soon after my appearance in the world, lived in much

mainder of his life was passed in less active service, and in the enjoyment of the rank and honours he had so well earned. In 1757 he was made Commander-in-chief; in 1759, Field-marshal; in 1766, after passing through the subordinate steps in the peerage, he was created Earl Ligonier. He retained to the last the gaiety and amiability which had made him the favourite both of the army and the Court. His tastes were simple; one of his chief amusements being the embellishment of his country-seat in Surrey, of which his gardens were the admiration of the neighbourhood. He died in 1770, aged 92; and was succeeded in his title by his nephew, an estimable and popular nobleman, who had been Aid-de-camp to Prince Ferdinand at the battle of Minden, and on whose death, without issue, the title became extinct.—E.

* Welbore Ellis. See his character in the preceding reign.—Memoirs, vol. i. p. 484.

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intimacy with Fox, had warmly espoused his side when persecuted by the Duke and Duchess of Richmond,* and had happened to have conferred some other little favours on him. I had carefully avoided receiving the smallest or the greatest from him. As his character opened more to the world, I declined any connexion with him in politics, though determining never to have a quarrel with him, as I well knew his vindictive nature. When he united with the Duke of Newcastle, he had offered in truth slightly enough to procure the reversion of a considerable place, which I hold only for my brother's life, to be confirmed for my own, provided I would be upon good terms with the Duke. I had ever, in the most open manner, spoken of that minister with contempt; and, having never to this hour received a favour from any minister, I shall be believed that I never would accept one from Fox. I answered accordingly with much scorn, "I will not accept that reversion from the Duke." Fox, knowing this spirit, and knowing, too, that I had declared to Lord Bute that I would receive no favour from the Court, had no hope of fixing me to his measures by any offers he could make. Nor yet had he had reason to know I was averse to the preliminaries, on which I had kept silent. The truth was, I had been civilly treated on the King's accession, and had so much disliked Newcastle and Hardwicke, that few men were better pleased than myself to see a new administration; and had not the standard of Prerogative been hoisted, and disgrace brought on this triumphant country, I should probably have remained a satisfied spectator. Yet was I not so steeled by the glories of the war as to be insensible to the yearnings of humanity; and therefore ignominious as the articles were, my conscience would not suffer me to speak against a treaty that would stop such effusion of blood. Sentiments, I confess, most heroic: yet I blush not to own that they divided my sensations, and forbad my voting *against* the preliminaries, though I was too much an Englishman to vote *for* them, and accordingly left the House before the putting of the question.

As doubtless I did not trust Fox with this situation of my breast, nor made my court on his new dignity, he concluded I was in the number of the disapprovers. Direct offers, or direct threats, would be vain; but to put me in mind of my dependence on my nephew, by whose interest I was chosen into Parliament,† and which dependence Fox ought to have remembered I had braved‡ for his sake; or of my dependence on the Treasury, which could hurt me severely§

* Charles second Duke of Richmond, and Sarah Cadogan his Duchess. Fox had stolen their eldest daughter, Lady Caroline Lenox.

† For the borough of Lynn, in Norfolk.

‡ On the contested election for the borough of St. Michael in Cornwall, Lord Orford, my nephew, had quarrelled with me for taking part with Fox. I offered to resign my seat, but would not give up the liberty of voting as I pleased.

§ As Usher of the Exchequer, I advanced a very large sum of money every year to furnish the Treasury with paper, stationery wares, &c., and to pay the workmen; so that, if the payments are kept back, I am a considerable sufferer.

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by stopping the payments of my place in the Treasury; he wrote me the following letter:

Nov. 21, 1762.

DEAR SIR,

As soon as I heard that the Parks,* which Lord Ashburnham had quitted, were worth 2,200*l.* a-year (as they certainly are,) I thought such an income might, if not prevent, at least procrastinate your nephew's ruin.† I find nobody knows his Lordship's‡ thoughts on the present state of politics.

Perhaps he has none. Now, are you willing, and are you the proper person, to tell Lord Orford that I will do my best to procure this employment for him, if I can soon learn that he desires it? If he does choose it, I doubt not of his and his friend Boone's§ hearty assistance, and believe I shall see you too much oftener in the House of Commons. This is offering you a bribe, but 'tis such a one as one honest good-natured man may without offence offer to another.

If you undertake this, do it immediately, and have attention to my part in it, which is delicate. If you do not undertake it, let me know your thoughts of the proposal, whether I had better drop it entirely, or put it into other hands, and whose.

You'll believe me when I tell you that goodness of heart has as much share in this to the full as policy.

Yours ever,
H. Fox.

This artful and disingenuous letter the messenger was ordered to desire I would answer immediately. I determined at once to guard my expressions in such a manner, that, under the appearance of the same insincere cordiality which Fox affected to wear, it should not be possible to fix either declaration or engagement upon me; showing him at the same time that I would neither accept favour from him, nor be indirectly obliged to him through my nephew. I was aware that, if I refused to notify the offer to Lord Orford, he or

* The Rangership of St. James's and Hyde Parks. This post was not worth two thousand two hundred pounds a-year by itself, but with the Bed-chamber; as Lord Ashburnham had held it. Lord Orford was already Lord of the Bed-chamber; so, though I did not know it at that time, the offer was grossly fallacious. Fox, however, might be ignorant too of this circumstance.

† George Walpole, third Earl of Orford, grandson of Sir Robert Walpole. Not only his grandfather and father had left great debts, but his own dissipation had involved him in many more.

‡ He scarce ever had any thoughts about politics, but lived almost always in the country and at Newmarket, wasting his time and fortune by carelessness, rather than in pleasures and expenses. With a most engaging figure and address, he profited of no one advantage to which he was born; and without any view of advantage to himself, disgusted every friend he had by insensibility, and every friend he might have had by insincerity.

§ Charles Boone, brought into Parliament by Lord Orford for Castlerising. Fox *had already* sounded Lord Orford through Mr. Boone, but without receiving any answer.

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his friends, and the Court too, would raise a clamour against me for preventing his receiving a favour that he wanted so much: and, as he was already Lord of the Bed-chamber, there could be no reason in honour why he should not accept an addition of income; nor was there any thing in his principles that would make him difficult to be farther bound. With these views I returned the following answer:

Nov. 21, 1762.

DEAR SIR,

After having done* what the world knows I have done, to try to retrieve the affairs of my family, and to save my nephew from ruin, I can have little hopes that any interposition of mine will tend to an end I wish so much. I cannot even flatter myself with having the least weight with my Lord Orford. In the present case I can still less indulge myself in any such hopes. You remember, in the case of the St. Michael election, how hardly he used me on your account. I know how much he resented last year his thinking you concerned in the contest about the borough† where he set up Mr. Thomas Walpole; and, as he has not even now deigned to answer Mr. Boone's letter,‡ I can little expect that he will behave with more politeness to me. Yet, I think it so much my duty to lay before him any thing for his advantage, and what is by no means incompatible with his honour, that I will certainly acquaint him immediately with the offer you are so good as to make him.

You see I write to you with my usual frankness and sincerity; and you will, I am sure, be so good as to keep to yourself the freedom with which I mention very nice family affairs. You must excuse me if I add one word more on myself. My wish is, that Lord Orford should accept this offer; yet, I tell you truly, I shall state it to him plainly and simply, without giving any advice, not only for the reasons I have expressed above, but because I do not mean to be involved in this affair any otherwise than as a messenger. A man, who is so scrupulous as not to accept any obligation for himself, cannot be allowed to accept one for another without thinking himself bound in gratitude as much as if done to himself. The very little share I ever mean to take more in public affairs shall and must be dictated by disinterested motives. I have no one virtue to support me but that of disinterestedness; and, if I act with you, no man

* This alludes to my having projected a match for Lord Orford with Miss Nicholl, an heiress worth one hundred and fifty thousand pounds, whom Lord Orford would not marry; and in the course of which negotiation I had a great quarrel with my uncle, old Horace Walpole, who endeavoured, though trusted with her by me, to marry her to one of his own younger sons. This quarrel had made very great noise, and many persons were engaged in it. The young lady afterwards married the Marquis of Carnarvon.

† Mr. Fox had supported Mr. Sullivan at a borough in the West against Mr. T. Walpole; I forget whether it was Callington or Ashburton. Lord Orford was heir to estates in both by his mother.

‡ Mr. Boone had acquainted me with this, and Mr. Fox thought I did not know it, but I chose to let him see I did.

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living shall have it to say that it was not by choice and by principle. I am, dear sir,

Your sincere humble servant,

HORACE WALPOLE.

There were truths enough to displease, and they did not escape Fox. The consequence to me was, that by his influence with Martin, Secretary of the Treasury, my payments were stopped for some months, nor made but on my writing to Lord Bute himself; which, as, notwithstanding this persecution, I would take no part with the administration, proved that the delay had not flowed from the minister himself, but from his associate, my good friend: nor did it stop there. In the mean time I had written thus to Lord Orford:

Arlington-street, Nov. 22, 1762.

MY DEAR LORD,

I must preface what I am going to say, with desiring you to believe that I by no means take the liberty of giving you any advice; and should the proposal I have to make to you be disagreeable, I beg you to excuse it, as I thought it my duty to lay before you any thing that is for your advantage, and as you would have reason to blame me if I declined communicating to you a lucrative offer.

I last night received a letter from Mr. Fox, in which he tells me, that, hearing the Parks, vacant by Lord Ashburnham's resignation, are worth 2,200*l.* a-year, he will, if you desire to succeed him, do his best to procure that employment for you, if he can soon learn that it is your wish.

If you will be so good as to send me your answer, I will acquaint him with it; or, if you think it more polite to thank Mr. Fox himself for his obliging offer, I shall be very well content to be, as I am in every thing else, a cypher, except when I can show myself.

My dear Lord,

Your very affectionate humble servant,

HORACE WALPOLE.

To this letter, nor to the offer, did Lord Orford give himself the trouble of making the least reply; but, arriving in town on the very day the Parliament met, he came to me, and asked what he was to do? I replied very coldly, I did not know what he intended to do; but, if his meaning was to accept, I supposed he ought to go to Mr. Fox, and tell him so, I having nothing farther to do with it than barely to acquaint him with the offer. Without preface or apology, without recollecting his long enmity to Fox (it is true, he did not know why he was Fox's enemy,) and without a hint of reconciliation, to Fox he went, accepted the place, and never gave that ministry one vote afterwards; continuing in the country, as he would have done if they had given him nothing. I return from this digression.

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CHAPTER XV.

Conference between the Duke of Cumberland and Mr. Pitt.—Pitt's lofty style and inconclusive manner.—Want of union in the Opposition.—Anxiety of the Ministers.—Debates in both Houses on the Preliminaries of Peace.—Sudden and unexpected appearance of Mr. Pitt.—Legge, Fox, and Beckford.—Prerogative.—Pitt's Speech.—His retirement from the House when Fox rose to speak.—Speech of the latter.—Charles Townshend's versatility.—The Minority on the Division.—Exultation of the Princess of Wales on the Preliminaries being carried.—Severe political persecution.—Numerous dismissals from place.

The rupture between the Duke of Cumberland and Fox seemed naturally to pave the way for a connexion between that Prince and Mr. Pitt. They accordingly met, and had a conference of four hours; but there their amity commenced and ended. The good sense of his Royal Highness could, in spite of all his haughtiness, make him bend properly. Pitt, having less good sense than parts, and affecting more haughtiness even than he possessed, and being full of schemes rather than plans, could not be brought to any rational system. Meaning to make use of the Prince but to a certain degree, —that is, to thwart the Court, or to give it jealousy, not to erect the Duke as head of a party,—he talked in his usual vague and inconclusive manner; his nearest friends having often said, that between the uncommunicativeness of his temper and the want of suite in his reasoning faculties it was ever impossible to pin him down to any chain of definite propositions.

This the Duke experienced, and combated in vain. All he could draw from Pitt was, a positive demand that the peace should be opposed by the now forming party. Yet would he not submit to see the Duke of Newcastle; though, in his lofty style, he said he would accept of the Duke of Cumberland's guarantee of Newcastle's fidelity. It was difficult for the chiefs to coalesce: Lord Hardwicke had publicly commended the preliminaries; and though he had rejected large offers made to his son, Charles Yorke, he and his friends knew not decently how to fly to Mr. Pitt's banner, which they had so lately levelled. This want of union in the Opposition gave all the remaining advantage to the administration that they yet wanted. Mr. Pitt affected to be a chief without a party, and the party without him had no other chief; for Newcastle was worse than none, and the Duke of Cumberland had too much deference for the Crown, and was too much above courting the people, to be fit to figure as a ringleader.

In this temper of things did the Parliament meet November 25th.

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Lord Egmont and Lord Weymouth* moved the Address in the Lords, where there was no opposition: Lord Carysfort† and Lord Charles Spencer in the Commons. Nicholson Calvert made a warm speech against the peace, and was answered by Birt, who gave Mr. Pitt the honour of the first plan for taking Martinico. Beckford was yet more violent against the treaty; and compared Florida, which was to be ceded to us, for barrenness to Bagshot Heath. Charles Townshend made a trimming speech, though very personal against Beckford, and the day ended without a division; Mr. Pitt being confined at home with the gout. Without doors the scene was more turbulent: the favourite was assaulted in his chair by a formidable mob, and, had not the Guards arrived opportunely, would hardly have escaped with life.

On the 30th of the month the preliminaries were laid before both Houses, who were acquainted that the King had ordered them to be printed and distributed to the members on the morrow. The Duke of Grafton in the Lords, Calvert and Bamber Gascoyne in the Commons, objected to this; it being usual for the two Houses to give the orders for printing papers communicated to them; but the first method was acquiesced in, and the Lords resolved to take the papers into consideration on the Thursday sevennight following. Lord Pomfret‡ moved to order the high bailiff of Westminster to attend, to give an account why he had taken no measures to disperse the mob on the first day of the session. At the same time the ministers endeavoured, by money and threats, to silence or intimidate the printers of newspapers, libels, and satiric prints, and succeeded with a great number.

On the 1st of December, Calvert moved to defer considering the preliminaries till the Thursday sevennight following, as Mr. Pitt was not able to attend; but the ministers, and for that very reason, insisted on bringing them on upon the same day with the Lords, and carried their motion by 213 to 74; so unpromising was this outset of the new Opposition, in which appeared the families of Cavendish, Fitzroy, and Townshend.

The memorable day, December 9th, being arrived, both Houses sat on the preliminaries. Lord Shelburne and Lord Grosvenor moved to approve them. The Duke of Grafton with great weight and greater warmth attacked them severely, and, looking full on Lord Bute, imputed to him corruption and worse arts. The Duke was answered by the Earl of Suffolk; and then Lord Temple spoke with less than usual warmth. The favourite rose next, and defended himself with applause, having laid aside much of his former pomp. He

* Thomas Thynne, Viscount Weymouth, afterwards one of the Secretaries of State.

† Sir John Probyn, K. B., Lord Carysfort of Ireland. His son and successor was ambassador at St. Petersburgh at the beginning of the present century.—E.

‡ George Fermor, second Earl of Pomfret, brother-in-law to Earl Granville. He was clever, and a ready speaker; but so hot, head-strong, and injudicious, that his support was of very questionable benefit to his political friends. Vide an amusing anecdote of him in George Selwyn's Correspondence, vol. i. p. 352.—E.

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treated the Duke of Grafton as a juvenile member, whose imputations he despised; and, for the Peace, he desired to have written on his tomb, "Here lies the Earl of Bute, who, in concert with the King's ministers, made the Peace." A sentence often re-echoed with the ridicule it deserved, and more likely to be engraven on his monument with ignominy than approbation. The Duke of Newcastle and Lord Hardwicke censured the preliminaries, which the latter said were worse than could have been obtained the last year; and he reflected on the assiduity with which prerogative was cried up, more than it had been by the most ductile Parliaments. Henley the Chancellor abused them both: but the fine defence of the treaty was made by Lord Mansfield, which, he said, though he had concurred to make, he should still retain his old connexions and attachments; a promise he soon violated, with as little decency as his late friends had censured prerogative. At ten at night the preliminaries were approved by the Lords without a division.

But it was the other house on which expectation hung. The very uncertainty whether Mr. Pitt's health would allow him to attend, concurred to augment the impatience of the public on so serious a crisis. The Court, it was true, had purchased an effective number of votes to ratify their treaty; but, could Mr. Pitt appear, he might so expose the negotiation, and give breath to such a flame, that the ministers could not but be anxious till the day was decided, and they knew all that they had to apprehend from Mr. Pitt. Their hopes grew brighter as the debate began, and he did not appear. The probability of his absence augmented as Beckford proposed to refer the preliminaries to a committee of the whole House; a measure that seemed calculated to gain time, and that was seconded by James Grenville, who told the courtiers that it did not look as if they were very desirous of praise, so eager were they to hurry through the question. The demand was opposed by Ellis, Sir Francis Dashwood, and Harris of Salisbury, when the House was alarmed by a shout from without! The doors opened, and at the head of a large acclaiming concourse was seen Mr. Pitt, borne in the arms of his servants, who, setting him down within the bar, he crawled by the help of a crutch, and with the assistance of some few friends, to his seat; not without the sneers of some of Fox's party. In truth, there was a mixture of the very solemn and the theatric in this apparition. The moment was so well timed, the importance of the man and his services, the languor of his emaciated countenance, and the study bestowed on his dress, were circumstances that struck solemnity into a patriot mind, and did a little furnish ridicule to the hardened and insensible. He was dressed in black velvet, his legs and thighs wrapped in flannel, his feet covered with buskins of black cloth, and his hands with thick gloves. He said a few words in support of the motion for sending the preliminaries to a committee; not in order to give time for raising animosities, but as it was for the dignity of the King and the country to weigh them maturely. Parts of the treaty, he confessed

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were, beyond his expectation, good; but his mind was wounded by what regarded our trade and our allies. He wished for a committee, that he might call merchants to the bar to state the importance of what we were to keep, of what we were to give away. He would be convinced we were doing right, or he would *inflexibly arraign*. Legge said, he should cavil less than most men, but could not bestow approbation in the lump. Fox answered as briefly, that nothing could ever be finished, if perfection was insisted on. Beckford replied, that the House was as insignificant as a parliament of Paris, if treaties were not laid before them for advice, but only for approbation; and he and Calvert laid themselves out in the defence made by the ministers, that it was the King's prerogative to conclude peace or war; and, indeed, no occasion was lost of sounding high any branch of prerogative.

The Opposition not choosing to risk a division on the Committee, Harris, mentioned above, who was afterwards made one of the Lords of the Treasury, moved roundly to approve the preliminaries, with the addition of words acknowledging the prerogative in question. Had the treaty been glorious or salutary, there is no doubt but the prerogative would not have been called in aid; a proof how distinct are prerogative and the welfare of the nation. This Harris had written some abstruse books on language, and possessed a good share of reputation within a certain sphere. Lord Ilchester and Fox had brought him forth, and thought to make him a man of business, but he made only a very pliant courtier and wretched orator; and in the end, attaching himself to George Grenville, closed with all his arbitrary measures, and fell with him, with no other blemish on his character than of having thought too much as a scholar, and too little as a senator.* In his motion of approbation he said, "Peace was not made for the emolument of one country, but of many;" a truth so home, and that recoiled so forcibly on him, that it was the very reason why this country, for whose emolument it was *not* made, ought not to have honoured it with its acceptance.

Stanley spoke well and handsomely in defence of the treaty; and then Mr. Pitt rose. His speech it would be difficult to detail; it lasted three hours and twenty-five minutes, and was uttered in so low and faint a voice, that it was almost impossible to hear him. At intervals he obtained the permission of the House to speak sitting, a permission he did not abuse; supporting himself with cordials, and having the appearance of a man determined to die in that cause

* Mr. Harris did not enter Parliament until he had passed his fiftieth year, or he would probably have better supported in the House the reputation he had acquired in society and literature. He was an accomplished and truly amiable man. He did not rise beyond subordinate offices in the Government, having been made Lord of the Admiralty in 1762, Lord of the Treasury in 1763. The change of administration in 1765 displaced him, but he was appointed Controller to the Queen in 1774. He died in 1780, in his seventy-second year. An elegant account of his life is prefixed to the edition of his works by his son, the first Earl of Malmesbury.—E.

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and at that hour. This faintness and the prolixity with which he dwelt on the article of the fisheries, gave a handle to the courtiers to represent his speech as unmeasurably dull, tedious, and uninteresting. But it contained considerable matter, much reason, and some parts of great beauty:—but thunder was wanting to blast such a treaty, and this was not a day on which his genius thundered! His health or his choice had led him to present himself as a subject of affliction to his country, and his ungrateful country was not afflicted.

Some passages of his speech I shall mention; though, for the reasons I have hinted at, and for that I sat at a great distance, I could but very imperfectly collect what he said. He allowed the prerogative of the Crown in making peace or war, though something he saw squint at what would subvert the liberties of this country; and, although such prerogative there was, still was it gracious to lay the Treaty before Parliament. The Crown might finally sign the Treaty; but at the same time it was a fundamental right of the House of Commons to offer their opinion. If this was not the question confessed, he would stop the debate to insert in these words, *as it is also the indubitable and fundamental right of Parliament to offer advice.* From this, he launched out on *this venerable, this lovely Constitution*, and referred to the journals to show what answers were made by Parliament to James the First, and Charles the Second; particularly to the unkingly and unconstitutional messages of the former, as when he bade them not meddle beyond their province, with a *ne sutor ultra Crepidam.* He hoped we had no new cobbler of this old Constitution, and (looking at Fox) if we had, that man should not stand unaccused, unarraigned. With regard to the peace, it could not be called a question of humanity, for one campaign more might have prevented seven hereafter. In all other wars our commerce had been interrupted; in this alone, increased: and in respect of commerce, four of the best provinces in old France were not worth the acquisitions we had made. Those France might have reconquered; Guadaloupe she could not retake. We had got possession of their four trades of the world. Thanks to God, General Amherst had recovered Newfoundland! Thanks to Providence, Amherst's brother had behaved like *his* brother! Thus had we secured two of those trades, the fisheries and the sugar, all but at St. Domingo, and that we must have taken the next campaign. Our conquests in Africa gave us the Slave Trade; and those in India the exclusive trade of the Indies. *These depended no longer on the chance of war!* He believed there was no disunion between France and Spain; this treaty would manifestly increase their weight: the Havanna would add to it—the Havanna! that would have enabled you to supply Spanish America with British manufactures and implements! He then pronounced the preliminaries *inadmissible;* declared he had thought it right to make peace when Mr. Stanley went to France, and had been for the King not abusing his prosperity. But he had *proved* that France was not in earnest *then;* had only meant to cajole us, and deserved no management from us, after forcing us to

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the expense of this war, particularly by her iniquitous behaviour in the two Courts of Madrid and Naples, a conduct never paralleled in the unbridled behaviour of Louis the Fourteenth. Yet why talk of Naples, which was Bourbon weakness coupled with Bourbon weakness! Obstinate, however, as himself had been in pushing forward the war with Spain, he supposed he had been in the wrong, as nobody had joined in sentiment with him but Lord Temple. They two were for making the entire maintenance of the fisheries the *sine quâ non;* but all the rest had been against them, both the old Ministers and *the favoured Minister of this King*. Soon had it been known to France that the exclusive fisheries would not be made a *sine quâ non*. He had not thought that France would at once give them up, but he had held them worth trying for another Campaign or two. Before the death of the Czarina—before the acquisition of Gaudaloupe, the Havanna, and Pondicherry, the Duc de Choiseul had asked but for one rock at Newfoundland; he wished he had made his stand there, and refused, though overwhelmed with most illiberal calumny and scurrility! He took notice of the thousands of lives thrown away at the Havanna by their being sent out at so untimely a season, when the work might have been done in the month of April; but he had retired first, when he found he was not permitted to have the least weight. Yes, said he again, the French had cried, *Donnez nous un rocher simplement.*—I replied, I did not intend to give them the garden of Eden. But what they asked for their *batiments pêcheurs* extended to much more than a rock. They asked for fishing vessels, now had been given them a fishery—*en toute propriété*, in full right; I never would have granted it. Then, after expatiating on the fisheries, he drew attention to himself, by seeming to bid adieu to politics, and to despair of his own health. He might never come to the House again. He was unconnected, followed no party, respected the King's administration, though he must remonstrate when he saw them going on fatal ground. He prayed for the House of Brunswick; stood on revolution principles alone against France; had a deep-rooted alienation from France; acted on the spirit of King William, on whose maxims, and on the maxims on which they came thither, the House of Brunswick must rest, or could never be secure. He had seen the day on which every unsound maxim had been disclaimed; now saw unhappy clouds darkening our prospect; wished the Ministers would think of these important matters before it was too late!

He then went through the points to be ceded in America and Africa; and declared he would not have agreed to any terms approaching to these preliminaries. He inveighed against the bad faith of France, and showed from their losses how much they had lain at our mercy. In the campaign of Crevelt alone they had lost forty thousand men. Every year had cost them twenty thousand more. Would you still treat on the same terms you would have treated, after they had put you to the expense of fourteen additional millions, and after your arms had been crowned with such advantages? It could

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not be for the sake of Portugal; for you had been told from the throne that a stop had been put to the progress of the Spaniards in that country. We must, say the French, have St. Lucia, for *cela bouche Martinique;* is that a reason to be given to a British Parliament? France should have given you Guadaloupe, or she and Spain, Hispaniola. She had given you more in Canada than she knew you could use, and more than he had contended for; but then she had got the fisheries. On the coast of Bengal we should never have suffered her to come; yet did she affect to cede all her conquests, where she had made *none;* but, alas! no nation had ever lost an opportunity so happy, so almost accomplished, of fixing its ascendant and commerce! He applauded the drawing of the article of Canada, infinitely better executed than he could have done it. Spain, too, he owned, had acknowledged our right of cutting logwood as fully as he could find any authority in our records to contend for; but the negotiators had not been equally able, in fixing Spain, to acknowledge our right of fishery in Newfoundland. Spain does not renounce her right of fishing there, but desists. For the King of Prussia, he was disavowed! given up! sacrified! so melancholy was the effect of the coldness that was grown between the two crowns! The branches of Bourbon were united; we and our allies disunited! He had seen nothing he envied in French councils till now. They had indulged a noble delicacy of honour, and obtained every thing for Spain; nay, had treated Austria with punctilio. We did not so remember those who had served us! The moment the battle of Culloden should be forgotten, this country would be undone! We ought to have made a family compact with the King of Prussia.

Stanley said a few words on his own part in the negotiation; and then Mr. Fox rising to speak, Pitt, in contempt or exhausted, retired out of the house, attended by redoubled huzzas! the mob re-echoing the duration of his speech, "Three hours and a half! three hours and a half!"

The secession of Pitt struck such a damp on Opposition, that Fox had little to do but to chant *Te Deum* for victory. He said little, very little, in behalf of the treaty, to which success was now ensured. He rather painted his own situation, and that of parties, ranking himself with the Whigs, but affecting to believe a general union of all factions under the King. He had been called out, he said, when men would have revived those distinctions, and torn the Tories from the support of the Crown. No desire did he know of extending prerogative; if it had been exerted unduly in signing the preliminaries, Ministers were answerable; but he vowed to God he did not know that it was in the mind of any man to enlarge the prerogative. Mr. Pitt had thought we could have gone on much longer, and that France could not; he himself thought we could not have gone on much longer: but what had Mr. Pitt given, except assertions in support of his persuasion? He himself had been told that our commerce was declined. If England would apply itself to improve this peace, it would turn out the greatest that ever had been made.

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Charles Townshend, discontent, expecting much severe animadversion on the treaty, and dreading to differ with Mr. Pitt when the latter was likely to exert all his powers, had come to the House prepared to arraign the preliminaries. Finding his mistake, and secure by the retreat of Pitt, he changed his battery, defended the peace as well as it could be defended, burned incense on the altar of prerogative, and sang almost hosannahs to the praise of the King. It happened the next day that Dempster, commending Mr. Pitt, and calling him the *arch-patriot*, Rigby said, Mr. Pitt, it was true, had spoken three hours and a half, but an *archer patriot* had said more to the purpose in twenty-five minutes.

The Duke of Newcastle had sent to his friends not to divide; on which they retired. This not being known to the Duke of Cumberland, his adherents staid, and two of his own servants, Lord Ancram* and General Fitzwilliam,† were in the minority—which were but sixty-five against three hundred and nineteen. The Duke was angry that his people had been left alone; on which it was resolved to rally on the Report, but with no better success; the Court were still two hundred and twenty-seven to sixty-three, Lord Loyston, Lord Hardwicke's son, being of the majority.

Nothing can paint the importance of this victory to the Court so strongly as what the Princess of Wales said, on the news of the preliminaries being carried: "Now," said she, "my son *is* King of England." The ministers ordered that the numbers on the question should be printed—had they printed the names too, the world would have known the names of the sixty-five that were *not* bribed.

Fox having thus successfully employed rewards, thought the time was come for making use of the other weapon of government—punishment. A more severe political persecution never raged. Whoever, holding a place, had voted against the preliminaries, was instantly dismissed. The friends‡ and dependents of the Duke of Newcastle were particularly cashiered; and this cruelty was extended so far, that old servants, who had retired and been preferred to very small places, were rigorously hunted out and deprived of their livelihood. An inquisition was held at Fox's house; and a despotic spirit prevailed so rudely, that Lady Elizabeth Waldegrave,§ sister of the

* Son of the Marquis of Lothian. He had been aid-de-camp of the Duke at Fontenoy, where he was severely wounded, and commanded the cavalry at Culloden. He died in 1775, aged sixty-five.—E.

† John Fitzwilliam, brother of the Viscount of that name.

‡ If there was any hardship in this step, it consisted in these gentlemen not having received previous notice from Mr. Fox that he should regard opposition to the vote in the light of such direct hostility to the Government as would be incompatible with the tenure of office under it. Previously, there appears to have been no settled rule as to the claims of the Government on the support of members in office. Mr. Pitt, when Paymaster, not only voted but frequently spoke against the Government. It would now be considered very extraordinary in any member of the administration, however subordinate, to vote against a Government measure without a previous intimation to the premier of his readiness to resign.—E.

§ Fourth daughter of John Leveson, first Earl Gower, wife of General John Waldegrave, who succeeded his brother in the Earldom of Waldegrave.

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Duchess of Bedford, and a notable politician, desired to be admitted to the junto of proscription.

In particular, Mr. Wilkinson and Mr. Earle* were dismissed from the Board of Ordnance for their votes; as was the younger Thomas Townshend† from the green cloth, without the smallest notification. Some were even sacrificed who had given no offence, as the worthy Admiral Forbes,‡ who was removed from the Admiralty to make room for Cotes of the same profession, and a friend of Fox. Schutz, who had been seven years of the King's Bed-chamber, was turned out for no reason, but that he had not a seat in Parliament, and could be of no use there.§

But to wind up the year with more dignified rigour, the Dukes of Newcastle and Grafton and the Marquis of Rockingham were dismissed from the Lieutenancies of their several counties.‖ The same affront being designed for the Duke of Devonshire, Fox affected to make a point of saving him; but the Duke, with proper spirit, scorned to be obliged to him, and resigned to accompany his friends.

* Giles Earle.

† Eldest son of Thomas, one of the Tellers of the Exchequer, second son of Charles Viscount Townshend, Secretary of State to George I. and II.

‡ Younger son of the Earl of Granard.

§ A sufficient reason against his original appointment, but a bad one for his dismissal. Mr. Schutz was very rich, having succeeded by bequest to a large estate in Essex, from Sir J. Tyrrel.—E.

‖ This certainly was a very harsh proceeding. No Lord Lieutenant has since been dismissed without far more decided provocation.—E.

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CHAPTER XVI.

Death of John, Earl Granville.—His character.—Political persecution originating in Fox.—Want of cordiality in the Ministerial League between him and Bute.—Attack on Patent Places. Lord Northington and Sir Fletcher Norton.—The Duke of Cumberland's remark on the harsh proceedings of Fox.—Triumph of the Court.—Wilkes and Churchill.—Favour shown to the friends of the Stuarts.—Observance of the Jacobite fast.—Calvert's extraordinary Speech.—Sir John Philipps's Motion for the Accounts of the Nation.—Folly of the Tories.—Committee to inspect Mad-houses.—Accounts of the Navy.—Calamities of War.—No famous *native* Generals except Wolfe and Lord Clive.—Charles Townshend's fickle Politics.—The Standing Army.

JOHN EARL GRANVILLE, the antagonist of one Prime Minister, Prime Minister himself, and then assistant to every succeeding Prime Minister, died on the second day of the new year. The rhodomontade, to which he was addicted, was set off by parts and wit, or forgiven to his good-humour. It was very unlike the presumptuous ascendant of Pitt, or the lofty ignorance of Lord Bute. Pitt, unsociable and muffled in clouds, was adored from the terror imprinted by his lightnings. Bute thought distance and obscurity sufficient characteristics of divinity; but Granville, like Bacchus, rattled his car among men, and was but the more admired the more he familiarized himself with mortals. He had fallen unpitied, but unhated; and sank in rank without sinking in esteem, his fall having lessened him less than his exaltation. He seemed so proper for every part, that in him it did not seem mean to be second, after commanding.*

* This character of Lord Granville is not one of the author's happiest efforts. He has, however, hit off some of the more salient traits of that nobleman's character with great cleverness in his "Correspondence." Lord Mahon and Mr. Macaulay have subsequently gone over the same ground with brilliant success, but the following sketch by Lord Chesterfield, to which they are both indebted, is so full of life and spirit that the editor cannot refrain from inserting it.

"He had great parts and a most uncommon share of learning for a man of quality. He was one of the best speakers in the House of Lords, both in the declamatory and the argumentative way. He had a wonderful quickness and precision in seizing the stress of a question, which no art, no sophistry, could disguise in him. In business he was bold, enterprising, and overbearing. He had been bred up in high monarchical, that is, tyrannical principles of government, which his ardent and imperious temper made him think were the only rational and practicable ones. He would have been a great first Minister in France, little inferior, perhaps, to Richelieu; in this government which is yet free, he was neither ill-natured nor vindictive, and had a great contempt for money—his ideas were all above it. In social life he was an agreeable, good-humoured, and instructive companion, a great but interesting talker.

"He degraded himself by the vice of drinking, which, together with a great

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The persecution, set on foot at the end of the last year, was kept up with unrelaxed severity.* A place of 200*l.* a year was taken from Mr. Legge's nephew,† a boy at school: and another of the same value from a man in Sussex, who had been rewarded with it for service done against an inhuman set of smugglers, by the interest of the late Duke of Grafton, whom Fox had hated. In truth, these hardships were not only suggested by Fox, but now and then executed without the knowledge of the favourite, who often disclaimed‡ them, and sometimes, to load his associate, made recompense to the

stock of Greek and Latin, he had brought from Oxford, and practised ever afterwards. By his own industry he had made himself master of all the modern languages, and had acquired great knowledge of the law. His political knowledge of the interests of princes and of commerce was extensive, and his notions were just and great. His character may be summed up in nice precision, great decision, and overbearing presumption." Chesterfield's Miscell. Works, vol. iv. p. 49.—E.

* This persecution is inexcusable, and very unlike Mr. Fox, who was a very good-humoured man.—E.

† Son of Heneage Legge, one of the Barons of the Exchequer.

‡ I shall give two instances of my assertions. Sir William Milner held a place of about 2,000*l.* a year in the Custom-house, the greater portion of which had been allotted to his wife's aunt, Mrs. Poyntz,* as a jointure on the death of her husband, who had been governor to the Duke of Cumberland. This was now taken away, and bestowed by Lord Bute on Mr. Poole, to make him amends for the ravage made on his family† in this new persecution; Lord Bute intending at the same time to reserve 600*l.* a year out of it for Mrs. Poyntz. Lord Spencer, who had married her daughter, wrote to the King representing the case, and begging his protection for Mrs. Poyntz. The petition concluded with telling the King that this application was made to *him*, because probably his Majesty would hear of the grievance no other way. On this the whole was stopped; but that Fox might bear all the odium and Lord Bute have all the merit, the latter sent a message by Lord Ancram to the Duke of Cumberland,‡ to say, that if his Royal Highness would take it as a favour, the King would continue the pension to Mrs. Poyntz; and it was accepted.

The other was the case of Mrs. Cavendish, widow of an Admiral of that name. She had for many years enjoyed a housekeeper's place in one of the offices, in lieu of a pension as an Admiral's widow. Fox, hunting after employments for his dependents and objects of vengeance for himself, lighting on the name of a Cavendish took away her place. The lady, of a respectable family, and sister of Mrs. Cartwright, Maid of Honour to the late Queen, sent the latter to Lady Suffolk,§ from whom I heard this account, immediately, to entreat by her means an audience of Lady Elizabeth Mackinsy.‖ Mrs. Cavendish herself, living in devotion and unknown *to*, proved to be a relation *of* Lady Bute; to whom Lady E. Mackinsy had instantly applied. Lady Bute, no less surprised, sent for her lord up stairs. He said the story could not be true: it was one Mrs. Greening that was displaced, to make room for Mrs. Goldsworthy, a companion of the late Duchess of Richmond.¶ It proved that Fox had thus imposed on Lord Bute, to whom the name of Mrs. Cavendish had never been mentioned, and who gave her immediate redress.

* Anna Maria Mordaunt, Maid of Honour to Queen Caroline, and widow of Stephen Poyntz. She had been a great beauty; the poem of "The Fair Circassian" was written by a gentleman who was in love with her.

† Sir Francis Poole, related to the Duke of Newcastle, had been turned out, with others of the same connexion.

‡ Eldest son of the Marquis of Lothian, and groom of the Bed-chamber to the duke.

§ Henrietta Hobart, Countess of Suffolk, Mistress of the Robes to Queen Caroline.

‖ Wife of James Stuart Mackinsy, brother of the Earl of Bute.

¶ Sarah Cadogan, Duchess of Richmond, mother of Lady Caroline Fox.

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parties aggrieved; for though they became heartier friends afterwards, and though the favourite bore testimony, in a subsequent period, that Fox was the only man who had not deceived him, it is pretty sure that their ministerial league was far from cordial; not quite sure that Bute did not deceive Fox; and certain, that the King betrayed symptoms of satisfaction on hearing that the blame of all this violence fell on Fox.

He had meditated going still greater lengths. Lord Lincoln, whom he particularly hated, was Auditor of the Exchequer for life, the amplest sinecure in England, except the Archbishopric of Canterbury. Some other great patent-places were held by men then in Opposition. Fox himself enjoyed a very considerable one in Ireland; yet so much did his thirst of vengeance surmount his interest, that a question was put to the Chancellor, whether the King could not take away patents bestowed in former reigns, and whether the case might not be laid before the twelve Judges. The Chancellor, who had fits of bluntness and honesty, or prophetically affectionate to grants for life, so profusely heaped on him afterwards, replied, "Yes, they might lay the idea before the Judges, and then refer Magna Charta to them afterwards, to decide on that too." Norton, Solicitor General, as bold and as blunt, but never as honest as Lord Northington, being consulted to the same point, advised to take away the places, and then see if the law would restore them. This man now rose from obscure infamy to that infamous fame which long will stick to him. It was known that in private causes he took money from both parties, and availed himself against one or other of them of the lights they had communicated to him.* Yet his abilities were so good, and his knowledge so great, that no man had more extensive practice in Westminster-hall. In Parliament he had for some years been disregarded; but his foul tongue and causidical boldness, his clearness in argument or facility in assertion, his attachment to Lord Mansfield, and his total alienation from all principle, offered him as a proper tool to a Court that was to wade through the letter of the law to the de-

* The same charge is brought against Sir Fletcher Norton by Junius, (Letter 39,) who applies to him the lines of Ben Jonson, describing the lawyer who

> Gives forked counsel; takes provoking gold
> *On either hand*, and puts it up;
> So wise, so grave, of so perplexed a tongue,
> And *loud* withal, that would not wag, nor scarce
> Lie still, *without a fee*.

Though Norton had the character at the bar of being the reverse of a liberal practitioner, it is very improbable that Walpole's assertion, "that he took money from both parties" in a suit, should be literally correct. He had too many rivals as well as enemies in the profession, to admit of such conduct remaining unpunished; but it is not uncommon for a counsel to feel himself bound *in honour* to refuse a brief which he could not accept without using knowledge acquired while employed by parties who had a different interest, until he has given those parties the option of employing him again; and Norton's eagerness for gain made him take a very narrow view of such questions.—E.

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molition of the spirit. Yet his authority alone could not encourage such a violation of justice as had now been in agitation. The favourite, too, and the favourite's favourites, might think it more eligible to leave patent-places unmolested; they must have coveted them more than they could wish, to render them precarious.

The Duke of Cumberland, on these harsh proceedings, said to Lord Waldegrave, "Fox has deceived me grossly—not, as you think, by giving me up; he might be as angry with me for talking to Newcastle and Pitt—but he has deceived me, for I thought him good-natured; but in all these transactions he has shown the bitterest revenge and inhumanity."

When the Houses met after Christmas, the Court was so thoroughly the master, that scarce an attempt was made at opposition. Yet Wilkes and Churchill wrote with as much intemperance as if the nation had been overspread with the flame of faction. The latter now published his "Prophecy of Famine," one of the severest and least irregular of his works. Their poems and libels seemed to have little effect, but the seeds sown by them took deep root. Nor did the Court trouble itself to deny what was charged on it. The measures of the House of Stuart were so thoroughly copied, that even the rankest friends of that family were adopted at St. James's. Sir John Philipps himself was made a privy counsellor.

It happened that Lord Strange,* moving a common adjournment to the following Monday, the Speaker said the House must adjourn till Tuesday, for Monday would be the 30th of January. Lord Strange laughed at such a Saint's day, and divided the House, but found only thirty-six persons of his opinion; one hundred and three were for observing the ridiculous fast. Fox was of the majority, who, very few years before, had been for putting an end to that Jacobite holiday—a clear indication of the principles of the new Court. Lord Strange causing that part of the act of Parliament, which ordains observance of the day, to be read, and affirming that the words *Neither Parliament, nor People can judge the King*, were contrary to the constitution; Fox denied it, and maintained that the constitution had always held that language. Rose Fuller and Lord Strange moved, another day, to abolish the observation of the pretended martyrdom, but it was overruled by the House; however, it produced a very bold and extraordinary speech from Calvert; he drew a picture of a fictitious family in Surrey, whom he called *the Steadys*, describing two old Steady's and a young one; with a very particular account of young Steady's mother, and of her improper intimacy with a Scotch gardener—he hoped the true friends of young *Steady* would advise him to recall his old friends, and turn away the Scotch gardener. No reply was made, for none could be made, without carrying the application too home.

Most of the other transactions of this session were as trifling, and deserve but little notice. Sir John Philipps, to preserve a semblance

* Only son of the Earl of Derby, and Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.

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of patriotism, or instigated by Bute to intimidate Newcastle, moved for the accounts of the nation. Fox, who did not like any clue that might lead to the mysteries of the pay-office, opposed it; and Lord Granby, though sold to the Court, warmly defended the Duke of Newcastle's integrity. Legge objected, too, and said he saw no end such a motion tended to; it was like asking a country fellow the way—he always asks you whence you came! Aislabie* reflected on Fox for not passing his accounts, and the attack was received with loud marks of approbation; but when neither the late nor actual ministers encouraged the inquiry, it was not likely to be very successful. Sir John Philipps accordingly desisted, and Sir Francis Dashwood proposed to name a select committee to examine any accounts that had been brought in, which was agreed to; and lists were given out, from whence an equal number being chosen of the Court's and of Newcastle's friends, no more came of this, than of twenty such intended inquiries. Nor was any thing memorable in the outset, but that the Tories, meeting in a body to consider the proposed lists, erased the names of Fox's four chief friends; still, so blind were those dull men to their real interest, and still so much addicted to be led by mere names, they even objected to the large army proposed to be maintained; proof that they had not one sensible man of their body. What should a large army achieve but the work of monarchy? or say the Tories were honest men and lovers of liberty? Could they love liberty and slavery both? or did they call themselves by a disgraceful name when they deserved to wear an honourable one? In truth, all the sensible Tories I ever knew were either Jacobites or became Whigs; those that remained Tories remained fools.

A scheme more laudible, more necessary, and founded on a crying evil, met with no fairer success than the committee of accounts. I mean the committee to inspect and redress the grievous abuses of mad-houses.† Charles Townshend took great pains in that business, distinguished himself, was content, and dropped it. The lawyers raised many objections, and removed none. Poor humanity! how ill art thou treated by the human race! We fire at the relation of calamities, denounce vengeance on the perpetrators, cry out for, set about reformation, and in England, give us our due, lavish our money towards it; then grow cool, and never think of the wo afterwards. Lawyers never suffer correction of abuses; they defend them even where they do not commit them.

When the accounts of the navy were brought into the House, it appeared that one hundred and eighty-four thousand seamen had been raised during the war. Of these, one hundred and thirty thou-

* William Aislabie, auditor of the imprest, son of Mr. Aislabie, who was concerned in the South-sea scheme in the reign of George I.

† The Report of the Committee is given in the Parliamentary Debates, vol. xv. 1296. It is a very interesting document, but the only fruit of it was a Resolution, "That it is the opinion of the House that the present state of the mad-houses in this kingdom requires the interposition of the Legislature."—E.

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sand had been lost to the nation; and yet, scarce will it be believed, sixteen hundred only had been killed!* Many had deserted, and had enlisted again; others went into other services. Most of the rest died of distempers, climates, hardships, &c. But with the loss of sixteen hundred men we had destroyed the navies of France and Spain. Glorious consideration! could it be unmixed with the remembrance of the other hundred and twenty-eight thousand! But glory must shed more tears of anguish than of joy, whenever she turns accountant. What if returns were made of all the other lives lost in that war all over the face of the globe! What did the peasants in Germany suffer? even heroism had its pangs. Did not the King of Prussia see every general with whom he commenced that short war perish before his eyes? I said he felt a pang—I hope he did. It is an observation a little foreign to the reflection with which I set out, but extensively victorious as that war was to Britain, she did not see one famous *native* general arise out of that war, except Wolfe, who died in the cradle of his celebrity; and unless we name Lord Clive, who was more a statesman than general, and in both respects not matched against equal rivals. I do not mean to detract from his merits; he was borne to shine in the Indies: at home he never stepped beyond the common of mankind.

Charles Townshend, who had but just resigned, and who had no sooner resigned than he opposed the opposition, perceiving the weakness of that opposition, that Pitt would not lead it, and afraid to lead it himself, struck in again with the tide, and at the end of February kissed hands for first Lord of Trade, with a nominal rank of Cabinet Counsellor, but without being permitted to go in to the King with state papers, except with those relating to the Board of Trade. He had boasted of far greater offers. Lord Sandys was removed to make room for him. A promiscuous meeting being held at Sir Francis Dashwood's to consider what proportion of army should be kept up, Ellis, Secretary at War, proposed eighteen thousand men for England, ten for America, and the usual twelve thousand for Ireland; but hinted at raising six thousand more for the latter kingdom; which Fox said the King desired. Sir Charles Mordaunt, a chief Tory, said, he had great duty for the King, but could not consent to that augmentation. Charles Townshend seconded his refusal, and it was given up.

Lord Strange said the King must know what force was wanting, and if necessary it must be granted; but if the King would give it up, it showed it was not necessary; and therefore himself should be for the lesser member. Sir John Philipps, Lord George Sackville, and Rigby, tried in Parliament to obtain the additional six thousand, but could not carry the point, though they endeavoured to prove that the King was not limited by the act of King William to but twelve thousand men in Ireland.

* This does not include those who died of their wounds.

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CHAPTER XVII.

Mr. Pitt's opinion on the Army Reductions.—Address to the King.—Symptoms of disunion among Ministers.—Fox's rage.—Apprehensive of treachery, he seeks to propitiate his old connexions.—Sir Francis Dashwood's Budget.—Tax on Cider.—Discussion on Ways and Means.—Pitt and George Grenville.—Ardent opposition to the Cider Tax.—Petition from Newfoundland.—Humiliation of Fox.—Debate in the House of Lords on the Cider-bill.—Passing of the Bill.—Lord Bute's alarm.—His resignation.—Its effect on Fox.—George Grenville first Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer.—Removal of Sir Francis Dashwood.—Ministerial changes and promotions.

When the day came for voting the army, Mr. Pitt attended. He approved the measure, he said, as far as it went, but wished more troops were allotted to America. That he had a very different opinion from many of the peace; thought it hollow and insecure, *and that it would not last ten years*. He showed no acrimony to Fox, he and Lord Temple both seeming more hostile to Lord Bute; but he dropped, that if any body would point out the right way to inquire what was the cause of so many dismissions, he would second the motion. Beckford having wished the army more reduced, Pitt said, such reductions had hurt us formerly. After the peace of Ryswick the army was lessened to seven thousand; but war followed in three years. After the treaty of Utrecht, but eight thousand men were kept up, but that reduction produced a rebellion and an army of fifteen thousand. Charles Townshend, dreading the lash of Pitt on his late inconsistencies, retired early in the debate; but the General, his brother, just arrived from Portugal, was lavish in encomiums on the peace and peace-makers.

In a few days after, Beckford, seconded by Pitt, moved to address the King to prefer officers on half pay to those whose commissions were fresher; and though Fox and the Ministers objected, it was suffered to pass. Sir Henry Erskine in the course of the debate frequently sounding the King's name, Mr. Pitt severely reprimanded the Speaker for not stopping him.

In the progress of these debates, it was observed, that at least the favourite's faction, if not himself, were hostile to Fox. On the committee of accounts, Elliot and Lord North had been so personal to him, that he lost his temper; and Beckford desiring him to save appearances, he replied, he never minded appearances, but—he was going to say, realities, when a loud burst of laughter from the whole House interrupted him. His rage was so great, that, sitting down,

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he said to Onslow,* though an enemy, "Did you ever see a man so treated in my situation? but, by G—, I will have an explanation and ample submission, or I will never set my foot in this House again." Another symptom of disunion was, that Lord Ravensworth† having moved for the whole accounts of the war, Lord Hardwicke said it was impossible to produce them yet; the paymaster had a deputy abroad who could not have made them up. This being understood as a reflection on Fox, Lord Hardwicke said, on the contrary, he had meant to vindicate him. Lord Talbot concurred with this explanation; adding, "Nobody can imagine that *I* want to screen Mr. Fox;" an expression warmly taken up by Lord Hilsborough, one of Fox's friends.

If Lord Bute countenanced these hostilities, it was but consonant to the folly of his character. Fox had boldness and wickedness enough to undertake whatever the Court wished to compass. Fox seemed so apprehensive of treachery, that he cast about to recover his old connexions. By Lord Albemarle, Lord Frederic Cavendish,‡ and Lord Waldegrave, he laboured to be reconciled to the Duke of Cumberland and the Duke of Devonshire. He asked Lord Waldegrave if the former was still incensed against him. The other replied, he had not heard the Duke mention him of late, but supposed his Royal Highness could not be ignorant how much he had been abused by Murphy, known to write under Fox's direction. "Formerly he did so," said Fox, "but I had not seen him in a year and a half, till *hearing* how violent the 'Auditors' were, I sent for him and stopped them;"—an excuse too weak *for* a sensible man to make *to* a sensible man *through* a sensible man. Lord Waldegrave suspected that Fox's views went deeper than reconciliation; for shortly after this conversation Rigby came to the Earl, and sounded him whether he would not take the Treasury, Lord Bute, he said, not being able to stand his ground. As Lord Waldegrave had married my niece,§ I knew all these intrigues from him, and was actually in his house at the time of this overture, of which he immediately told me with an expressive smile, which in him, who never uttered a bitter word, conveyed the essence of sense and satire.

We must now quit Fox, to make room for a doughty hero of more comic cast, the Chancellor of the Exchequer.‖ Hitherto he had but just acted enough as minister, to show that he neither was one nor was fit to be one. The time was now come for *opening the budget*, when it was incumbent on him to state the finances, debts, and calls

* George Onslow, only son of the late Speaker.

† Sir Henry Liddel, Lord Ravensworth, father of the Duchess of Grafton, a connexion to which he probably owed the favourable notice of him in the author's Memoirs of George II., vol. i. p. 265.—E.

‡ One of the Duke of Devonshire's brothers, and Lord of the Bed-chamber to the Duke. A very gallant officer, who had frequently distinguished himself during the war.—E.

§ Maria, second daughter of Sir Edward Walpole.

‖ Sir Francis Dashwood.

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of Government; and to chalk out a plan of proper supplies. All this he performed so awkwardly, with so little intelligence or clearness, in so vulgar a tone, and in such mean language, that he, who had been esteemed a plain country gentleman of good sense, said himself afterwards, "People will point at me, and cry, *there goes the worst Chancellor of the Exchequer that ever appeared!*" His famous measure was the tax on cider; and whoever would know more of his ability in conducting that business, will find it amply detailed in the North-Britons; a coarse and satiric picture, yet but little exaggerated. The tax itself deserves far more than the author of it to live in the memory of English history, for the crisis it occasioned or drove on.

In the discussion of these ways and means, George Grenville complained that men objected to laying burdens on the sinking fund, and called rather for new taxes. He wished gentlemen would show him *where* to lay them. Repeating this question in his querulous, languid, fatiguing tone, Pitt, who sat opposite to him, mimicking his accent aloud, repeated these words of an old ditty—*Gentle shepherd, tell me where!* and then rising, abused Grenville bitterly. He had no sooner finished than Grenville started up in a transport of rage, and said, if gentlemen were to be treated with that contempt—Pitt was walking out of the House, but at that word turned round, made a sneering bow to Grenville and departed. The latter had provoked him by stating the profusions of the war. There is use in recording this anecdote: the appellation of *The Gentle Shepherd* long stuck by Grenville; he is mentioned by it in many of the writings on the stamp act, and in other pamphlets and political prints of the time.

The tax on cider raised a great flame in the western counties, and by management, that flame was transported to the metropolis. All the western members, however, attached to the Court, could not avoid defending the interests of their constituents; and thus joining what standing Opposition there was, the minority often divided near 120; and as every step of the bill was ardently fought, divisions happened frequently, and threw a kind of vivacity into the session. In the city Sir William Baker acted strenuously against the Court, and Wilkes's pen was never idle.

In the meantime Fox received another humiliation. He had received a petition for relief from the sufferers at Newfoundland. It was objected to from all quarters of the House: general indemnification could not be made to all the sufferers by the war, why then partial? Sir Francis Dashwood, Lord Barrington, and Nugent, supported Fox faintly; Ellis and Rigby warmly; Lord George Sackville with panegyric, for which he was reproved by Lord Strange, who with G. Grenville, Stanley, and Lord Frederic Campbell, treated Fox and his petition harshly. During this altercation Lord Middleton, casting his eye over the paper, observed that all the names to the petition were signed by the same hand. This occasioned such an uproar, that Fox was obliged to ask pardon, and withdraw the petition, pleading, that the paper had been written out fair from the original, which had really been signed by the petitioners. In pri-

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vate, he said that there had been a paragraph not worded with sufficient respect to the House, which occasioned his having the petition copied out by a clerk, and there had not been time to get it signed again; but he stood so ill in the public eye, that whatever he did received the worst construction.

March 28th. The cider bill had now laboured through the Commons, and was read for the second time by the Lords. Lord Hardwicke spoke and voted against it; but was answered well, and with severity, by Lord Marchmont.* Lord Mansfield made a bad trimming speech, but voted for the bill. Lord Lyttelton† spoke well against it. Lord Pomfret heaped panegyrics on the favourite, whose own speech was languid and unargumentative. The Tory Lords who belong chiefly to the western counties were most of them against the bill, as were nine of the Bishops; but the bill was committed by a majority of 71 to 39.

It was read the third time on the 30th, and was attacked with energy by the Duke of Grafton; by Lord Dartmouth‡ with decency and propriety; by Lord Lyttelton, though with censures on the political pamphlets of the time; and by the Duke of Newcastle, who complimented the rising generation. It having been reported that, on hearing the City would petition the King against the bill, as they had both Houses, on the ground of the bill being calculated to extend the excise, Lord Bute had sent word to the leading men of the City, that if they would drop their petition the bill should be repealed the next session, he thought it necessary to explain the foundation of that report; he had only sent word, he said, that if the bill proved a bad one, which he did not believe it would, he would try to get it repealed. This was one of his best speeches, though not divested of pomp, and with much affected contempt of popularity. Lord Ravensworth expressed great scorn of the City assuming the dictatorial tone. Lord Denbigh was still more bitter, and spoke with so much wit and applause that in very few days he was made a Lord of the Bed-chamber. Lord Temple having in both debates been very personal to the favourite, and having declared in favour of excise, as Lord Bute had against it, Lord Denbigh said he hoped the King, to please the City, would remove the Minister who was

* Hugh Hume, Earl of Marchmont; called in his father's time Lord Polwarth, and a great friend of Pope. He generally succeeded best in reply, for he could then best employ the fire and acrimony which formerly made him shine in opposition.—E.

† George Lord Lyttelton, Chancellor of the Exchequer in the late reign; another friend of Pope, and Author of Dialogues of the Dead, Life of King Henry II., &c. [Vide Walpole's Memoirs of Geo. II., vol. i. p. 175, for his character, and many particulars of his public life, written in no friendly spirit.—E.]

‡ William Legge, Earl of Dartmouth, nephew of Henry Legge; and much attached to the Methodist sect; but of an excellent character.—[Richardson is reported to have said of him, when asked if he knew an original answerable to his portrait of Sir Charles Grandison, that he might apply it to him if he were not a Methodist. (Southey's Life of Cowper, vol. i. p. 234.) He was afterwards Secretary of State.—E.]

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against excise, and place that Lord who was for it at the head of the Treasury. The bill was passed, sixty-two lords being for it, thirty-eight against it. After the first debate, the Lords Oxford, Foley, and Willoughby, protested; the first and last of the King's Bed-chamber. After the second debate, the Duke of Bolton,* Earl Temple, and Lord Fortescue, protested.

Immediately after the House rose the Sheriffs hurried to St. James's; and, though at so unusual an hour, and without having previously asked leave, presented to the King a petition not to pass the bill; but he passed it the very next morning.

Few political clouds seemed less big with mischief than this storm, unnaturally conjured up, and little likely to last; for what principle of union could there be in common between the City of London and two or three distant counties whose apples were to be taxed? The spell, *excise*, was pronounced, but had lost its terrors. They who sounded loudest the alarm, neither were alarmed, nor expected to breathe much dread into others. But there was a frame of nerves more easily thrown into disorder; fear seized on the favourite; he said, "We shall have thirty thousand men come down to St. James's!" The assault that had been made on him the first day of the session had left a lasting impression; and he had showed, early in the reign, that fortitude was not a ruling ingredient in his composition. He had appointed himself a guard of bruisers the day of his attending the King into the City in 1761, when Mr. Pitt made his insolent parade thither at the same time. Now, bating the slight distemperature occasioned by the cider-tax, England seemed to be willingly, and submissively, prostrate at the favourite's feet. Would she have rebelled for a partial tax, after acquiescing in the peace? Fear does not calculate, but lumps apprehensions in the gross. The panic was taken, and on the seventh of April, to the surprise of mankind, it was notified that Lord Bute intended to resign the next day, and to retire for his health, not being able to go through the fatigue of business.

It is true, that he had at times declared, that as soon as he had made the peace, he would quit his post; but few had heard the declaration, and fewer believed it. The Ministers knew nothing of his intention till the day before it was publicly notified; and Fox was so entirely out of the secret, that he reproached the Earl bitterly for leaving him in that ignorance and dilemma, the favourite's own speeches in Parliament expressing a wish of retirement had rather confirmed men in the opinion that he had no thoughts of it. No one act had had the least air of his giving up his power, nor had any measures been taken to replace him or carry on the present system; but the best comment on his behaviour at that moment was his subsequent conduct. The fondness he retained for power, his intrigues to preserve it, the confusion he helped to throw into almost every succeeding system, and his impotent and dark attempts to hang on

* Charles Paulet, Duke of Bolton, K.B. He died without issue in 1765.—E.

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the wheels of Government, which he only clogged, and to which he dreaded even being suspected of recommending drivers, all proved that neither virtue nor philosophy had the honour of dictating his retreat; but that fear, and fear only, was the immediate, inconsiderate, and precipitate cause of his resignation.*

Yet let me not be thought to lament this weak man's pusillanimity. I am condemning his want of policy, but rejoice at it. Had he been firm to himself, there was an end of the constitution! The hearts of Englishmen were corrupt and sold, and the best heads amongst them toiled in the cause of Despotism. A happy panic blew up the system of absolute power when it had lasted but five months; and a trifling Opposition overturned in a fortnight the work of that majority which a fortnight had purchased. Yet the struggle was not over. The rod fell into abler and more resolute hands; the mercenaries were not disbanded, though the commander-in-chief ran away. Fortunately he became incompatible with his successors; and liberty owed its salvation, not to its friends, but to discord among the conspirators.

I have mentioned how utterly Fox was disconcerted at this unexpected resignation. His first movement was to press Lord Bute to retain the Treasury, at least for six months. That attempt was fruitless. His next step was to secure his own peerage. Again was he astonished to be told that he had agreed to cede the Pay-office on going into the House of Lords. This he peremptorily denied. But he had dealt with a worthy pupil of his own. Lord Shelburne, who had negotiated between him and Lord Bute, when Fox undertook the conduct of the House of Commons, had told the Earl that Fox would quit the Pay-office for a peerage; but Fox had only stipulated to give his support for that reward. He now broke out against his scholar, reproached him for concealing Lord Bute's intention of retiring, and spoke of Shelburne to everybody *as a perfidious and infamous liar;* those were his usual words. The probability was, that Shelburne intended to slip into the Pay-office himself. The favourite, who would have declared Fox his successor, excused Lord Shelburne to him, and, in his pedantic style, called the secrecy he had observed *a pious fraud;* for Fox, he said, he knew would not have engaged in the management of the Parliament, had he been apprised that he (Bute) intended to retire, and it had been necessary to the King's affairs that Fox should carry them through the session. This very offer of the Treasury to Fox showed how little the favourite had taken any measures for carrying on his master's business for the future, and

* The best defence of his resignation is given by Mr. Adolphus, vol. i. p. 115, from private information. It by no means exculpates him from the charges in the text, and is also at variance with the statement of a writer who lived on terms of the closest intimacy with the Bute family. M. Dutens says, "That he resigned, because he was disgusted with the bustle of business, indignant at the behaviour of those who endeavoured to obtain his favour, at the baseness of some, and the duplicity of others."—Memoirs of a Traveller, now in retirement, vol. iv. p. 181. This corresponds, with all that has transpired of Lord Bute's character.—E.

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corroborates the presumption that a sudden panic was the immediate cause of his retreat.

For refusing to accept them, the post of First Lord of the Treasury and the seals of Chancellor of the Exchequer were, on April 8, the very day on which the favourite resigned, bestowed on George Grenville. Sir Francis Dashwood was removed to the Great Wadrobe; and, the barony of Despencer, then in abeyance between him and his nephew, Sir Thomas Stapleton, was granted to him: the one to repair, the other to decorate his fall.

Some other promotions were made of the favourite's and Fox's adherents; and, to strengthen the new system, many favours were heaped on the Duke of Bedford's dependents. Of the first sorts was the preferment of Oswald to be Vice-Treasurer of Ireland; of Hunter* and Harris to the Treasury; of Lord Digby† to the Admiralty; to which board were added, by Grenville, Lord Howe‡ and young Thomas Pitt.§ The Earl of Northumberland was named to the chief government of Ireland, which had been offered to, and refused by, Lord Granby, who, as I hinted before, was now appointed Master of the Ordnance; from which old Marshal Ligonier was by force removed, but softened with a pension, which he refused to accept till accompanied with an English peerage. General Townshend,‖ though only a Major-General, was made Lieutenant-General of the Ordnance; Lord Harcourt¶ replaced Lord Northumberland as Chamberlain to the Queen; and, in the room of the former, Lord Weymouth was made her Master of the Horse. The Duke of Queensberry** succeeded the deceased Lord Tweedale as Justice-General of Scotland: the Seal was given to the Duke of Athol,†† and the Privy-Seal to Mr. Mackinsy, the favourite's brother. John Pitt‡‡ was turned out to make room for Sir Edmund Thomas.§§ Lord March‖‖ and Lord Cathcart¶¶ obtained green ribands.

* Thomas Orby Hunter.

† Henry Lord Digby, nephew of Mr. Fox.

‡ Richard Viscount Howe.

§ Thomas Pitt, of Boconnock, nephew of Mr. William Pitt, with whom he was at variance. [To this gentleman, when a student at the University, Mr. Pitt addressed the beautiful letters subsequently published by Lord Grenville.—E.]

‖ General George Townshend, afterwards Viscount.

¶ Simon Lord Harcourt, who had been governor to the King.

** Charles Douglas, Duke of Queensberry; he had been Lord of the Bed-chamber to the late Prince of Wales.

†† James Duke of Athol.

‡‡ A friend of Mr. William Pitt.

§§ He had been Groom of the Bed-chamber to the late Prince.

‖‖ James Douglas, Earl of March and Ruglin [afterwards Duke of Queensberry.]

¶¶ Charles Shaw, Lord Cathcart, had been one of the hostages to France, and Lords of the Bed-chamber to William Duke of Cumberland; he was afterwards Ambassador in Russia. [Died July 21, 1776.—E.]

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CHAPTER XVIII.

The Bedford Faction.—Ambition of the Duchess of Bedford.—The Dukes of Marlborough and Rutland.—Lord Gower.—Fox raised to the Peerage.—Ingratitude of his friends, particularly of Calcraft and Rigby.—Mr. (afterwards Sir Charles) Bunbury.—Lord Hertford and Mr. Conway.—Charles Townshend's presumption.—Reversions granted by Lord Bute.—Walpole's feelings towards that Minister.—His Political acts.—Death of Lord Waldegrave.—His character.

The Bedford faction were not to be contented with empty honours or slight emoluments. They sent for their Duke from France, who, to grasp the more by seeming moderation, resigned the Privy Seal, as most men thought, with views on the Treasury itself; at least, his squadron vaunted that they had two or three administrations in readiness before the King should be obliged to employ the Opposition. The favourite, from the first moment of his power, had made it a point to gratify, nay, to out-run, the Duke of Bedford's largest wishes. Nothing he had asked, nothing his creatures were immodest enough to demand, had been denied; yet Lord Bute was balked in his hopes of purchasing the attachment of that connexion—not from their usual perfidy; he had lost them before they suspected the smallest diminution of his omnipotence. He had not gratified the ambition of the Duchess.* She had marked for herself the first post in the Queen's family; but, with more attention to her pride than to her interest, had forborne to ask it, concluding it must be offered to her. The Princess and Lord Bute, either not suspecting, or glad to be ignorant of her views, were far enough from seeking to place so dangerous a woman in the very heart of the palace. This neglect the Duchess deeply resented, and never forgave. She was even so weak as to declare that inveteracy in a letter to her sister, Lady Elizabeth Waldegrave, from Paris; which Lord Bute intercepting, there first learned what an aspic was lodged near his bosom.

But though the favourite, pursuaded of the Duchess's implacability, dropped all correspondence with that faction, he was far from checking the stream of the Crown's graces towards them. The King begged to support the Duke of Marlborough,† and offered to make him Master of the Horse, if the Duke of Rutland‡ could be induced to part with it. The latter consented to exchange it for Lord Chamberlain; but that post the Duke of Bedford insisted upon

* Gertrude Leveson Duchess of Bedford.
† George Spencer, Duke of Marlborough.
‡ John Manners, Duke of Rutland, father of Lord Granby.

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for Lord Gower.* After a warm struggle, Lord Gower obtained the Chamberlain's staff; the Duke of Rutland remained in his old situation; and the Duke of Marlborough, though so very young, was appointed Lord Privy Seal; and his brother, Lord Charles Spencer, was made Controller of the Household.

Fox obtained his barony, and retained his place, but not without experiencing such a scene of ingratitude as could scarce happen but to a man who had selected his friends more for their utility than their merit. In the discussion, and during the defending and proving what he had or had not said relative to the cession of the Paymaster's place, Calcraft,† his own creature, his cousin, raised from extreme indigence and obscurity to enormous wealth, to opulence so excessive that the vast number of regiments to which he was agent, and the outrageous pleurality of places he held, were universally believed to be deposited with him only for Fox's use,‡ took part with Lord Shelburne, and witnessed to the latter's tale. Fox ordered Calcraft to make up his accounts, dismissed him worth near 300,000*l.*, and though so rich himself, grew almost justified; and, though so hated, grew almost pitied: but this was not all. The man he most loved was Rigby; and, though Fox had not crammed him with wealth in the same lavish guise with which he had enriched Calcraft, he had assisted in Rigby's promotions, and wished to push him forwards, and to be strictly connected with him in every political walk. In the height of his quarrel with Shelburne and Calcraft, Fox, walking along St. James's-street, met, and stopped Rigby's chariot, and, leaning on the door of it, began to vent his complaints; when the other, unprovoked and unconcerned in the dispute, interrupted him with these stunning sounds, "*You* tell your story of Shelburne; *he* has a damned one to tell of you; I do not trouble myself which is the truth;"—and pushing him aside, ordered his coachman to drive away. From that moment Rigby became the enemy of Fox.§ The necessity of relating this story will appear hereafter.

The Earl of Hertford was named to succeed the Duke of Bedford at Paris. Fox, in the midst of his quarrels and mortifications, found

* Granville Leveson Gower, Earl Gower, brother of the Duchess of Bedford.

† John Calcraft began with being clerk in the War Office at 40*l.* a-year. [He was a very shrewd, intelligent man, and gained great popularity with the army by his liberal conduct and hospitality to the officers.—E.]

‡ This charge is entirely unfounded. Had there been any truth in it, the connexion between Mr. Fox and Mr. Calcraft would not have been so easily dissolved.—E.

§ It is in reference to Mr. Rigby's conduct that Lord Holland probably alludes to the following passage of a letter to Mr. Selwyn, of October 5, 1763: "I drop all politics that may not go by the post, till I see you, when I will tell you all I know of them, with the *trait* I mentioned. Had it been from a political friend only, I should be ashamed to be hurt by it. No politics will or can mortify me; I thought this man's friendship had not been only political. I loved him; and whether to feel or not to feel, to despise or grieve, on such an occasion, be most worthy of a man, I wont dispute; but the fact is, that I have been, and still am, whenever I think of it, very unhappy." Selwyn Correspondence, vol. i. p. 267.—E.

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leisure to think of his friends, and to think of gratifying his hatred. He procured his wife's brother-in-law, Mr. Bunbury, to be imposed on Lord Hertford as secretary of the embassy; an affront Lord Hertford was advised not to digest: but, though he acquiesced in it, he treated Bunbury with such obstinate coldness, that the latter was glad to quit the employment. I never knew why Fox was on all occasions the personal enemy of Lord Hertford and Mr. Conway; neither of them being hostile to him, and both most inoffensive men. The elder brother was even a good courtier, and never in union with Fox's enemies. Mr. Conway's character was indeed a reproach to that of Fox, and antipathy is as often the cause of enmity as offence is. The decorum and piety of Lord Hertford occasioned men to wonder, when, in the room of Bunbury, he chose for his secretary the celebrated free-thinker David Hume, totally unknown to him; but this was the effect of recommendations from other Scots, who had much weight with both Lord and Lady Hertford.*

While the arrangement of the new drama was thus settling, there was an important actor to be made easy; but it was one who, whenever he appeared of most consequence, was sure of rendering himself insignificant. This was Charles Townshend. After his usual fluctuation, he accepted the post of First Lord of the Admiralty, and actually went to St. James's to kiss hands for it. Presuming that nothing would or could be refused to him, without asking it, without even naming it to any minister, and as if the seats of his colleagues at that board were in the nomination of the first Commissioner, he carried to court with him a Mr. Burrel, one of his followers, intending the latter should kiss hands along with himself as another Lord of the Admiralty. Thinking his honour engaged to carry through this absurdity, he would not kiss the King's hand unless Burrel was admitted too. It was flatly refused, and Townshend was told that the King had no further occasion for his service. Lord Shelburne was immediately named to succeed him at the head of the Board of Trade, and Lord Sandwich to fill up the place destined to Townshend at the head of the Admiralty.

These were all the public promotions calculated to oil the new springs of Government. But the favourite did not close the scene of his administration without conferring still more solid marks of his power and friendship on his family and intimate dependents. The reversion of Auditor† of the Imprest was obtained for his own son Lord Mount-Stewart. My place of Usher of the Exchequer was granted in reversion to Samuel Martin;‡ and a place§ in the Custom-house, held by my brother, but the far greater share of which had been bequeathed to me by my father for my brother's life, was also

* Lady Isabella Fitzroy, second daughter of Charles Duke of Grafton.

† Then held by Mr. Aislabie for life.

‡ Secretary to the Treasury. [He derived no benefit from this appointment, having died some years before Walpole.—E.]

§ Collector of the Customs. Sir Robert Walpole held it for his own life, and for the lives of his two eldest sons, with power of bequeathing it for their lives to any child he pleased.

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granted in reversion to Jenkinson.* I was, I confess, much provoked at this last grant, and took occasion of fomenting the ill-humour against the favourite, who thus excluded me from the possibility of obtaining the continuance of that place to myself in case of my brother's death; but in truth, except in the want of that attention, I had no reason to complain. I had refused to accept the grant† from Fox, and I had in terms told Lord Bute that I would accept no favour from him, though with great civility, and without acting in any shape as hostile to him. Thus my resentment kept no deep root; and I can say with the utmost truth, that as I afterwards, though never connected with him, was on many occasions friendly to that great favourite, so no word in these Memoirs to his prejudice has been dictated by a vindictive spirit, but the whole narrative is faithfully the representation of what I knew and heard of him. Infinite ill has he occasioned to this country, in which light only it is my intention to pass sentence on his character. In other respects, the meanness of his abilities and the poorness of his spirit place him below resentment. His private virtues, the long and bitter persecution he has undergone, and many domestic misfortunes, would extract every sting which exact or necessary justice did not sharpen. The last transaction I am going to mention flowing notoriously from his dispensation, was of a nature not to be palliated or forgotten. To see it in its full force of indignity offered to so mighty a country, the reader must place himself at the moment when England, triumphant over France and Spain, had annihilated their navies, and sat sole arbitress of peace and war, absolutely secure that Europe combined could not wrench her conquest from her, and sure of proving her moderation by consenting to peace on almost whatever terms she should please to dictate.

At that moment did a pusillanimous favourite not only make peace, relinquishing the greater and most valuable part of our acquisitions, but (what never entered into the imagination of distress and slavery itself) he purchased that scandalous peace of the envoy of a little prince, who was not even a party in the war! In short, it now came out, that a pension on Ireland of one thousand pounds a-year for thirty-one years to Count Virri,‡ the Sardinian Minister, through whose hands the real negotiation§ had passed, was the price and

* Charles Jenkinson, private secretary to Lord Bute [afterwards Earl of Liverpool.—E.]

† It was again offered to me afterwards, and I again refused it.

‡ This was not the only favour that the count owed to the English Government, for they prevented his recall soon after the king's accession; and it was entirely at their instance that he obtained permission to give up his embassy to his son. He had also received a portrait set in diamonds, and a suite of Gobelin hangings from the King of France. Upon his resignation he retired to his estates in Savoy, where he intrigued until he succeeded in replacing the Count de St. Germaine as first Minister of Savoy. Mem. of a Traveller, vol. ii. p. 70.—E.

§ The negotiation was conducted by Count Virri, (Duke?) Envoy in England, and by the Bailli de Solar, the Sardinian Minister at Paris, the intimate friend of the Duchess de Choiseul; and that convenience was probably a reason why Lord Bute yielded to the treaty being settled at Paris, though the King of France had

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tribute of that shame which Lord Bute, by the treaty of Paris, heaped on Great Britain!

The very day on which the favourite resigned the reigns of government died the man who, of all England, would perhaps have rejoiced the most to behold that event. James Earl Waldegrave was carried off by the small-pox, April 8th. With unbounded benevolence, and of the most flowing courtesy to all men, Lord Waldegrave, whose penetration no weakness could escape, nor art impose upon, though vice he overlooked, and only abstained sometimes from connecting with black and bad men,—Lord Waldegrave, I say, had been so thoroughly fatigued with the insipidity of his pupil the King, and so harassed and unworthily treated by the Princess and Lord Bute, that no one of the most inflammable vengeance, or of the coolest resentment, could harbour more bitter hatred and contempt than he did for the King's mother and favourite. This aversion carried him to what I scarce believed my eyes when he first showed me—severe satires against them. He has left behind him, too, some Memoirs* of the few years in which he was governor to the Prince, that will corroborate many things I have asserted, and will not tend to make these Anecdotes be reckoned unjust and unmerciful.

Lord Waldegrave died most unseasonably for his own honour. He stood so high in the esteem of mankind for probity, abilities, and temper, that, if any man could, he might have accomplished a coalition of parties, or thrown sense into that party, which, though acting for the cause of liberty, rather wounded than served it, so ill were they formed for counsel or conduct. Had he lived still longer, he must, by the deaths of the chiefs, been placed incontestably at the head of that party himself. Indeed, but just before his illness, he was much looked up to by very different sets. Lord Bute himself had thought of him for a considerable share on his own retreat; and, but the day before Lord Waldegrave was seized with the small-pox, he had been offered the Embassy to France or Lord-Lieutenancy of Ireland, both which he peremptorily declined. And yet after his death the Court boasted they had gained him,—a report much resented, and eagerly contradicted by his friend the Duke of Cumberland. But let us now turn to the opening of the new Administration.

offered to treat here *vis-à-vis du Roi de la Grande Brètagne.* [*Vide* notes in p. 100 and 102, *supra*, for more details respecting the part taken by these Sardinian Ministers in the negotiation.]—E.

* These Memoirs were published in 1821, with a very able introduction by the late Lord Holland. A critic, who cannot be suspected of partiality (Quarterly Review, vol. xxv. p. 413,) pronounces them "a model of this species of writing." It is to be regretted that they embrace only four years, and those not the most interesting, of the reign of George II. Lord Waldegrave possessed sound sense and respectable abilities. He was highly esteemed by his contemporaries, and few men have passed through life, and, above all, public life, with a character so entirely unblemished.—A masterly criticism of Lord Waldegrave's Memoirs is given in the seventy-third number of the Edinburgh Review, from the pen of the late Mr. John Allen.—E.

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CHAPTER XIX.

Lord Bute's pretended abdication of business.—The "Triumvirate" (Mr. Grenville, Lord Egremont, and Lord Halifax,) who succeeded him.—Character of those personages.—Grenville's ingratitude to Lord Bute.—The memorable Forty-fifth Number of the "North Briton."—Wilkes apprehended on a General Warrant.—Committed close prisoner to the Tower.—His spirit and wit.—His bad character.—He is taken by Habeas Corpus to the Court of Common Pleas.—His Speech.—He is discharged from confinement.—Chief Justice Pratt.—Triumph of Wilkes.—His endeavour to obtain Warrants against the Secretaries of State.—Lord Temple.—Discontent in the Cider counties.—Mortifications of the Court.—Wilkes challenged by Forbes.—Sudden Death of Lord Egremont.

THE Parliament had risen on April 19th, every thing being then outwardly settled. The favourite, to give some colour to his pretended illness, and to his still more pretended abdication of business, went to drink the waters at Harrowgate; having first protested that he would neither meddle, nor offer to intercept or direct the channel of the King's favours. Trusting to this declaration, there started up a triumvirate, who not only seemed to be, but who really thought themselves, possessed of the whole power of government. They seemed, too, to have divided amongst themselves the whole portion of the favourite's pride. These were Mr. Grenville, his brother-in-law, Lord Egremont, and Lord Halifax: the two latter, Secretaries of State.

Mr. Grenville* had hitherto been known but as a fatiguing orator and indefatigable drudge, more likely to disgust than to offend. Beneath this useful unpromising outside lay lurking great abilities: courage so confounded with obstinacy that there was no drawing the line betwixt them; good intentions to the public, without one great view; much economy for that public, which in truth was the whole amount of his good intentions; excessive rapaciousness and parsimony in himself; infinite self-conceit, which produced impossibility of instructing, convincing, or setting him right; implacability in his temper; and a total want of principles in his political conduct; for, having long professed himself uncommonly bigotted to the doctrines of liberty, he became the staunchest champion of unwarrantable power. As all his passions were expressed by one livid smile, he

* George Grenville, next brother of Richard Earl Temple. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir William Windham, and sister of Charles Earl of Egremont, and of Percy Windham Obrien, Earl of Thomond.

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never blushed at the variations in his behaviour. His ingratitude to his benefactor Lord Bute, and his reproaching Mr. Pitt with the profusion of a war which he had sometimes actively supported, and always tacitly approved, while holding a beneficial place,* were but too often paralleled by the crimes of other men; but scarce any man ever wore in his face such outward and visible marks of the hollow, cruel, and rotten heart within.

Lord Egremont† was a composition of pride, ill-nature, avarice, and strict good-breeding; with such infirmity in his frame, that he could not speak truth on the most trivial occasion. He had humour, and did not want sense: but had neither knowledge of business, nor the smallest share of parliamentary abilities.‡

Of the three, Lord Halifax§ was by far the weakest, and at the same time the most amiable man. His pride, like Lord Egremont's, taught him much civility. He spoke readily and agreeably, and only wanted matter and argument. His profusion in building, planting, and on a favourite mistress, had brought him into great straits,

* Treasurer of the Navy.

† Sir Charles Windham, Earl of Egremont, eldest son of the celebrated orator, Sir William Windham, Chancellor of the Exchequer in the four last years of Queen Anne, and of Lady Catherine Seymour, daughter of Charles Duke of Somerset, the proudest man of his age.

‡ Had Lord Egremont been a liar of the "monstrous magnitude" stated in the text, he certainly would never have had the opportunity of refusing the offer of being Secretary of State from a man of such strict honour and integrity as Lord Waldegrave; an offer, be it observed, which Walpole notices in his Memoirs of George the Second without censure. It was to his refusal of that offer, and to his subsequent connexion with Mr. Grenville, that Lord Egremont owed this severe imputation. He was proud, obstinate, and hot-tempered; but that he was not without talent is proved by his answer to the Spanish memorial, a State paper of acknowledged merit. Bishop Newton, who knew him well, says, "that if he had entered earlier into business, he might have made as considerable a figure as his father had. He had seldom occasion to speak in Parliament, but, when he did, it was with great clearness, force, and energy; and he was thought to resemble his father in manner as well as in good matter, having a little catch and impediment in his voice, as his father had." Newton's Mem. p. 89.—E.

§ Many interesting anecdotes of Lord Halifax are given in the Memoirs of Mr. Cumberland, who had been his private secretary for many years. He describes him thus: "I am persuaded he was formed to be a good man, he might also have been a great one: his mind was large, his spirit active, his ambition honourable; he had a carriage noble and imposing; his first approach attracted notice; his consequent address ensured respect. If his talents were not quite so solid as some, nor altogether so deep as others, yet they were brilliant, popular, and made to glitter in the eyes of men: splendour was his passion; his good-fortune threw opportunities in his way to have supported it; his ill-fortune blasted all those energies which should have been reserved for the crisis of his public fame. The first offices of the State, the highest honours which his Sovereign could bestow, were showered upon him when the spring of his mind was broken; and his genius, like a vessel overloaded with treasure, but far gone in decay, was only precipitated to ruin by the very freight that, in its better days, would have crowned it with prosperity and riches. Vol. i. p. 242. This is a generous portrait, considering that Cumberland had certainly been unkindly treated by Lord Halifax; and, had he always felt thus, he would not have furnished Sheridan with the model of Sir Fretful Plagiary.—E.

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from which he sought to extricate himself by discreditable means. He aimed at virtues he could not support, and was rather carried away by his vices than sensible of them.

I have mentioned Mr. Grenville's ingratitude to Lord Bute, which implies preceding obligation. He had owed solely and entirely to Lord Bute the rich reversion of a Tellership of the Exchequer for his son. Lord Bute perhaps thought it was no light additional favour to have made over his power into Mr. Grenville's hands. But the latter had not forgotten how contemptuously he had been set aside the last year; and, as Lord Bute by no means observed his promise of abstaining from exerting his influence at Court, it is but candid to allow that Lord Bute diminished the favour by not adhering to the terms on which he bestowed it. Be that how it would, Grenville had not sat a month at the Treasury, before, remembering the affront and forgetting the reversion, he set himself by all manner of means to lessen the profits of the other reversion which Lord Bute had procured for his own son. Thus auspiciously commenced the new administration!

As soon as it was known that Lord Bute intended to quit, Wilkes had forborne to publish his North Britons; waiting to see the consequences of the change. The tone he had given did not, however, stop. In the City they toasted to Wit, Beauty, Virtue, and Honour, ironic designations of the King, Queen, Princess Dowager, and Lord Bute. The North Briton too was soon resumed, and on the 23rd of April was published the memorable *forty-fifth* number, which occasioned so much trouble to the author, procured so essential a correction of loose and till then undefined power, and produced so many silly conundrums and wretched witticisms on the number itself.* This famous paper gave a flat lie to the King himself for having, by the favourite's suggestion, assumed the honour of obtaining peace for the King of Prussia.†

Nothing could be more just than the satire, nothing more bold than the unmeasured liberty with which it was uttered.‡ The Prussian

* The figures 45 became the hieroglyphics of Wilkes's party.

† Queen Anne's speech on the treaty of Utrecht told a similar lie; so exactly was the parallel maintained throughout. [It was consequently made one of the subjects of Lord Orford's impeachment. Vide fifteenth Article, Journals, vol. xviii. p. 214.—E.]

‡ The following passages are those to which the text refers: "This week has given the public the most abandoned instance of official effrontery ever attempted to be imposed on mankind. The minister's speech last Tuesday is not to be paralleled in the annals of this country. I am in doubt whether the imposition is greater on the Sovereign or on the nation. Every friend of his country must lament that a Prince of so many great and amiable qualities, whom England truly reveres, can be brought to give the sanction of his name to the most odious measures, and to the most unjustifiable public doctrines, from a Throne ever renowned for truth, honour, and unsullied virtue. I am sure all foreigners, especially the King of Prussia, will hold the minister in contempt and abhorrence. He has made our Sovereign declare, '*My expectations have been fully answered by the happy effects which the several allies of my crown have derived from the salutary measure of the definitive treaty. The powers at war with my good*

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monarch must have read with scorn, and Europe with laughter, so absurd a boast as our vaunting to have saved an ally whom we had betrayed and abandoned. Ridicule might have handled this vainglorious falsehood with full severity and full security, without passing the bounds which law allows. But when Parliament had connived at the treachery, could it be supposed that it would suffer a private hand to wield the bolt which had slept in the custody of so many corrupt representatives? The lie given in print to the Crown, by an obscure man, was an unparalleled license. If the King had a particle of power left, or his servants, or his magistrates, of spirit, such an insult could not be passed over. The rashness of his servants contrived to involve the Crown and themselves in inextricable difficulties, and to make the unwarrantable behaviour of Wilkes appear innocent, when compared with the excesses they committed themselves.

I do not mean to lead the reader through the maze of vague and barbarous law-proceedings, which sprang out of this transaction. It did but lay open the undefined or unmeaning magazine of terms which the chicanery or contradictions of ages had heaped together, and it proved that the Crown and the subject might be justified in almost any excesses. The right-hand of Nonsense armed the King, and her left hand defended the subject. The lawyers on either side were employed in discovering springs or loop-holes.

After a week's deliberation Wilkes was seized, April 30th, by three messengers on a *general warrant*, signed by Lord Halifax. They had been ordered to apprehend him at midnight, but abstained till noon of the 30th. Churchill, his friend, then with him, slipped out of the house, either to secure himself or to give the alarm. Mr. Wood,* the Under-Secretary, and Philip Carteret Webbe,† a most vil-

brother the King of Prussia have been induced to agree to such terms of accommodation as that great Prince has approved, and the success which has attended my negotiation has necessarily and immediately diffused the blessings of peace throughout Europe.' The infamous fallacy of this whole sentence is apparent to all mankind; for it is known that the King of Prussia did not barely approve, but absolutely dictated as conqueror, every article of the terms of peace. No advantage of any kind has accrued to that magnanimous Prince from our negotiation; but he was basely deserted by the Scottish Prime Minister of England. He was known by every Court in Europe to be scarcely on better terms here than at Vienna, and he was betrayed by us in the treaty of peace. What a strain of insolence, therefore, is it in a minister to lay claim to what he is conscious his efforts tended to prevent, and meanly to arrogate to himself a share in the fame and glory of one of the greatest Princes the world has ever seen!"—E.

* Robert Wood, author of the accounts of Balbec and Palmyra, and Under-Secretary of State. He had been so made by Lord Chatham, but had deserted him. [Mr. Wood was still, and for some time after on most friendly terms with Lord Chatham. Vide his letters of the 3rd and 6th of September, 1763, in the second volume of the Chatham Correspondence, p. 246.—E.]

† Philip Carteret Webbe, M.P. for Hazlemere, and Solicitor to the Treasury. The part he took in the proceedings against Wilkes savoured too much of the practice at the Old Bailey, and made him very unpopular. His character was otherwise unexceptionable. He published various tracts on law and antiquities, and was a great collector of books and medals. He died in 1770, aged 70.—E.

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lanous tool and agent in any iniquity, seized his papers, though he had received intimation time enough to convey away the most material. He was conducted to Lord Halifax's where he behaved with much firmness and confidence, and grievously wounded the haughty dignity attempted to be assumed by Lord Egremont. They committed him close prisoner to the Tower; a severity rarely, and never fit to be practised but in cases of most dangerous treason. This treatment served but to increase Wilkes's spirit and wit. He desired to be confined in the same room where Sir William Windham, Lord Egremont's father, had been kept on a charge of Jacobitism; and said he hoped, if there could be found such a chamber in the Tower, that he might not be lodged where any Scotchman had been prisoner.

About the same time, being told of the reasons alleged by the King of Spain* for setting aside his eldest son, two of which were, that the Prince squinted, and did not believe the mysteries of our holy religion; then said Wilkes, "I can never be King of Spain, for I squint, and believe none of those mysteries."

The rigour of the commitment gave serious alarm; but the very day on which it happened, Wilkes's friends applied to the Court of Common Pleas for his habeas-corpus, expecting it from Lord Chief Justice Pratt, and scorning or despairing of it from Lord Mansfield.

Lord Temple instantly resorted to the Tower, but was denied admittance to the prisoner; a restraint the ministers found the very next day they must take off. Lord Temple then returned to visit Wilkes, as did the Duke of Grafton and some few others of rank; but, in general, the prisoner's character was so bad, and his conduct so rash and unguarded, that few who were either decent or cautious cared to be concerned with him.

The habeas-corpus being granted, Wilkes was carried to the Court of Common Pleas, May 3d. He spoke for an hour, said "attempts had been made to corrupt him, now to persecute him; he had been worse treated than any rebel Scot." The crowd in Westminster-hall gave a great shout; the Chief-Justice, with great dignity, reproved them. The judges took time to deliberate. The people were profuse of their acclamations to the sufferer.

On the 5th, he wrote a letter to his daughter (a child whom he had placed in a convent in France for her education,) and sent it open to Lord Halifax; it congratulated her on living in a *free* country. He was the same day turned out of his commission in the militia.

On the 6th, being again conveyed from the Tower to Westminster-hall, Pratt and the other judges of the Common Pleas unanimously discharged him from his confinement; the Chief-Justice delivering their opinions, and dismissing him on his parliamentary privilege, "*because*, though privilege of Parliament does not hold against a

* When Charles King of Naples, on the death of his brother King Ferdinand, succeeded to the crown of Spain, he set aside his eldest son as an idiot, made the second Prince of Asturias, and the third King of Naples.

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breach of the peace, it does against what only *tends* to a breach of the peace. The case of the seven bishops was quoted; the judges Wright, Holloway, and Allibone had been against them. Allibone, said Pratt, was a papist; Wright and Holloway had been appointed for the occasion; but Powel, an honest man, had declared for the bishops. On the other hand, he quoted a recent case of Lord Tankerville, who having been arrested on a prosecution for bribery in the election for Windsor the Lords had declared it a breach of privilege" —we shall find how much less tender the Commons were of *their* privileges.

The Chief Justice had no sooner granted the enlargement of Wilkes, than two of the King's sergeants presented letters to the Court, from the Attorney and Solicitor Generals, demanding to be admitted into the Court, as the case concerned the King's interest. The Attorney, it is said, has a right of interfering in any Court where the King's interest is agitated; it is doubted whether the Solicitor has the same prerogative. To both Pratt answered, that they had applied too late. Now did the Court feel the consequence of having forced Pratt to be Chief Justice against his will.

This triumph quite overset the little discretion of which Wilkes had been master. He seemed to put himself into the situation of a King, who, not content with the outworks with which the law has surrounded his person, attempts to employ the law as offensive artillery. Affecting to have been robbed of moveables when his papers were seized, Wilkes entered into a virulent controversy, by letter, with the Secretaries of State; and even endeavoured, though in vain, to obtain warrants for searching their houses. This wild conduct did not help his cause. His next step fell more perniciously on his own head. He erected a printing-press in his own house; and, against remonstrances of Lord Temple, who never wanted fear where there was room for it, and who had no taste for any thing that did not lead directly home to faction, indulged himself in realizing those sallies of his humour and intemperance, which are scarcely excusable when transient and confined to the jollity of intoxicated moments at table. The Court regarding Lord Temple as the instigator, not as the Socrates, of this Alcibiades, removed him from the lord-lieutenancy of the county of Buckingham. The printers, who had been vexed in their business by the orders of the Secretaries of State, and encouraged by the victory of Wilkes, prosecuted the messengers, and obtained damages to the value of 300*l*.

The same spirit spread into the west. In the cider counties they dressed up a figure in Scotch plaid, with a blue riband, to represent the favourite, and this figure seemed to lead by the nose an ass royally crowned. At the same time they voted instructions to their members to try to obtain a repeal of the act. The circumstance of the act being passed under so unpopular an administration was most unfortunate. It had taken thirty years to open the eyes of mankind to the benefits of excise; the only, at least the best, method of improving the revenue without imposing new burdens. Being started

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at so ungracious a moment, the old prejudices were industriously revived.

The Court at the same time met with some mortifications in their pursuit of congratulatory addresses on the peace which they sedulously promoted. One Judge Perrot* was so servile as to recommend it from the bench on the circuit. The Duke of Newcastle and Lord Hardwicke, the one Chancellor, the other High Steward of the University of Cambridge, refused to go to St. James's with the address of that body. Allen,† the ostentatious patron of Pope and Warburton, the latter of whom had married his natural daughter, prevailed on the city of Bath to thank the King for the *adequate*‡ peace, and had himself the insolence or folly to send that address, so profligately worded, to Mr. Pitt, with whom he had maintained a mutual intercourse of flattery. Mr. Pitt disdained to present their compliment to the King, and even declared he would represent their city no more.

Wilkes, in the mean time, had gone to France to visit his daughter. There he received a challenge from one Forbes,§ an outlawed Scot in the French service, who could not digest the torrents of abuse which Wilkes had poured forth on his country. Alexander Murray, brother of Lord Elibank, and an outlaw too since the Westminster Election in 1751,‖ was the go-between in this quarrel, not without being suspected of inflaming it. Wilkes accepted the defiance for the next morning, but, when Forbes called on him, affected to laugh it off, saying, he was bound to fight Lord Egremont by preference

* He was appointed King's Counsel in May, 1757, and Baron of the Exchequer, in Hilary Term, 1762. He resigned in May, 1764. We cannot find any thing more about him. His praise of the peace seems to have been on his first circuit; probably, while his surprise and gratitude were fresh. There are no Exchequer reports of that time. Except on the circuit, a Baron of the Exchequer was then, and long after, almost a sinecurist.—E.

† Ralph Allen, of Prior Park, near Bath, Master of the Cross-posts.

‡ Mr. Pitt had openly pronounced the peace *inadequate*, and it seemed to be personally levelled at him, that the address affected to call it *adequate*. [Bishop Warburton insists on Allen's ignorance of Mr. Pitt having applied the term "inadequate" to the peace, and disclaims any concern in it himself; though he admits having drawn up, promoted, and advised a similar address from the clergy of Gloucester, whose interference, on this occasion, "had the fate," Mr. Pitt observed, "not to be imitated by any other episcopal see in the kingdom." Allen, who was now an old man, felt Mr. Pitt's resentment acutely, and immediately withdrew from this corporation. He died on the 29th June of the following year, having bequeathed to Mr. Pitt a legacy of 1,000*l*. Mr. Pitt's letter of condolence to his widow shows, that whatever coolness the address might have produced in their intercourse was short-lived. The correspondence between Mr. Pitt and Allen is in the Annual Register for 1763, p. 208; and in the Chatham Correspondence, vol. ii. p. 256.—E.

§ Captain Forbes, of Ogilby's regiment, in the French service. He was of a good family in Scotland, and of some merit in his profession, as may be inferred from his subsequently attaining the rank of General in Portugal, where, in common with other Scotch exiles, he was employed and trusted.—E.

‖ Vide Memoirs of the year 1751, [vol. i. p. 15—181. He was at that time residing at Paris, under the name of Count Murray. In 1771, he was recalled by letter under the King's privy seal, and he died shortly afterwards.—E.]

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before any other man. When that excuse availed not, he asked Forbes if he had provided a second; to which the other replied, such preparation was too dangerous in France. Altercations thickened, till at last the lieutenant de police was sent for, who obliged Forbes to promise not to proceed any farther.

Had the duel with Lord Egremont been seriously intended, from that too, would Wilkes have been delivered; for the earl, who was of a sanguine and apoplectic complexion, of which he had felt attacks, and though warned in vain to moderate the indulgence of his palate, to which he was ungovernably prone, died suddenly on the 21st of August, and put an end to a triumvirate which had involved their master and themselves in such a labyrinth of knotty and undecided questions.

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CHAPTER XX.

Perplexity of the "Triumvirate."—Lord Bute's unsuccessful Manœuvres.—Lord Halifax and Mr. Grenville remonstrate with the King.—The Duchess of Bedford's animosity to Lord Bute and the Princess of Wales.—Schemes of the Bedford Faction.—Mr. Pitt sent for by the King.—Negotiation with the former.—The Treaty broken off.—Causes of the Rupture.—The King's Account of his Interviews with Pitt.—Pitt's Proposals.—Proscriptions.—Machinations of Lord Sandwich.—Ministerial Arrangements.—Grenville's Power.—Lord Temple's Conduct.

But it was not the affair of Wilkes which had alone perplexed the Triumvirate. They found they were by no means in the confidence of the King. He was continually suggesting new measures to them, which plainly came from a hidden quarter. A fortnight before the death of Lord Egremont, his Majesty had hinted to Grenville that he wished to prevail on Lord Hardwicke to return, if not to his service, at least to his councils. Whether the blow received from the Common Pleas had alarmed the favourite (who had made but a very short stay at Harrowgate,) and had warned him to look out for more support; or whether he thought the three ministers insufficient; or whether, which is most likely, he wished already to get rid of them, especially having detected the underhand practices of Grenville against his son's patent;—in short, whatever was the motive, Grenville could not be ignorant who was author of the advice, and only replied, *it would not do*. The King insisted, and the overture was made; Hardwicke rejected it, and said he would not abandon Newcastle. The King then commanded the same trial to be made on Newcastle, but with exclusion of Mr. Pitt; an early proof of those crooked councils of division with which the favourite was afterwards so often charged, and which were so agreeable to the King's natural insincerity. Newcastle haughtily refused the offers made to him. Still were the King's discourses dark and ambiguous; and, though affecting to call out for new strength by extending preferments, he had refused, at Grenville's recommendation, to make the Duke of Leeds* President of the Council, and Lord Hyde† Chief Justice in Eyre.

* Thomas Osborne, fourth Duke of Leeds.

† Thomas Villiers, Baron Hyde, brother of William Earl of Jersey. [He had been Minister at Berlin in the reign of George the Second, and received various honours from Frederick the Great, whose preference of him to such men as

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On this behaviour the three ministers had determined to bring his Majesty to an explanation. Lord Halifax broke the ice; complained of their not having his countenance, and concluded with telling him that he had but three options: to support them; to try a coalition of parties, which was impracticable; or to surrender himself, bound hand and foot, to Mr. Pitt. Mr. Grenville went much farther; reproached him with violating the assurances he had given them that Lord Bute should meddle no more, and with abandoning the ministers he had himself chosen. The King renewed his professions, and promised to be firm to them. Grenville said he should go into the country for a fortnight, and begged the King to take his final resolution against that time. At Grenville's return the King had renewed his protestations, and, the very day before Lord Egremont died, Grenville had been to assure him of the King's promise to be true to them; but, on the 25th, Grenville, through great professions to him, perceived that his Majesty was not without a disposition of recalling Pitt, against which Grenville made a warm, not to say indecent, remonstrance and protest.

The Bedfords in the interim had totally renounced Bute. The Duchess had carried her animosty still higher, and would not, on her return from the French embassy, be prevailed on to pay her duty to the Princess of Wales. Casting about for allies (for Grenville and Lord Halifax they despised,) the Bedford faction had not been without views of connecting with the Duke of Cumberland and Newcastle; and his Royal Highness had at this very juncture been invited to Woburn. The death of Lord Egremont seeming to dissolve that ministry, a bolder stroke was struck; and the Bedfords, hoping under him to get possession of the government, determined to attempt making Mr. Pitt minister. With this view Rigby, in the most private and mysterious manner, went down to Woodstock, and sent for the Duke of Bedford, who was then at Blenheim, and persuaded him to go directly to town to the King, and advised him to send for Mr. Pitt.* Lord Shelburne, who in his separate department had affected to act minister too, had assured them, that this would not be opposed by Lord Bute; but had not trusted them, or was not trusted himself, with Lord Bute's real disposition that way. Rigby had no sooner lighted the match than he left the mine to take fire, and retired to his own house in the country; while the Duke of Bedford posted to the King, and told him, that, as he had made peace abroad, he must now make it at home, and that could only be effected by sending for Mr. Pitt.

Mr. Legge and Fox, and even to Sir Andrew Mitchell, probably arose from the same reasons that induced Napoleon to bestow the warmest praise on such of his enemy's generals as he most wished to have as opponents. Lord Hyde was an amiable nobleman, of very comely person, and graceful deportment; he married one of the co-heiresses of Lord Clarendon, was elevated to that earldom in 1776, and died in 1786.—E.]

* Mr. Grenville was deeply offended at this interference of the Duke of Bedford; and his friends, in consequence, took no pains to defend the Duke when the current of popular feeling afterwards turned so strongly against his Grace.—E.

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Lord Bute, hearing this measure had been prescribed by the Duke of Bedford, thought it wiser to have the merit of it himself. Mr. Pitt, though trusting to the clamour of party for support, had seldom openly courted it; and, since he had had such eminent services to boast, had affected to despise it. He had kept clear of all transactions with Wilkes, and had condemned Lord Temple's connexions with him, and, yet more, his visits to that incendiary in the Tower. Mr. Pitt's amity might reconcile the people, and no man was so accommodating a partner in power; Pitt having few or no dependants, and scorning to meddle in the distribution of common places and preferments. On these grounds the favourite, through the intervention of Alderman Beckford, entered into a negotiation with Mr. Pitt, and, finding facilities there beyond his most sanguine hopes, induced the King to send for that formidable dictator.

It was on the 28th of August that Mr. Grenville, arriving at Buckingham House, was struck with the apparition of Mr. Pitt's chair and servants in the Court. This was the first notice he or the public received of a phenomenon so little expected, at least by the latter.

Let it be remarked here, that I do not pretend to give a perfect and entire account of the following negotiation. No transaction was ever involved in more contradictions and mystery; for, though the retainers of both sides spoke out, and amply, their narratives disagreed materially, and the exact truth was never fully known. From all I could collect then or since, and from explanations which I have gathered by commenting on the subsequent behaviour of the actors, I believe the ensuing relation is pretty near the truth.

The Bedfords had sent Calcraft to Hayes,* to sound how Mr. Pitt stood affected to them, and Calcraft returned with a most favourable account. On this assurance had the Duke of Bedford been pushed on the measure of advising the recall of Mr. Pitt. Lord Bute had not been less encouraged by the report of Alderman Beckford, for Mr. Pitt had determined, if ever he should return to Court, not to make himself unwelcome there. The favourite, therefore, saw him privately at his house in Jermyn-street before he saw the King, and advised him not to propose Lord Temple for the Treasury, which would break off the negotiation. Pitt thanked him, but did not take his advice,—and on this rock undoubtedly did the treaty split; for all the variations I have hinted at, were but circumstances artfully seized or feigned to colour the rupture, or misrepresent it.

The favourite deceived, or deceiving himself, brought about the interview, as I have said, between the King and Mr. Pitt. It lasted three hours, and the bargain was universally thought concluded. But the King had not only been revolted at Mr. Pitt's terms, though without owning it, but Mr. Pitt had had the sagacity to discover his Majesty's repugnance; and therefore not only carried on the farce of returning to Court the next day, but was so dextrous as to see the Duke of Newcastle, with whose interests he had by no means clog-

* Mr. Pitt's villa at Hayes, near Bromley, in Kent.

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ged his first demands; and assuring his Grace of his zeal for his service, went back to the King with a schedule of terms extremely enlarged. These were peremptorily rejected, and the treaty broke off, on pretences which the one had not meaned to ask, nor the other cared whether he granted or refused. The Treasury for Lord Temple was the real stone of offence.*

But no sooner was the rupture known, than all tongues were let loose to inquire, guess, invent, or assign causes. The King detailed his conversation with Mr. Pitt to all that came about him—and almost all added to it, as their interest or malice suggested. Mr. Pitt saw very few, and to fewer would disclose any circumstances. He soon found that he could not speak without flatly contradicting what his Majesty had said, or was reported to have said. No wonder the transaction came forth loaded with uncertainties and inconsistence!

The substance reported was, that Mr. Pitt had proscribed almost all the ministry then existing, and yet had been very cool in recommendations of the Opposition. The first part was not very credible, for though his haughtiness rendered him indifferent to those who affected to call themselves his party, his nature, on the other hand, was not vindictive: and it was true, that he had not been worse treated by the one set than by the other. On his second audience, I believe it might be true to a good degree that he had been dictatorial; but at first he had been far more moderate. However, it was given out that he proscribed all who had made, or had voted for the peace: whereas he had spoken tenderly of some of the negotiators; and had said of the treaty itself, that he would take it, and make the best he could of it.

The King himself relating the two conversations, took care to dwell on any circumstances that would most affect the persons to whom he made the confidence. Thus, to Lord Hertford, at that time Lord of the Bed-chamber in Waiting, the King said, "Mr. Pitt proscribed several, particularly your friend Lord Powis:† I told him, continued his Majesty, that he might restore Lord George Cavendish;‡ but Lord Powis had stuck by me, and I never would abandon him.§

* Walpole is mistaken in this supposition; for the King himself proposed Lord Temple for the Treasury. (Lord Hardwicke's letter to the Duke of Newcastle.) An impartial narrative of this transaction is given by Mr. Adolphus (vol. i. p. 127,) with a reference to the contemporary authorities, of which the most important are Lord Hardwicke's letter, and the letters in the Chatham Correspondence, (vol. ii. p. 242.) The "dexterity" and finesse ascribed in the text to Mr. Pitt, hardly belong to his character, and certainly were not exhibited on this occasion. His private correspondence proves, as he told the King, that he felt throughout the impossibility of his making a ministry, unless it rested "on the great families who had supported the Revolution Government, and other great persons, of whose ability and integrity the country had had experience, and who had weight and credit in the nation." This would necessarily have involved greater changes than the King then contemplated, though not greater than his Majesty subsequently found inevitable.—E.

† Henry Arthur Herbert, Earl of Powis.

‡ He had been succeeded as Treasurer of the Household by Lord Powis.

§ His Majesty did not give him up in less than two years on the next change.

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I will stand by those who have stood by me. He said little, continued the King, of Legge (another of Lord Hertford's friends, consequently the King intended Legge should be informed,) only, having recommended Lord Temple for the Treasury, Mr. Pitt said, Mr. Legge may be his Chancellor of the Exchequer, if he pleases—if not, *Lord Temple will name another*. He surprised me, pursued the King to Lord Hertford, with saying still less of your relation the Duke of Grafton; and more, with crying up to me for one of the first men of business in the kingdom, Lord Rockingham,* whom he intended for First Lord of the Admiralty. I thought, said his Majesty, I had not two men in my Bed-chamber of less parts than Lord Rockingham. The King spoke handsomely of both the Dukes of Grafton and Devonshire, and laid his treatment of the latter on passion, that Duke not having made the least excuse for not coming to council when he had been summoned. Knowing that Lord Hertford was not well with Fox, the King affirmed that he had taken the latter last winter against his inclination; and he told Lord Hertford that the Duke of Newcastle had urged the Duke of Bedford to make a worse peace than Mr. Pitt had projected, and had promised to defend it: and that the Duke of Devonshire had recommended to the Duke of Bedford to make *any* peace; and then, fearing to be reproached with that advice, always avoided conversation with that Duke. "When he took leave of me," added the King, "Mr. Pitt said to me, Sir, the House of Commons will not force me upon your Majesty, and I will never come into your service against your consent." "You see," said Lord Hertford, when he repeated this conversation to me, "that if they did not shut the King up, he would talk enough to any body!" —but if they sometimes debarred him from talking, he was now instructed to talk—and every grain he sowed, brought forth an hundred-fold.

I must observe that his Majesty had told Lady Holland, in the drawing-room, that he should never forget Mr. Fox's undertaking the House of Commons and the Peace in the last winter. It is certain that in this interview with Mr. Pitt, the King *proposed* to take the Paymaster's place from Fox, and bestow it on George Grenville.

Of the persons really proscribed, the chief was Lord Mansfield. "He is a Jacobite," said Pitt, "and means, sir, to ruin your family." He recommended Pratt for a peerage, and in future for the Chancellor's Seals: would have saved the Duke of Marlborough, as a young man misled; Elliot, for having tried to preserve union between him and Lord Bute; and of Lord Halifax he had said, "that he was a pretty man, and, as in bad circumstances, might be Groom of the Stole or Paymaster." "The Duke of Newcastle," he said, "would take any place not of business." Charles Townshend he proposed for Secretary of State with himself. The Secretary at War should not be of consequence, as it was now under Ellis,† that clerk of Fox

* Charles Watson Wentworth, Marquis of Rockingham.
† Welbore Ellis, Esq.

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the Paymaster, but should depend on him whom his Majesty should think proper to command his army. "Then," said the King, "we shall agree in Lord Granby;" "or," said Pitt, "in Lord Albemarle."* This was the sole approach he seemed to make towards the Duke of Cumberland; but never would his Majesty have trusted his army with a creature of his uncle.

Of Lord Gower, Pitt spoke not favourably, having probably discovered that it was the way to make his court to the favourite, who, having perceived that that Lord aimed at being a favourite himself, had taken care to alienate the King's mind from him. Rigby was not excepted for mercy,† and Lord Sandwich much less. Of the Duke of Bedford, Mr. Pitt spoke properly, as of a man well-intentioned, but shamefully misguided, and who might hereafter, if in proper hands, be useful to Government. But nothing harsh did Pitt utter against the peace: he would try to *meliorate* it. Should a national spirit of inquiry arise, he would not resist it. He had held the same language formerly on the loss of Minorca: they were specious words then and now, but with no sanguinary intentions.

When Calcraft was reproached by the Bedford faction with having deceived them on Pitt's disposition towards them, he could not evade the charge. A breach ensued, and he remained attached to Mr. Pitt.

Sandwich, finding himself proscribed by Pitt, made advantage of the moment, and exerting all his invention and industry, of which no man possessed a larger receipt, he set himself to persuade men of all denominations that they had been marked in black letters in the dictator's catalogue of pains and penalties. He even drew every man's character to himself, and selecting their faults or deficiencies, ascribed to Mr. Pitt both the recapitulation and imaginary sentence that followed it. Grenville and Lord Halifax caught the righteous flame, and diffused it: Grenville even assembling the Commissioners of the several boards, and assuring them, one and all, that they had been condemned by Mr. Pitt to be cashiered. To Woburn, where the Duke of Bedford was at this anxious moment detained by his royal visiter, the Duke of Cumberland, Lord Sandwich wrote inflammatory letters, telling Bedford that he was proscribed, and his peace to be attacked. The warm little Duke caught fire; but Rigby, to whom Sandwich had made the same report, doubted, and came to town, where he was either duped into, or persuaded to join in the imposition.

Grenville was pressed by the King to remain minister, and did not want to be pressed. The Duke of Bedford, in the hot fit of zeal and resentment, accepted the post of President; and Shelburne, who had

* George Keppel, third Earl of Albemarle.

† Walpole is in error here. Wood informed Mr. Pitt of the report, that he had proscribed Lord Gower, Rigby, and others of the Bedford party; and Mr. Pitt's reply, though it has not been preserved, may be inferred, from Wood's acknowledgment of it, to have amounted to a positive denial of the charge. (Chatham Correspondence, vol. ii. p. 250.)—E.

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shuffled round the compass with so ill success, and lost the favour of Lord Bute, choosing now to adhere to Pitt, and resigning the seals, they were bestowed on the only man who could replace, or excel him, Lord Sandwich. It was fortunate for Grenville and union, that the faction did not wish to place the Duke of Bedford at the head of the Treasury,—but they could not trust his warmth and absurdities. In Ireland he had disgusted every body, and had gone so far as to tell the Irish themselves that theirs was no Parliament. The Court had wished to have Charles Townshend Secretary of State with Lord Halifax; but he too, for that time, stuck to Mr. Pitt, and refused.

Thus, from a strange concurrence of jarring causes, there sprang up out of great weakness a strong and cemented ministry, who all acquiesced in the predominant power of Grenville. The favourite hated, had tried to shake him off, and he knew it. How much must his brother Temple have been detested at Court, when, under all these humiliating aspects it was thought preferable to retain Grenville!

In truth, nothing could be more offensive than Lord Temple's conduct, whether considered in a public or private light. Opposition to his factious views, seemed to let him loose from all ties, all restraint of principles. Of the truth of this assertion he, at the time I am describing, gave a convincing proof. His brother George was at that moment the object of his jealousy and resentment. He had, however, been prevailed upon by his family, or rather by considerations of family, to suffer Mr. Grenville to be re-chosen for Buckingham; but on this sole condition, that Mr. Grenville should give up a paper formerly received from him. When Dr. Lyttelton, Bishop of Carlisle,* who had negotiated this treaty, gave him the paper, he said, after reading it, "It is true, I am bound in honour and by promise to make a firm entail of my estate,—I will; but it shall be on my brother James."† The case was this: it had been discovered during the life of their uncle, the late Lord Cobham, that he had made a flaw in the settlement of his estate. A meeting of his nephews was held in the presence of his sister,‡ and their mother, the late Lady Temple. She said, "My son Richard is ill with my brother; if we tell my brother of this flaw, he may make a new settlement, and give his fortune from my eldest son." George Grenville consented to keep the secret, provided his brother gave him the

* Dr. Charles Lyttelton, brother of George Lord Lyttelton. They were sons of Christian, sister of Richard Lord Cobham, consequently first Cousins of Lord Temple.

† James Grenville, the third brother.

‡ Richard Temple, Lord Cobham, had four sisters, Maria, Hester, Christian, and Penelope. Maria, widow of Sir John Langham, offended him by marrying Mr. West, a clergyman, on which he set her aside, and settled his estate, and obtained his peerage to be settled, on Hester, the second sister, and her issue, who, by Mr. Grenville, her husband, were Richard, George, James, Henry, Thomas, and Hester, the wife of Mr. Pitt. [Mr. West was the father of Gilbert West, one of the Clerks of the Council, and better known as the translator of Pindar, and author of the popular treatise "On the Resurrection." He was a most amiable man, and the intimate friend of Pitt.—E.]

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most solemn promise in writing to resettle the estate when he should come to it. Insensible to such a tie, and filled with rancour, he had the mortification of seeing that very brother preserved in power merely to his exclusion.

Other persons preferred on the new settlement were Lord Egmont to the head of the Admiralty, and Lord Hyde to be joint-Post-master.

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CHAPTER XXI.

Secret power of Lord Bute.—His rupture with Pitt.—The late Prince of Wales's character of Bute.—Extraordinary Anecdote.—Mr. Legge's imprudent Manœuvre.—Unanimous attempt to destroy Wilkes.—Governor Johnston.—General Wall.—The Comte de Guerchy.—His Character.—Madame de Guerchy.—The Duke de Nivernois, and the Chevalier D'Eon.—Death of Augustus the Third, of Saxony.—The Pope invites the Duke of York to Rome.—Humiliation of the helpless Line of Stuart.—Charles Yorke resigns the Attorney-Generalship.—Trimming conduct of the Yorke Family.—Unfavourable Commencement of the New Lord Lieutenant's power in Ireland.

STILL did the same grievance remain, the favour and secret power of Lord Bute. Grenville and Lord Halifax insisted that he should go abroad; and it was said to be promised. At least his refusal, or breach of promise was made the pretence for depriving him of the custody of the King's Privy-purse, an office he yet retained. The nomination of a successor showed how little the ministers had gained, and how vainly they endeavoured to destroy his credit, the Purse being immediately given to Sir William Breton, who was Groom of the Bed-chamber to the King, as he had been to the King's father, and who was a most devoted tool of the Princess and her favourite. A stronger proof of the latter's confidence in his own power was given by himself. George Grenville having written a very voluminous letter to Sir John Philips, giving an account of the negotiation with Mr. Pitt and its miscarriage, of which letter the King had seen and approved every paragraph, Sir John wrote a warm expostulation to Lord Bute; (who he did not know had been concerned in that treaty,) blaming the timidity of sending for Mr. Pitt. Lord Bute returned a haughty answer, in which he said, *whatever the ministers might think, they should find he himself was minister still.* A memorable sentence, confirmed by facts, and of which the contrary assertion was vainly attempted afterwards to be imposed upon the world.

The mysteries of this man's conduct, and the reserve and eccentric starts of Mr. Pitt, have made any lights valuable that can be thrown on this part of our history. Mr. Pitt's was the character suited to support and colour over the pusillanimity of the favourite, but his jealousy and their mutual pride threw them at a distance. The affair of Lord George Sackville, who was attached to Lord Bute, and proscribed by Pitt in compliment to Prince Ferdinand, had given the finishing stroke to their rupture; hastened too, by that very attachment of Mr. Pitt to the foreign House of Brunswick. Nor, with all the disposition of Pitt to forgive the favourite's offences

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could they meet again, while Lord Temple hung upon his brother-in-law, and was the *sine quâ non* of Mr. Pitt's return to Court. On every occasion of moment appeared the justness of the character drawn of Lord Bute by the late Prince of Wales, who did not want parts, nor ill-nature to sharpen those parts, nor insolence to utter what either of them dictated. Growing tired of Lord Bute a little before his death, he said to him, "Bute, you would make an excellent ambassador in some proud little Court where there is nothing to do." It had been happy for England, and for Lord Bute too, if the Prince could have made that destination of him—I mean, without living to execute it himself.

I shall relate another very extraordinary anecdote, which will not be mentioned improperly in this place, though I do not know the precise time in which it happened. The Princess Dowager dreamed that she was in the palace of Saxe Gotha: the window was open, and the moon, level to it, shook with a tremulous motion before her eyes, to her great disquiet. She bad Lord Bute try to fix it. Extending his arms to stop its motion, it burst in his hand into ten thousand fiery splinters; on which, turning to the Princess, he said reproachfully, "See, Madam, to what you have brought me!" This dream was the Princess so weak as to repeat the next morning to some of her women; one of whom, I guess the wife of Velters Cornwall, told it to Lady Suffolk,* who trusted it to me. She did not name her authority, but said she heard it from one of the Princess's Bed-chamber; and Mrs. Cornwall I know was the one with whom Lady Suffolk was the most connected. I repeat this vision, not as prophetic or divine, but as a strong picture of what passed in the mind on which it painted itself.

Before I close this account of the negotiation, I ought to assign the reason why Mr. Pitt had so slightingly or offensively mentioned Mr. Legge, the second in Opposition, and long the second to Mr. Pitt himself. With all his abilities, Legge was of a creeping underhand nature, and aspired to the Lion's place by the manœuvre of the mole. While yet connected with Mr. Pitt, and before he had lost favour at Leicester House,† he had, before the late King's death,

* Henrietta Hobart, sister of the first Earl of Buckinghamshire, widow of the Earl of Suffolk, and afterwards of George Berkeley, brother of the Earl of Berkeley, Mistress of the Robes to Queen Caroline, and mistress of King George the Second. The author lived in great friendship with her the last years of her life; her house at Marble Hill, Twickenham, and his at Strawberry-Hill, near the same village, were within a mile of each other, and he passed three or four evenings every week with her, when they were in the country. She died July 26, 1767, aged 79, and was remarkable for her strict and minute veracity and memory, which she retained to the last, as well as her eye-sight, teeth, and the elegance of her person.

† Leicester House, in Leicester Fields, the residence of the Sydneys, Earls of Leicester, was hired and inhabited by King George and Queen Caroline, when Prince and Princess of Wales, on their quarrel with George the First; as it was afterwards, on a similar occasion, by Frederic, Prince of Wales, whose widow, Augusta, also dwelled there till after the accession of her son to the Crown.

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brought about a secret interview with Newcastle; but with so much circumspection, that meeting him at Lord Duplin's, Legge had insisted the conversation should pass without candles and in the dark. The Duke was charmed with the mystery, and with the pleasure of betraying it to Mr. Pitt. Mr. Elliot, as he told me himself, discovered it too, and acquainted Lord Bute—and thus with both was Legge ruined. I now return to the common occurrences of the year.

In one point the favourite and his rivals agreed; that is, in the destruction of Wilkes. The rashness and despotic conduct of the triumvirate had made them parties in the same cause; they pursuing him with what they called law, and the Scotch without attention to any law. Johnstone, one of Lord Bute's American governors,* had the same view with Forbes, but took a looser plan. Having been reflected on in a North Briton, I think then no longer written by Wilkes, he challenged the author, whoever it was; and, to be sure of provoking at least one person, threw out in his challenge printed in the newspapers, severe sarcasms on Lord Temple's want of spirit.

About this time General Wall,† a true friend to the union of England and Spain, finding the French interest daily making greater progress at Madrid, desired leave to resign on pretence of failure of his eye-sight. Grimaldi,‡ was immediately ordered home from Paris

George the Third, after his father's death, lived at Saville House, the next door to her.

* The names of four Scotchmen appear in the same Gazette to appointments, or as Governors in the American Colonies, Johnstone being one of them. He was the third son of Sir James Johnstone, of Westerhall; he was of a hot and most pugnacious temperament, as he showed some years later by his duel with Lord George Germaine. He died in 1787.—E.

† Don Richard Wall, of Irish extraction, was Embassador here from Spain in the reign of George the Second. He was a most artful agreeable man, of much wit, and a great favourite at this Court. At his return to Madrid, he had been made Secretary of State in 1754, [upon the downfall of Ensenada. Sir Benjamin Keene, by his advice and influence, materially contributed to this event, which proved highly favourable to the British interests at Madrid. The intrigues in the Spanish Court, and the financial difficulties of the country, made Wall's post a very irksome one. He discharged its duties at least as ably as either his predecessor or his successor. The King was unwilling to part with him, and made his retirement honourable by many marks of distinction. He passed the remaining years of his life chiefly at Soto de Roma, a royal castle, in the lovely valley of Grenada, where he maintained a splendid hospitality. Mr. Swinburne visited him there, and has given a very agreeable account of him. He died 1778.—E.

‡ Grimaldi was a Genoese. He had been educated for the church, and always retained the soft and insinuating manners of an Italian ecclesiastic. It was to his address, rather than to his talents, that he was indebted for high situations he filled. In negotiating the celebrated treaty of Paris, he appears to have been overmatched by Choiseul, and the loss of the Havanna, and the other misfortunes of the war, were the immediate fruits of his eagerness for a French alliance. His administration in Spain was neither popular nor successful. It ended with the failure of the expedition to Algiers. His chief merit lay in the encouragement he gave to literature, his patronage of the arts, his love of justice, and the

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to succeed him; a man devoted to France. To that Court Lord Hertford set out on the 13th of October, and Monsieur de Guerchy arrived thence. The Comte de Guerchy* was an amiable soldier; not to be named for parts, but far better qualified for his situation than his own Court believed, having a good knowledge of the world, a perpetual attention to his employment, consummate discretion, much natural ease in his behaviour, with either no impertinence, or with thorough mastery of it, and a complaisance so properly applied, that he was agreeable to all parties, and yet always well with the reigning ministry here. It gave him a ridicule at home, that he was enslaved to a penurious and deformed wife; but that dominion of Madame de Guerchy was his greatest felicity. She had an excellent understanding, and a talent for learning the tempers, humours, and connexions of England; her constant application to which, and the necessary curiosity in consequence, were concealed by the natural coldness and reserve of her disposition. Nor did her attention to their fortune ever disgrace her husband, nor throw even an air of economy on his table. At Paris her devotion and domestic retirement had passed for insipid virtues that prevented her good sense from being so much as suspected. At the Count's first audience he told the King, with pleasant candour, *that it was a proof of his master's intentions to preserve the peace, that he was sent over, who was no man of talents or intrigue.*

Thus formed to succeed and never to offend, no man was more unfortunate than this ambassador; and it required not only dexterity, but the simplicity of his conduct to surmount the most cruel and disagreeable ideas, first carelessly dropped, and then maliciously dispersed to his prejudice. The Duc de Nivernois had brought over and left here, to manage the affairs of their Court till M. de Guerchy's arrival, the Chevalier D'Eon,† a military man, but who had been much employed in secret negotiations in Russia, for which he had been largely praised and very ill-paid. The man had notable parts, great appearance of bashful merit, and learning enough to charm the superficial pedantry of the Duke, who had treated him with a fondness and intimacy that was ridiculous; and that, by being over kind, proved cruel: for having to serve him made D'Eon the courier of the peace, the Duke went farther, and procured him to be styled plenipotentiary during the absence of the ambassador. Vigils and vanity turned the poor young man's head, which was by no means ballasted by a good heart. He mistook the road of fortune for fortune itself,

mildness and generosity of his disposition. On his resignation, in 1777, he was created a Duke, and a Grandee of Spain. Having been allowed to nominate his successor, he was at his own request appointed Ambassador at Rome. Coxe's Spain, vol. v. c. 63; and Memoirs of a Traveller now in Retirement, vol. iv. p. 109.—E.

* He had particularly distinguished himself in the command of his regiment at Fontenoy, where his valour and good-fortune are noticed by Voltaire:—

"*Guerchy n'est pas blessé, la vertu peut te plaire.*"—E.

† See an account of him in the notes infra.—E.

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and thought that high-sounding titles lifted him to a level with those that conferred them. He forgot his modesty, and learned to talk loftily, or, as his masters thought, arrogantly. Under this unhappy intoxication he was thunderstruck with a declaration from the Duc de Nivernois, that on the ambassador's arrival he was to sink into his pristine insignificance. To laugh this off, the Duke had familiarly pictured him to himself as sometimes a plenipotentiary and sometimes a tool of office. Other accidents concurred to aggravate this mortifying notice. He could obtain no arrears; and having made free with the remittances of his new master to give dignity to his own mission, he received a very humiliating reprimand from Monsieur de Guerchy. To crown all, Wilkes's writings had breathed a spirit of independence into a poor brain born to crouch at a desk or to rise by servility. The ambassador was no sooner arrived, than the Chevalier behaved in a manner to which French ministers are little accustomed from their inferiors. At the same time D'Eon took it into his fancy that one Treyssac de Vergy,* an adventurer, was brought over to assassinate him; and on this belief broke out so outrageously against the Count after dinner at Lord Halifax's, that the Earl, at M. de Guerchy's desire, was obliged to send for Justice Fielding, and put D'Eon under arrest; and next day Vergy swore the peace† against him. The consequences of this adventure will be related hereafter.

Augustus the Third‡ having enjoyed but for few months the cessation of war, and of those misfortunes which a vain and impertinent favourite§ had drawn down upon him, died about this time, leaving Poland at liberty to get rid of a family who had sacrificed their religion for a crown, without obtaining essential benefits for themselves, or conferring any on subjects so dearly purchased. The new Elector of Saxony, his son, was infirm in mind and body, and survived his father not a year.

We, on whom an empty favourite had heaped little less disgrace by peace than Count Bruhl had inflicted on Saxony by war, had occasion to feel how wide the terror of our arms had extended our influence. The Duke of York, making the tour of the Mediterranean, and being

* This Vergy was a French spy. In 1771, I heard Mr. Phelps, secretary to Lord Sandwich, relate that Vergy had offered him to act, too, as a spy on Guerchy, of which Mr. Phelps gave the ambassador warning. Vergy remained here several years, and wrote pamphlets and novels for a livelihood.

† When they talked to D'Eon of a breach of the peace, he understood English so imperfectly, that he thought Lord Halifax threatened to break the peace between the two nations, of which he, D'Eon, had been the messenger, and that inflamed his madness.

‡ Augustus the Third, a weak and unfortunate monarch, whose reign forms one of the most melancholy epochs in the annals of Saxony. His incapacity was more remarkable from his being opposed to Frederick the Great and Catherine the Second. He died in 1763, and with him ended the independence of Poland—his successor Stanislaus being merely the nominee of Russia.—E.

§ Count Bruhl.—[This worthless courtier, who exercised for many years an arbitrary sway over Saxony and Poland, and inflicted irreparable injuries on both countries, died in October 1764.—E.]

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expected at Florence, the Pope* ordered Cardinal Albani to inform Sir Horace Mann, the King's minister in Tuscany, that his Royal Highness, if he pleased to visit Rome, would be received there with all the honours due to his birth. The nuncio at Florence was commanded too to wait on the Prince, and repeat the same; to invite him to Rome, and to assure him of all safety, honours, and amusements. His Royal Highness accepted the invitation; and the son of James the Second, and his grandson, a cardinal of that very church, had the mortification of being forced to retire to Albano, where they had a villa, lest they should see a heretic Duke of York courted and treated in that holy city whence the thunders of the Vatican had been hurled against the great Elizabeth. But this was not the last nor least humiliation which the wretched and helpless line of Stuart received from the hands of their Pontiff, and from that church for which they had sacrificed themselves, their crowns, and their posterity.

On the 3d of November Charles Yorke resigned the post of Attorney General, alleging to Mr. Grenville that his father and the Duke of Newcastle had insisted upon it. Yorke, on the trial of the printers, had made a warm speech against Wilkes, and was to carry on the prosecution. The father and the sons were certainly in their hearts inclined to prerogative; but interest so swayed their actions, and it was so much the point of the whole family that Charles Yorke should be Chancellor, that we shall find one perpetual stream of dubitation and trimming run through their conduct. The father, indeed, more soured, and with pride more affronted, towards this close of his life, grew more settled in his asperity towards the Court. Nor was he the only instrument of prerogative whom the Court lost because it could not reward all its devotees up to their ambition.

In Ireland the scene commenced unfavourably. The new Lord Lieutenant, the Earl of Northumberland,† lost a question the first day in the House of Commons there by so considerable a number as forty, who would not suffer the word *adequate* to be applied to the peace in the address.

* Rezzonico, Pope by the name of Clement the Thirteenth, [filled the Papal chair from 1758 to 1769, when he died, in his 76th year. His life was decent, and his intentions appear to have been honest, but his policy was unenlightened and vacillating, and is strikingly contrasted by that of his illustrious successor.—E.]

† Sir Hugh Smithson, who assumed the name of Percy on marrying Lady Elizabeth Seymour, daughter of Algernon Duke of Somerset, and heiress of the house of Percy by her grandmother. They were created Earl and Countess of Northumberland.

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CHAPTER XXII.

Opening of Parliament.—Lord Gower, and Lord Temple.—Wilkes's "Essay on Woman" laid before the House of Lords.—Hypocrisy of Lord Sandwich.—Bishop Warburton.—Kidgel.—Persecution of Wilkes.—He complains in the House of Commons of a breach of privilege in the seizure of himself and his papers.—Warm Debate on the question.—Mr. Pitt's Speech.—Arguments of Lord North and others.—Wilkes wounded in a Duel by Martin.—The King's Speech read to the Commons.—Pitt's obscure Speech.—Speech of Grenville.—Postponement of the farther hearing on Wilkes.—Bestowal of the Bishopric of Osnabrugh.

But in the Parliament of England lay the chief seat of the war; and with very extraordinary scenes did the campaign open. The Houses met November 15th, Lord Hilsborough and Lord Suffolk moved the Address of the Peers. Lord Temple censured the peace; and the Duke of Bedford defended it with temper. Lord Gower attacked Lord Temple for his disrespect to the King. He denied that he had ever shown any disrespect; and said that he and his family had been attached to *this* royal family *full as long* as his lordship's family had (who were very recent converts from Jacobitism.)

As soon as the Address was voted, Lord Sandwich produced a poem, called an Essay on Woman, with notes pretended to be written by Bishop Warburton. It was a performance bawdy and blasphemous to the last degree, being a parody of *Pope's Essay on Man*, and of other pieces, adapted to the grossest ideas, or to the most profane. Wilkes and Potter,* son of the late Archbishop of Canterbury, had formerly composed this indecent patchwork in some of their bacchanalian hours; and Wilkes, not content with provoking the vengeance of the King, of the Princess, of the favourite, of twenty subaltern ministers, and of the whole Scottish nation, had, for the

* Thomas Potter—see more of him in the preceding reign [Memoirs of George II. vol. i. p. 61. He was the second son of Archbishop Potter, whose fortune he inherited, owing to his elder brother having disobliged his father by an imprudent marriage. In 1748 he had been appointed secretary to the Prince of Wales, then the patron of all the talent in the House opposed to the Government, and from that time he took an active part in the political contests of the day. He was a clever and impressive speaker, and with application, and steadiness of conduct, might have become one of the leaders of his party. Unfortunately, he had contracted, in early life, habits of dissipation, under which his constitution sunk, just as his ambitious hopes bade fair to be realized. He died Vice-Treasurer of Ireland, in June, 1759. Some interesting letters from him to Mr. Pitt, are given in the Chatham Correspondence, vol. i.—E.]

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amusement of his idle hours, consigned this *innocent* rhapsody to his own printing-press—a folly unparalleled, though he had intended to restrain the edition to twelve copies. However, as he could not commit a wanton imprudence without giving birth to some villainy or tyranny in others, this very poem was now laid before the House of Lords, in consequence of a train of both kinds. One of the copies had been seized among his papers by Philip Carteret Webbe. Still was even that ministry ashamed to accuse Wilkes on evidence which had fallen into their hands by such illegal means—unanswerable proof that they were conscious of their guilt, and knew they could not justify their proceedings. But the blood-hounds having thus fallen on the scent, were not to be turned aside by delicacies. Could they procure another copy the business would be effected—and effected it was. Carteret Webbe set his tools to work, for even hangmen have deputies. There was one Kidgell, a dainty priggish parson, much in vogue among the old ladies for his gossipping and quaint sermons, and chaplain to the Scotch* Earl of March. This fellow got at a proof-sheet; and by the treachery of one of Wilkes's printers, who thought himself ill-used, and by the encouragement of his patron, who consulted Lord Bute and Lord Sandwich, and was egged on by them to proceed, Kidgell and Webbe purchased the whole poem: and now did Sandwich, who had hugged this mischief for months in his breast, lay open the precious poem before his brother Lords in strains of more hypocrisy† than would have been tolerable even in a professed Methodist. Parts of it were read, most coarsely and disgustingly blasphemous. Lord Lyttelton groaned in spirit, and begged they might hear no more. Bishop Warburton, who had not the luck, like Lord Lyttelton, to have his conversion believed by any one, foamed with the violence of a Saint Dominic; vaunted that he had combated infidelity, and laid it under his feet; and said, the blackest fiends in hell would not keep company with Wilkes, and then begged Satan's pardon for comparing them together.

Lord Temple had got no intelligence of this bomb, and knew little what to say; but concluding, justly, that the piece had been found among Wilkes's papers, condemned the means by which it was obtained. It was instantly voted blasphemous, and a breach of privilege against the person of the Bishop of Gloucester. Lord Sandwich then moved that Wilkes should be voted the author; but even

* James Douglas, Earl of March and Ruglen, Lord of the Bed-chamber to the King, [afterwards the too well-known Duke of Queensberry—an appropriate patron of such a divine.—E.]

† Lord Despencer said, he never heard the devil preach before. Yet Lord Sandwich had a precedent in a great Reformer of the Church: "Calvin eut par trahison les feuilles d'un ouvrage que Servet faisait imprimer secrètement. Il les envoya à Lyon avec les lettres qu'il avait reçues de lui: action qui servirait pour le deshonorer jamais dans la Société. Calvin fit accuser Servet par un emissaire. Quel rôle pour un Apôtre!"—Voltaire Essai sur l'Hist Générale, chap. 113.

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Lord Mansfield condemned so hasty and arbitrary a course, and said it was previously necessary to hear the accused person in his own defence: on which the proceeding was adjourned to the next day but one. I was in a division in the lobby of the House of Commons, when I heard what was passing in the other House, and immediately informed Mr. Pitt. He replied with indignation, "Why do not they search the Bishop of Gloucester's study for heresy?"

Events now thickened so fast, that to avoid confusion, I will here say a little more on this head. The plot so hopefully laid to blow up Wilkes, and ruin him in the estimation of all the decent and grave, had, at least in the latter respect, scarce any effect at all. The treachery was so gross and scandalous, so revengeful, and so totally unconnected with the political conduct of Wilkes, and the instruments so despicable, odious, or in whom any pretensions to decency, sanctimony, or faith, were so preposterous, that losing all sight of the scandal contained in the poem, the whole world almost united in crying out against the informers. Sandwich, in opening the discovery, had canted till his own friends could not keep their countenances. Sir Francis Dashwood was not more notorious for singing profane and lewd catches; and what aggravated the hypocrisy, scarce a fortnight had passed since this holy Secretary of State himself had been present with Wilkes at a weekly club to which both belonged, held at the top of Covent Garden Theatre, and composed of players and the loosest revellers of the age. Warburton's part was only ridiculous, and was heightened by its being known that Potter, his wife's gallant, had had the chief hand in the composition of the verses. However, an intimacy commenced between the Bishop and Sandwich, and some jovial dinners and libations of champagne cemented their friendship. Kidgell, the jackall, published so precise, affected. and hypocritic an account of the transaction, that he, who might have escaped in the gloom of the treachery, completely blasted his own reputation; and falling into debt, was, according to the fate of inferior tools, abandoned by his masters, and forced to fly his country. Though the rank and fortune of Sandwich saved him from disgrace of that kind, he had little reason to exult in his machination. He brought a stigma on himself that counterworked many of his own views and arts; and Churchill the poet has branded his name on this account with lasting colours. The public indignation went so far, that the Beggar's Opera being performed at Covent Garden Theatre soon after this event, the whole audience, when Macheath says, "*That Jemmy Twitcher should peach me, I own surprises me,*" burst out into an applause of application; and the nick-name of *Jemmy Twitcher* stuck by the Earl so as almost to occasion the disuse of his title.

While the destruction of the character and fortune of Wilkes was thus prosecuted in one chamber of Parliament, a plot against his life was hatching in the other; his enemies not being satisfied with all the severities they could wring from the law to oppress him. Nor were several servants of the Crown sorry to make his outrages a

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handle for curtailing liberty itself. The House was no sooner met, than Wilkes rose to make his complaint of the breach of privilege in the seizure of himself and his papers. The Speaker interrupted him, and said the session was not yet open, the silly form of reading a bill not having been gone through. Grenville, too, urged that there was a message from the Crown that ought to be received before any other business. Beckford and Onslow pleaded that privilege ought to take place of every other consideration. A long and warm debate ensued. Mr. Pitt strenuously supported the precedence of privilege, though affecting to offer to take privilege and message together. Elliot moved to have a bill read. Pitt replied admirably, and said, if they were not yet a House, no member could have been sworn; nor was it necessary to have some nonsense read to which nobody would attend. Suppose it should have been forgotten, and the House had entered on some arduous business, some fool of form might have started up and told them,—"Lord bless us! it is all a nullity that we have been doing!" Privilege waived would really nullify the proceedings. The House would be a company of men put under force. The man who would waive privilege ought to have a question moved on him. Lord North, Nugent, and Dyson, argued against privilege, and warm words passed between Pitt on one side, Grenville and Norton on the other. Yorke said, that if they did not begin regularly with a bill, Westminster Hall would not know how to date the commencement of the session, unless the two Houses started together. Pitt replied, that if the House should sit till three in the morning, it would still be deemed the fifteenth of November. The House divided at six in the evening, and it was carried, by 300 to 111, that a bill should first be read. Grenville then delivered the message from the Crown, acquainting the House with the imprisonment that had been made of one of their members; for which message Lord North moved the thanks of the House, together with an assurance that they would forthwith go into the consideration of the offence. Wilkes then made his complaint. Mr. Pitt approved of Lord North's motion of thanks, but spoke against precipitation. Wilkes's case, he said, was not to be paralleled. He desired to be tried by his peers,—and if he did not, said Pitt, I would force him. The North Briton No. 45 was then read; and two printers being examined, one said he had received it from Wilkes in his own hand-writing; the other, that Wilkes and Churchill were the authors of that periodic paper in general. Lord North, who had undertaken the conduct of the parliamentary prosecution against Wilkes, held forth on the sedition of those papers, and of No. 45 in particular. Wilkes replied, his Lordship, however, had not proved that it contained any falsehoods. Mr. Pitt said it was a scandalous, licentious paper, and false; but always distinguishing between the criminal and illegal proceedings of the ministers. The House, he said, was not a proper place for trying a libel; nor did this tend to excite traitorous insurrections. Was the motion calculated, by inserting the word *traitorous*, to justify what

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the ministers had done? He himself could never learn exactly what was a libel. Whoever was the patron of these doctrines, fœnum habet in cornu. Norton said he did think the paper tended to excite insurrections. Scandalous reflections on private men or magistrates were a libel. Opposing law was treason. Pitt replied, a libel could not be treason. It might, said Norton, tend to excite treason. Pitt moved to omit the epithet *traitorous*, but the ministry upholding it, the House divided at eleven at night, and the ministerial phrase was carried by 273 against 111; Sir Alexander Gilmour, and Murray, two Scotts, and the only two of that nation in opposition, voting with the rest of their countrymen on that occasion. Lord North then moved to have the paper burned by the hangman, which was ordered. Lord North affirmed next, that privilege did not extend to libels, nor to stay justice; which Pitt said was the boldest assertion and attempt ever made without consulting precedents or appointing a committee. He lamented the King was so ill served as to run aground on the liberties of Parliament. He would die, he said, if a day were not appointed for hearing Wilkes. Norton took this up hotly, and said he was called upon by insult and abuse. Pitt replied, that he had said the King had been ill served by lawyers and others; and he proposed to take the case of privilege into consideration the next day, and on the following day to hear the complaint of Wilkes; which was agreed to at one in the morning.

The next day when I went down to the House, I found all the members standing on the floor in great hubbub, questioning, hearing, and eagerly discussing I knew not what. I soon learned that Wilkes about two hours before had been dangerously wounded by Martin in a duel. In the foregoing spring, Wilkes, in one of his North Britons, had pointed out Martin by name as a low fellow, and dirty tool of power. Martin had stomached, not digested this; but in the debate on No. 45 the day before, he had risen and called the author of that paper on himself a cowardly, scandalous, and malignant scoundrel, and had repeated the words twice, trembling with rage. Wilkes took no notice; and as he did not, the House did not interfere, as is usual when personalities happen, and seem to threaten a duel. The next morning Wilkes wrote to Martin, to ask if the words used the day before were meant to be addressed to him as the supposed author of the paper in which Martin had been abused. If Martin had thus intended to point the words, Wilkes owned he had written that paper. Martin replied, he had meant him, Wilkes; and as the latter avowed himself the author, he should not deny, added Martin, what he had said before five hundred people, and gave him a challenge. About noon they went into Hyde-park; Martin alone; Wilkes, with Humphrey Cotes* in a post-chaise, knowing if he killed Martin that he should have no chance of pardon. Cotes waited at a distance. They changed pistols, both fired, and both

* A broken wine-merchant, brother of Admiral Cotes, an intimate of Wilkes.

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missed. Martin fired a second time, and lodged a ball in Wilkes's side, who was going to fire, but dropped his pistol. The wound, though not mortal, proved a bad one.

It was thought an ill symptom of Martin's heroism, that he had smothered the affront for so many months, nor had given vent to his resentment, till the affair with Forbes had left a doubt on Wilkes's courage. If Martin got rid of this imputation, it was but at the expense of a worse charge. It came out, nor could he deny it, that his neighbours in the country had observed him practising to fire at a target for the whole summer. I shall not be thought to have used too hard an expression, when I called this a plot against the life of Wilkes. Churchill wrote *The Duellist*, one of his finest satires, on this occasion.

On the 16th, the King's speech was read to the Commons, when Lord Carnarvon* and Lord Frederic Campbell moved the address. Pitt made an obscure speech, parts of which seemed to aim at explaining his conduct in the late negotiation; but all that could be gathered from it was, that he had not excommunicated the Peacemakers, nor the Tories; that he had aimed most at Lord Mansfield, and that he took up the Whigs, but not as enemies to Prerogative.† He could not allow, he said, the words *safe and honourable Peace* in the Address; he did not think it was either; it was *durante bene placito* of France and Spain: yet as the Address precluded nobody from speaking their sentiments afterwards, he should let the words pass. For himself, no minister could know less what to do with the Peace; nor did any man more bid adieu to the potitical world than he did. He was against reviving party-names; but if dissension arose on principles, he must again become a party-man. Grenville taking hold of Beckford's objecting to the proclamation for settling America, made artful advantage of the opportunity to show the great pains taken by the ministry to settle our conquests and colonies, and to regulate the finances at home. In one article they had struck off 250,000*l.* of the demands made from Germany. He then expatiated on the profusion of the war, and attacked Pitt strongly without reserve or fear. The Address was voted without a negative.

The farther hearing on Wilkes‡ was deferred on account of his wound. After the debate Pitt had a meeting with the Dukes of New-

* Only son of the Duke of Chandos. [He afterwards succeeded to the Dukedom, and died in 1789, when his titles became extinct. His only daughter married the late Duke of Buckingham.—E.]

† Mr. Pitt's speech had the very dubious merit of pleasing his opponents rather than his friends. Lord Barrington, in a letter to Sir Andrew Mitchell, says, that if fifty thousand pounds had been given for it, the sum would have been well expended. It secures us a quiet session. Chatham Correspondence, vol. ii. p. 262, and Walpole's Letters, vol. iv. p. 313.—In fact, Mr. Pitt's interviews with the King had necessarily blunted the edge of his opposition, and he found it as difficult to give an intelligible defence of his proceedings, as all succeeding ministers, in the same predicament, have experienced since.—E.

‡ The Lords, on the same account, put off the hearing of Wilkes's defence on the Essay on Woman, to the 22d; and then for a week longer.

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castle, Devonshire, and their friends, and insisted on their supporting Chief Justice Pratt's opinion in behalf of privilege against Mr. Yorke, who had declared that Wilkes's case was not within the pale of privilege.

During these transactions, the King, after keeping the bishopric of Osnabrugh open near three years, contrary to the custom, which allows but six months, bestowed it on his son, a new-born child,* before it was christened. The Duke of York† had thought it his due, and not without reason. It could not be conferred on the Prince of Wales; nor was there much equity in reserving it for a son that might be born. The interest of the family and of the Protestant cause, too, seemed to point out the Duke, as an infant liable to so many accidents might, if born, soon fail, and then the turn would revolve to the Papists; even a minor in possession was favourable too, to that party, for of the revenue, which is about 25,000*l.* a-year, only 2,000*l.* belong to the Bishop till he is eighteen, and the rest is divided amongst the Popish chapter. But the Queen, who began to get weight with her husband in German affairs, prevailed to reserve for, and then to grant this great provision to, a child of her own; and the Duke of York's little reverence for his mother, and antipathy to the favourite, excluded him from a grace for which he had so much occasion.

* Frederic, second son of George the Third.
† Edward, Duke of York, next brother to the King.

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CHAPTER XXIII.

Important Question as to the privilege of Parliament.—Liberty of the Press.—Scandalous Resignation of Privilege by the House of Commons.—Abandonment of General Warrants.—Debate on the proceedings against Wilkes.—"The Moderator," a new scurrilous paper.—Lord Clive.—Riot on the attempt to burn "The North Briton."—Debate on this subject in the House of Lords.—Triumph of Wilkes in his prosecution against the Under-Secretary of State.—Dismissals by the Court.—The Chevalier D'Eon.—Attempt to assassinate Wilkes.—The East India Company and Lord Clive.—Wilkes and the Parliament.—Outlawry against Wilkes.

On the 23d of November came on the important question whether the Privilege of Parliament preserved the members from being taken up for writing and publishing libels. At first sight, a disinterested person would perhaps think it strange that it should be a question whether a seat in the Legislature should not secure the Legislators from the penalty of breaking the laws, for publishing a libel is undoubtedly illegal; but to those acquainted with our Constitution, it will perhaps appear more extraordinary that a House of Commons should suffer such a question to be proposed to them, and that they should condescend to agitate it. Will our posterity believe that a House of Commons gave it up? but it was *that* House of Commons that had sold itself to approve the late Peace. Still it is to be admired that this cessation of their privileges should be wrung from them, after the Court of Common Pleas had declared that Privilege held against every thing but treason, felony, and breach of the peace. A libel, at most, but *tended* to a breach of the peace.

The Legislature consists of the three branches of King, Lords, and Commons. Together they form our invaluable Constitution, and each is a check on the other two. But it must be remembered, at the same time, that while any two are checking, the third is naturally aiming at extending and aggrandizing its power. The House of Commons has not seldom made this attempt, like the rest. The Lords, as a permanent and as a proud body, more constantly aim at it: the Crown always. Of liberty, a chief and material engine is the liberty of the Press; a privilege for ever sought to be stifled and annihilated by the Crown. The ministers of the Crown and its lawyers must misrepresent the liberty of the Press before they can presume to request the suppression of it. Every grievance set forth in print is misnamed a libel; and grave laws necessarily disapprove libels. If the Crown can arrive at precluding Members of Parlia-

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ment from complaining in print of grievances, no doubt the Crown could debar all other men, who are of less importance, and whose persons are guarded by no sacred privilege. Liberty of speech and liberty of writing are the two instruments by which Englishmen call on one another to defend their common rights. Liberty of speech is communicated but a little way; the Press gives wings to that voice, and all men may read what all cannot hear. Freedom of speech in Parliament is not so valuable as freedom of writing. A man may hazard many necessary truths in print, when he may conceal his name, which he might not venture to utter in open Parliament. If discovered, his privilege used to be his security. Nor is this a vindication of libels, properly so called; but a Court will call a libel the most just censure of tyranny. Yet could it not wrest from Members of Parliament the safety of their persons without their own consent—and in what instance did the Court ask this?—in what instance did the House of Commons yield it? Mr. Wilkes, one of their own members, had been taken up by a *General Warrant*, in which his name had not so much as been mentioned. Contrary to all precedent, he had been committed *close* prisoner to the Tower—a proceeding so arbitrary, that a Court of Law had set him free. The House of Commons sacrificed him and their own privileges, and yet shame—I mean disgrace, so soon overtook them, that *General Warrants*, such as that on which Wilkes was arrested, were given up, condemned, exploded—but half the wound remains, for this scandalous vote was never rescinded!

It is true, that on the debate it did appear that there were many and many precedents on both sides. Often had privilege protected a member—often it had not; but how did that happen to be the case? It happened, because there had been various cases in which the Crown was not concerned, but where the contest had lain between subject and subject; and in those instances the House had often determined different ways. But on the great case of the seven Bishops, in the reign of James the Second, Privilege of Parliament had been vindicated and secured. What would have become of those prelates if the Court had had this precedent of Wilkes to justify its violence? Even allowing that privilege were not inherent in members, but had been decided sometimes for, sometimes against them; was this a time—was this an instance, in which the House should have waived its pretensions? Was the blow it gave itself likely to be repaired? But let the preceding and subsequent conduct of this ductile and servile House of Commons tell its motives!

The debates were not brilliant, but serious and solemn as the occasion required. Lord North* was the chief manager for the Court, supported by Norton, George Grenville, Morton,† and Elliot. Lord

* Frederic, Lord North, eldest son of the Earl of Guilford.

† Mr. Morton, or Moreton, M.P. for Abingdon, a barrister of eminence, who was appointed Chief Justice of Chester in 1763. His name will hereafter occur in the debates on the Regency. He must not be confounded with Sir William Moreton, of Moreton in Cheshire, Recorder of London, who died in 1763.—E.

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North's mouthing and boisterous manner, his coarse figure, and rude untempered style, contributed to make the cause into which he had unnecessarily thrust himself appear still more odious. Pitt, Beckford, Legge, Sir George Saville, Sir William Baker, and James Grenville, defended the Constitution. Much was said on the danger to which every man's private papers were now exposed, and more on the injustice of hurrying on this decision, when Wilkes could not for his wound appear to defend himself, when he was prosecuting both the Secretaries of State and the messengers, and when he was to be tried himself for the libel. What court, what judge, what jury, but must be prejudiced by a decision of the House of Commons against him? This plea was glaring, was crying. The lawyers themselves many of them allowed it, and the debate took that turn; the Opposition endeavouring to stave off the question on Privilege, the courtiers insisting to bring it on. Charles Yorke begged for delay, but it was a delay, of a few days; Eliab Harvey, though bred a Tory, pleaded for deferring their decision. Forester, a Scot, devoted to the Duke of Bedford,* and reckoned no squeamish lawyer, spoke for procrastination, and voted against the Court. Wedderburn, another Scot, argued for farther time; and even old Wilbraham,† the Gamaliel of the Jacobites, could not digest such indecent hurry, for which he was commended by Pitt; yet by seven in the evening the Court bore down all obstruction, and carried their point by 243 to 166; though Sir John Philipps and Benjamin Bathurst,‡ two high-prerogative men, were in the minority, with Glover, and four general officers—Conway, Sir John Griffin,§ A'Court,¶ and Honeywood.** It being, however, too late to commence the regular debate, it was adjourned till the next day.

The 24th, a letter from Wilkes was presented, protesting against their proceedings, and promising on his honour to attend in his place as soon as possible. To this no regard was paid, Grenville moving

* Mr. Forester had been originally recommended by Alderman Beckford to the Duke of Bedford (when the Alderman and his Grace acted together) for a seat in Parliament, "as a person in whom steadiness, honour, and elocution were not exceeded by any man in the country." (Bedford Correspondence.)—E.

† Mr. Wilbraham, M.P. for Newton, and Deputy Steward of the University of Oxford. He was an eminent lawyer, whose politics, like those of Mr. Fazakerly, prevented his attaining the honours of his profession. Walpole's Correspondence, vol. iv. p. 319.—E.

‡ Benjamin Bathurst of Lydney, in Gloucestershire, brother of the first Lord Bathurst, and father of the late Bishop of Norwich.—E.

§ Sir John Griffin, an officer of some distinction. He had been severely wounded at the battle of Campen, when fighting near the hereditary Prince of Brunswick. In 1786 he succeeded to the ancient Barony of Howard de Walden; in 1796 he became a Field Marshal; and he died in 1797, having devised Audley-End and his other estates to his kinsman, Mr. Aldworth Neville, who at the same time succeeded to the Barony of Braybrooke, which had been limited over to him on the death of Lord Howard de Walden.—E.

¶ See *infra*.

** General Philip Honeywood, of Mark's Hall, Essex, an officer of distinction. He died without issue in 1785.—E.

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for the orders of the day, and Rigby saying that Wilkes could not have written that letter but on misrepresentation of what had passed the day before. Hussey, the Queen's Solicitor, a man of most fair life, unambitious, uninterested, candid in his conduct, and gracefully touching in his delivery, a great friend of Pratt, and lover of the Constitution, made an excellent speech in behalf of privilege and liberty. Charles Yorke, under the difficulties of disgusting his Whig friends and of serving a Court with which he was dissatisfied, explored all the sources of distinction and law subtleties, to defend his opinion against privilege; and spoke for two hours with great applause, as excellent in that branch of his profession. Pitt, near as long on the audaciousness of the Crown's servants, and their contempt of Parliament; declaring that this proceeding was making a surrender from that day of every man's liberty in the House to the discretion of the Secretary of State. Pitt was ill, and then went away. Norton indecently quoted a prosecution for perjury against Sir John Rushout,* the most ancient member of the House, then sitting at the end of the same bench. The old gentleman was stout and choleric: the prosecution had been on a case of election, and he had been acquitted. He rose with warmth, but with much propriety told his story: showed the prosecution had been instigated by Norton himself, to serve an election purpose; and, looking defiance at that attorney, said, "It was all owing to that *honest* gentleman!—I hope I do not call him out of his name!" The shout of the House did justice on Norton.

This interlude, however, was decent and calm in comparison of what followed. Rigby, looking at Lord Temple, who was sitting at the end of the House to hear the debate, as he constantly practised, drew a picture of that incendiary peer, described him in his blue riband encouraging mobs from windows of coffee-houses; and more particularly as the instigator of Wilkes. James Grenville rose, in amazing heat, to defend his brother, and vomited out a torrent of invectives on Rigby, telling him of his interestedness and ignorance; harangued on so illiterate a man being a master of the Rolls;† and painted his flying from Ireland to avoid being hanged by the enraged populace. This philippic was uttered with every vehemence of language and gesture; the bitterest terms flowing spontaneously from him, who had ever been the most obscure and unready speaker; and what added to the outrage of the diction was, that, sitting on the bench immediately above Rigby, and dashing about his arm in the air, he seemed to aim blows at the latter, who was forced to crouch lest he should receive them. Grenville had no sooner finished, than

* Sir John Rushout had taken an active part in the debates against Walpole's Excise Bill in 1732. He was made a Lord of the Treasury in 1742, and in the following year Treasurer of the Navy. He was strongly attached to Pulteney, and had the sagacity to predict the consequences of that statesman's refusal to take office on the resignation of Walpole. He lived to the great age of 91, and died on the 2d of March, 1775. His son was created Lord Northwich.—E.

† In Ireland.

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the Speaker interposed—indeed of the latest. Rigby replied, with ease enough, that in Ireland the Mastership of the Rolls was a sinecure, and a man as ignorant as he was might execute the office. The House then insisted on their giving their words that this altercation should have no consequences. Grenville, sitting obstinate and mute, Rigby gave his word it should end there; and then Grenville in like manner.

The candour of Wilbraham and Philipps on the preceding day had satisfied their consciences, and they both now spoke, and voted with the majority. The House dividing at one in the morning, 258 voted for relinquishing their privilege; only 133 for maintaining it. Lord North then moved to communicate their resolutions to the Lords, which was agreed to.

A conference being accordingly demanded, and held next day, the Lords, though in a very thin House, and though no important business is agitated there without summoning the Peers [a respect their lordships have often paid even to a turnpike-bill,] were precipitately proceeding to pass the like votes with the Commons; but the Duke of Richmond, though acting with the Court, was struck with the indecency, and on stating it, the House did agree to summon the Lords for the 29th. Decency thus satisfied, their Lordships on the 29th, in happy harmony with the other House, made a parallel compliment of their privilege to the Crown. One hundred and fourteen were thus loyal: the Duke of Cumberland and thirty-four more were the minority. The Duke of Newcastle defended the warrant of the Secretaries, but voted against the resolutions. The Chancellor* was very warm; said he did not wish to see the House unanimous: unanimity had cost the nation sixty millions.† Lord Temple disculpated himself from encouraging the general satire in the North Britons, and said he had always condemned the attack on the Scotch and on the Tories in that paper. He brought a protest, drawn, as was supposed, by Lord Chief Justice Pratt, and the longest on record, and signed it with fifteen other lords.

At this very period that Court and Parliament were raging so hotly against libels, a new paper, called the Moderator, appeared. It was so scurrilous against the Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, that his Court took up the printer. The man owned directly that it was written by Carteret Webbe, Solicitor of the Treasury, and by Dr. Shebbeare, who, having been committed to Newgate by the King's Bench in the late reign for abusing King William and the House of Hanover, had been gratified by a pension of 200*l.* a-year by Lord Bute; and was a proper champion of measures so dissonant from those of King William, and from those to which the House of Hanover owed the Crown.

Lord Clive had last year been thrown out of his directorship of the East India Company by the intrigues of Fox; and the new directors

* Henly Earl of Northington.
† Under Lord Chatham's administration in the war.

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had gone so far as to deprive him of his jaguire, a revenue of 25,000*l.* a-year conferred upon him by the Nabob. This act had driven Lord Clive, with five members brought into Parliament by him, into Opposition. Grenville, to gain a man so important, promised that vast revenue should be restored to him, or an equivalent given; but Walsh, one of the five, said he could not in conscience vote with such iniquitous men, and offered to vacate his seat: Lord Clive refusing to accept it, Walsh abstained from attendance on the House.

The 3rd of December had been appointed for burning the North Briton at the Royal Exchange; but when the magistrates were assembled for that purpose, and the executioner began to perform the ceremony, a great riot ensued, the paper was forced from the hangman, the constables were pelted and beaten, and Mr. Harley,* one of the sheriffs, had the glass of his coach broken, and himself was wounded in the face by a billet snatched from the fire that was lighted to burn the paper, and thrown at him. The cry was "Wilkes and liberty!" A jack-boot and a petticoat—the mob's hieroglyphics for Lord Bute and the Princess, were burned with great triumph and acclamations.

On the 6th the Duke of Bedford, who had moved that the Commons might be desired to permit Mr. Harley, member for the City, to attend the House of Lords, called on him, and Blount the other sheriff, to give an account of the late riot. They said the mob had been encouraged by gentlemen from windows and balconies, particularly from the Union coffee-house. One low man had been taken into custody; another had been rescued by the rioters. One witness said the mob had united two respectable names in a cry of approbation, those of the Duke of Cumberland and Lord Temple, and he had joined in that shout. The Duke of Grafton shrewdly told the marshal's man he must have seen many mobs of party against party; had there appeared two parties on this occasion? "No," replied the fellow, "all were of one mind." The Duke of Bedford, sputtering with zeal and indiscretion, broke forth against Bridgen, the Lord Mayor, and the other magistrates, who, though within hearing, had taken no pains to quell the mob. "Such behaviour," he said, "in any smaller town would have forfeited their franchises. The Common Council had long been setting themselves up against the Parliament, and last year had taken on them to advise the King to refuse his assent to a law† that had passed through both Houses. He hoped their lordships would resent this insult and disrespect to their orders." The Chancellor, alarmed at this injudicious attack on the City, said it would be right to proceed without delay against the actors and abettors of the riot; but without farther proofs, he would not believe the magistrates of London guilty. He moved to vote the rioters perturbators of the peace. This was voted, and thanks to the

* Thomas Harley, a merchant, and brother of the Earl of Oxford.
† The tax on cider.

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sheriffs for their behaviour. The Duke of Richmond seconded the Duke of Bedford in his violence against the City, and in a proposal of offering rewards for discovery of the ring-leaders, and for committees of inquiry. Lord Mansfield and Lord Lyttelton interposed to disculpate the magistrates, and obtained to adjourn; the former saying, that no doubt the magistrates were actually at that time sifting to the bottom of the commotion. The Lords then conferred with the House of Commons, where Rigby tried to propagate his master's* spirit, and to get the Lord Mayor censured; but, on reflection, the ministers chose to pass over the insult, rather than quarrel seriously with the City of London. They all, therefore, concurred to excuse the magistracy; and the affair was dropped in an address to the King to order the offenders to be brought to justice.†

The Common Council, neither intimidated nor imitating the moderation of Parliament, put a negative on a motion for thanking the sheriffs, and for prosecuting Franklin, the fellow apprehended in the tumult.

Wilkes, in the meantime, went on triumphantly with his prosecutions; and on the 6th of December obtained a verdict of 1000*l.* damages, and costs of suit, against Mr. Wood, the Under-Secretary of State.‡

The Court was exerting its authority on the other hand. Lord Shelburne was dismissed from being aid-de-camp to the King; Colonel Barrè from being adjutant-general and governor of Stirling Castle; and Calcraft lost some little places, which served to provoke more than to hurt him.

The Chevalier D'Eon, the mimic of Wilkes, was less fortunate. Being recalled by his Court, and refusing to return, he was declared to be no longer employed here in a public character, and was accordingly forbidden to appear at St. James's.§

While the world was anxiously expecting the event of Wilkes's affair, protracted by his wound, a new alarm was given of an intention to murder him. Mr. Onslow on the 9th acquainted the House of Commons that one Alexander Dun, a Scotchman, had on false pretences got into Mr. Wilkes's house the night before, intending to assassinate him. A person who appeared, and made oath that he had heard this Dun declare that he and twelve more had made a vow to murder Wilkes, had given notice to the latter of their design, on which he had prepared persons to seize the assassin, which they had done. A new penknife was found upon him, and he prevaricated on the time and place of buying it. The House the next day examined witnesses on this accusation; but it being proved that Dun had been discharged from a ship as a lunatic, he was dismissed out of custody. But the multitude were far from not continuing to believe the plot (nor indeed was a madman an improper subject to be

* The Duke of Bedford.
† Walpole's Correspondence, vol. iv. p. 329.
‡ Vide Wilkes v. Wood. State Trials, vol. xix. 1154.—E.
§ Vide Mr. Croker's note in Walpole's Correspondence, vol. iv. p. 322.

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set on, if there was such a design,) and the animosity against the Scotch was accordingly augmented. About the same time the printers of the North Briton obtained, in the Court of Common Pleas damages to the amount of four hundred pounds against the messengers of the Secretary's office.

The East India Company were untractable, too, and came to a unanimous resolution of neither restoring his jaguire to Lord Clive, nor of allowing him three hundred thousand pounds, which the ministry had engaged to obtain for him in lieu of it. It occasioned much diversion that his father, an old unfashioned man, who did not understand how decently corruption was practised, and how ridiculous it is to talk of what few are ashamed of doing, being asked by the King, in the drawing-room, where his son Lord Clive was, replied, with all the honesty of bargain and sale, "He is coming to town, Sir, and then your Majesty will have another vote."

The House of Commons having ordered that Wilkes should appear before them on the 24th, and suspecting that his delays were affected, Lord North, George Grenville, and Rigby, in a very thin house proposed that Dr. Heberden, and Mr. Hawkins the surgeon, should be ordered to attend him. This was warmly opposed; and Charles Townshend, who knew that Pitt was provoked at his late silence, and who saw Grenville and North towering above him, and perhaps offended too that the Court seemed to despise him, broke out with much vehemence, turned Lord North into ridicule, and being told by Grenville that it would be wiser to submit to this motion, replied, he should often differ with that gentleman, and hoped he should not have more wisdom to encounter than he had met with that day. The motion was carried by 71 to 30. Wilkes, however, would not admit the parliamentary physician and surgeon; and, to add mockery to disobedience, sent for Doctors Duncan and Middleton, two Scotchmen. He had at first, at Martin's request, who fled to Calais till Wilkes was out of danger, consulted both Hawkins and Heberden. Being told that he must see little company for fear of augmenting his fever, he said, "I will not see so much as my own wife,"—I have mentioned that they were parted.

It was to the no small satisfaction of the Ministry that on the 26th they heard that Wilkes was privately gone off to France. It was a sort of confession of guilt, disburdened them of the odium of punishing him personally, and left them at liberty to rage against him by outlawry and forfeitures. With a proper executioner they had just provided themselves, having raised Norton to be Attorney-general. He was succeeded as Solicitor by De Grey,* a man of a fair character and moderate principles.

* He was the second son of William de Grey, Esq. M.P., and younger brother of Thomas de Grey of Merton Hall, M.P., for Norfolk, whose estates he inherited, on the death of the latter without issue, in 1765.—E.

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CHAPTER XXIV.

Lord Sandwich's unpopularity.—He offers himself for the High Stewardship of Cambridge.—Animosity between him and Lord Royston, the other Candidate.—Lord Sandwich's "Flying Pension."—Disgraceful grant to Count Virri.—Dismissal of General A'Court.—Grenville, Walpole, and General Conway.

The effects of Lord Sandwich's conduct began already to be felt. He having, to thwart the Duke of Cumberland, who espoused Mr. Luther, taken the opposite side on the election for the county of Essex,* the Court lost the election by dint of Sandwich's unpopularity. He himself, foreseeing the approaching death of Lord Hardwicke, presented himself as candidate for the High Stewardship of Cambridge. Nothing could occasion greater ridicule than a character so flagitious offered to a religious and learned society. It counterworked even his own indefatigable industry. Lord Royston,† son of Lord Hardwicke, was the other candidate; and the animosities ran so high, that the two parties preached against each other. The sequel will appear hereafter. In the meantime Sandwich obtained what was called a *flying pension*, that is, it was to commence if he lost his place. The grant was of 3000*l.* a year on Ireland; but when the order went to Dublin, Lord Northumberland, having promised that no addition should be made to the pension-list during his administration, was forced to represent so strongly against what was granted to Lord Sandwich, that the Court was obliged to recall it. The Irish House of Commons had just then set itself to examine the state of pensions charged on that country, and it had been found, as they published to the world in their votes, that since the commencement of this reign, a period only of three years, 17,000*l.* a year had been added to that list. There likewise appeared the disgraceful grant to Count Virri, the purchase of the peace. It stood in the name of one Charles.

The year concluded with the dismission of General A'Court, whose regiment was taken from him for having voted for the Privilege of

* This was one of the most obstinate contests of the day, and cost Mr. Luther many thousand pounds. He had been the pupil, and was the intimate friend, of Dr. Watson, the Bishop of Landaff, to whom he bequeathed a considerable portion of his fortune. The Bishop describes him correctly as a man of most upright conduct and honourable principles. He died in 1786. Watson's Anecdotes, vol. i. p. 235.—E.

† Philip Yorke, Lord Royston, afterwards second Earl of Hardwicke.—See *infra*.

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Parliament. The man was obscure and of no importance, had a large family and no fortune;* the tyranny therefore was the more flagrant, but from those very circumstances made the less noise. Lord Sandwich had carried into the King a list of sixteen officers who had dared to act with spirit and independence against the arbitrary measures of the Court. The poor man in question was selected for an example of terror; but, except in his ruin, the ministers found no cause to exult. A much more considerable man had taken the same part, of which it is necessary here to give some account.

I have said that General Conway,† under pretence of bringing home the troops, had been kept abroad till the peace was voted, the ministers apprehending that they should not be able to influence him to approve an event so ruinous and shameful to his country. At his return, no man being less factious, he had entered into no cabals, had attached himself to no party. His chief friendships were with the Duke of Devonshire, with his own brother the Earl of Hertford, and with me. The Duke, though grievously insulted and provoked, was of so decent and cautious a nature, that he was the last man on earth to think of exciting his friends to violent measures; and indeed, after the first sally of passion, bore his affront with too much patience. Lord Hertford was a perfect courtier, and more likely to dissuade his brother from, than incite him to, Opposition. I, much more inclined to party-heat, had been very seriously alarmed at the strides I had seen made towards arbitrary power; but having beheld the cowardice of Lord Bute, and knowing that of Lord Mansfield, and finding the nation delivered from the influence of Fox, I had flattered myself the danger was over. I had been pleased, too, that Grenville was become the acting minister; having (I confess my blindness) entertained a most favourable opinion of his integrity. He talked nothing but reformation—which, indeed, alone, would not have duped me—I had seen too much of patriot hypocrisy! but he went beyond myself in his principles of liberty—I mean, in his discourse. I thought him a grounded Republican; had heard him harangue by the hour against the despotic doctrines of Lord Mansfield. Nor had his venal prostitution of himself to Lord Bute as yet opened my eyes. But I was again roused by the arbitrary treatment of Wilkes, committed close prisoner to the Tower by an indefinite warrant. Lord Bute, I saw, had left his cloak to his successors; yet I could not believe that my friend, Algernon Sydney, (for Grenville appeared to me as scarce a less Whig saint,) was capable of concurring in such measures. In truth, when I saw Saint Sandwich added to his rubric, I began to be startled. I saw him lean, too, on the Bedfords: them I did not love: and nothing is a more sovereign cure for blindness in friendship, than

* General A'Court, M.P. for Heytesbury, was Colonel of the 11th Dragoons. He did not long remain an object of Compassion, for he recovered his rank and regiment, and afterwards inherited a large estate and the borough of Heytesbury, from his uncle, Mr. Ash. He died in 1781. The present Lord Heytesbury is his grandson and lineal representative.—E.

† General Henry Seymour Conway, only brother of Francis Earl of Hertford.

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a connexion between one's friends and one's enemies. I laboured by those most in Grenville's confidence to detach him from so disreputable a union; but Grenville knew his interest better than I knew him. Still I had not the most distant suspicion of what his heart was capable of, nor any view of opposing his administration. Thinking him as frank and candid as myself, and thoroughly shocked at the use made of General Warrants, I desired Mr. Thomas Pitt,* attached to Mr. Grenville, and my own friend, to tell him fairly in the summer, that I believed I should differ with him when the point of General Warrants should be agitated in Parliament. But not content with opposing them myself, I earnestly desired that Mr. Conway should take the same step: and in bringing that about, I by no means piqued myself on the same frankness. Should Lord Hertford conceive the least suspicion of my intentions, I knew how sedulously he would labour to prevent his brother from involving himself against the Court. He might procure Mr. Conway to be again sent aside on some honourable commission, or contrive to have his gratitude dipped in favours from the King, before he should be aware with what view they were bestowed. I waited therefore in silence and patience till Lord Hertford was set out on his embassy to Paris, before I ever named the term *General Warrants* in the presence of Mr. Conway. Then, indeed, I asked him, as by accident, how he intended to vote on that business, telling him I should wish to act as he did. I found he was disgusted at the Warrants; and thence I easily entered into agreement with him to oppose them, as we did, no other person living having any previous intimation of his intention. The Court was alarmed; and Grenville sent Mr. Thomas Pitt to me to sound me on that head; both of them believing that I had rather been influenced by Conway, than he by me.

Pitt began with Mr. Grenville's concern at Mr. Conway's behaviour, wished to know what had disgusted him, and was ready to obtain for him whatever his warmest wishes could aim at. I assured

* Thomas Pitt of Boconnock, only son of Thomas Pitt, elder brother of the famous William Pitt, by the eldest sister of George Lord Lyttelton. [He inherited from his father the borough of Old Sarum, for which he brought himself into Parliament in 1761. In 1763 he was made a Lord of the Admiralty. In 1784 created Lord Camelford. He went abroad for his health in 1787, and died at Florence, in 1793. The letters addressed to him when a student at Cambridge, by Lord Chatham, have attached an interest to his name beyond what belongs to his political career; and it is singular that he should, at the very outset of his public life, have abruptly separated from one whose opinions up to that time he seems to have entirely shared. Their connexion was not afterwards resumed, though, as Lord Chatham's relative, he returned thanks (rather coldly) to the House for the marks of distinction conferred on that great man's memory. He is described by his son-in-law, Lord Grenville, "as combining a steadiness of principle and a correctness of judgment with an integrity of heart, which produced the affectionate attachment from those who knew him that has followed him beyond the grave." Many of his letters during his residence abroad, are printed in Nichols's Illustrations of Literary History, vol. vi. p. 75; they show more amiability of disposition than power of mind, and were scarcely worth being preserved. On the death of his only son the title became extinct.—E.]

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him he was thoroughly mistaken; that no disgust had taken possession of Mr. Conway; that no man was less ambitious; and that I advised Mr. Grenville, as a friend, not to think of treating Mr. Conway as a man to be bought. *That* really would disgust him, and might throw him into Opposition, of which I was sure at present he had no thoughts,—and thus far I really spoke with good wishes to Mr. Grenville,—but the scene soon changed. Finding bribes rejected, Pitt altered his tone; said it could not be suffered to have men in the King's service acting against him,—and then dropped this unguarded expression, *the King could not trust his army in such hands.* I started! "Good God!" said I, "Mr. Pitt, what are they going to do with the army? to what use is it to be put, if a man of Mr. Conway's virtue, and tried loyalty and bravery, cannot be trusted with a regiment! You alarm me!" He beat about backwards and forwards; sometimes it was offers and promises, sometimes threats; but I had taken my part, and had got hold of words I was determined not to part with or forget. I would say no more, but that I advised Mr. Grenville to have patience; that I knew Mr. Conway neither was in, nor was going into, Opposition (for they were jealous of his connexion with the Duke of Devonshire,) and that I was sure he would never be influenced, would never act but from principle; and if they would leave him to himself, they would have no reason to be dissatisfied,—and I told them the truth, if they had had sense enough to believe me. Mr. Pitt then pressed me to talk it over with Mr. Grenville, which I declined. I said, I would certainly never give Mr. Conway any dishonourable advice; would never try to persuade him to be bribed or terrified; nor would he forgive me if I should. Pitt persisted. I said, Mr. Pitt, I am persuaded Mr Grenville will never report my conversation differently from the truth: but though he may not intend it, he may mistake me; I may mistake him. I will wait on him, upon condition a third person is present. I do not desire it may be a friend of mine and not his: you are a friend to both; and though justly much more attached to him than to me, I am persuaded, if any difference should arise between us in the relation of the interview, you have too much honour not to do strict justice to either. If you may be present, I will meet him,—but remember I tell you, it will be to no purpose. In truth, after such a Star-chamber sentence as *the King cannot trust his army in the hands of a man who votes in Parliament against him*, I was not disposed to labour in cementing a union between my friend and a man of such apostate degeneracy. From that hour all my prejudices in Grenville's favour were dispelled. I saw how dangerous he was: it was Fox with a fairer character.

Though I had given too little encouragement to expect any alteration either in Mr. Conway's or my own sentiments, Grenville persisted in the interview. I went accordingly to Mr. Thomas Pitt's. It happened to be the evening of the riot on burning the North Briton. Grenville arrived in the most ridiculous and extraordinary disorder I ever saw. He could scarce articulate for passion. One

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would have thought the City had been taken by storm and the guards cut to pieces. Yet this was not a panic. It was rage to see authority set at nought while *he* was minister. His subsequent conduct gave evidence that this was his sensation: no man ever bore power with more pride. For some time I could scarce learn what had provoked him: the confusion of his ideas made him talk as if Mr. Conway had raised a rebellion. Commading my laughter, and waiting with patience till the torrent should have spent itself, but to no purpose, I was forced at last to ask what the riot had to do with Mr. Conway's case? This unfortunate question, like snatching a pebble from amidst a cascade, did but make it dash at random on all sides. From seven in the evening till ten at night, I sat to hear his inundation of words, scarce uttering ten myself; and we parted with as little fruit as might be expected from a conversation so intemperate and disjointed; the result of all I said being to repeat my request that he would have patience, and assuring him that he would not find Mr. Conway engaged in any regular opposition.

Whether it proceeded from his impatience of contradiction, whether from eagerness to carry his point, or whether privately instigated by the Bedfords to push on an explanation which they hoped might drive Mr. Conway into settled hostilities, or whether, which I think most likely, they flattered themselves they should regain him from my influence, Grenville desired an interview with Conway himself. He consulted me, and we agreed that he should act as I had done, and insist on a third person being present, proposing the duke of Richmond*, his son-in-law, who however could not be exceptionable, as he acted uniformly with the Court. This demand produced a new scene of ridiculous distress. Though the meeting had been proposed, and Mr. Conway's answer sent by noon, it was not till ten at night that Mr. Grenville could bring himself to any resolution; being, as his servant owned, shut up for the greatest part of the time with his wife,† a proud, ambitious, and sensible woman, and the only person to whom he would listen. She, indeed, had full dominion over him. The precautions taken both by Mr. Conway and me had put Grenville on his guard: not a word dropped from him intimating bribery. The meeting ended fruitlessly, as we had foreseen. Conway was naturally cold, and Grenville far from being master of ingratiating persuasion. Conway adhered to the declaration that he was engaged in no opposition. His subsequent behaviour amply confirmed that assurance; but a new measure of obedience was set up, and my late republican friend was become as strict a disciplinarian as the most arbitrary of his predecessors.

* Charles Lenox, third Duke of Richmond, had married Lady Mary Bruce, daughter of the last Earl of Ailesbury by his third wife, Caroline Campbell, afterwards married to General Conway.

† Elizabeth, only daughter of Sir William Windham, [a lady highly respected for her virtues as a wife and mother; and whose death, not long after, her husband never recovered.—E.]

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CHAPTER XXV.

Marriage of the Princess Augusta with the Hereditary Duke of Brunswick.—His marked opposition to the wishes of the King.—Debates on Wilkes's complaint of breach of privilege.—Sir William Meredith and Sir George Saville.—The "Essay on Woman."—The Marriage Bill.—Debate on breach of privilege.—Cases of Carteret Webbe and Wood.

So early as in the late reign there had been thoughts of a double alliance with the ducal house of Brunswick; but when the jealousy of the Princess Dowager had prevented the marriage of her son with a princess of that line, there had remained no great propensity in the Court of Brunswick to the other match between the hereditary Prince and Lady Augusta.* It had, however, been treated of from time to time; and in 1762 had been agreed, but was abruptly broken off by the influence of the King of Prussia. Lady Augusta was lively, and much inclined to meddle in the private politics of the Court. As none of her children but the King, had, or had reason to have, much affection for their mother, she justly apprehended Lady Augusta's instilling their disgusts into the Queen. She could not forbid her daughter's frequent visits at Buckingham House, but to prevent any ill consequence from them, often accompanied her thither. This, however, was an attendance and constraint the Princess of Wales could not support. Her exceeding indolence, her more excessive love of privacy, and the subjection of being frequently with the Queen, whose higher rank was a never-ceasing mortification, all concurred to make her resolve at any rate to deliver herself from her daughter. To attain this end, profusion of favours to the hated House of Brunswick was not thought too much. The hereditary Prince was prevailed on to accept Lady Augusta's hand, with fourscore thousand pounds, an annuity of 5000*l.* a-year on Ireland, and 3000*l.* a-year on Hanover. Fourscore thousand pounds were given with the late Princess Royal† to the Prince of Orange, but she was a King's daughter. The Princess Mary‡ and Louisa had but forty thousand each.

Lady Augusta was not handsome, but tall enough, and not ill-made; with the German whiteness of hair and complexion, so re-

* Augusta, eldest daughter of Frederick Prince of Wales.

† Anne, eldest daughter of King George the second.

‡ Mary, fourth daughter of George the Second, Married to the Prince of Hesse; and Louisa, his fifth, married to the King of Denmark.

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markable in the Royal Family, and with their precipitate, yet thick, Westphalian accent. She had little grace or softness in her manner: yet with more attractions she might have failed to gain a heart that was not inclined to part with its liberty, and least of all to one of her family. The Prince arrived on the 12th of January; and, as if to prejudice him against his bride, the plan was formed to disgust him as much in order to send him away as soon as possible. He was lodged at Somerset House: no guards were stationed there. The Lord Steward chose the company that should dine with him; and every art was used to prevent his seeing Mr. Pitt, or the chiefs of the Opposition. At the wedding, which was on the 16th, the servants of the King and Queen were ordered not to appear in new clothes. But though these little artifices had the desired effect of affronting the Prince, they only drew mortifications on the Court. The people, enchanted with novelty, and a hero, were unbounded in their exultations wherever he appeared; and, as the behaviour of the Court got wind, took pleasure, when he attended the King to the theatres, to mark their joy at the presence of the Prince, and to show the coldest neglect of their Sovereign. Nor was the Prince less assiduous to intimate his dissatisfaction, even to ill-breeding, turning his back on the King, as he stood over against him in the box at the Opera; and even going away during half the representation. To the Duke of Newcastle, and others in disgrace, he was full of attentions; dined twice with the Duke of Cumberland, and affectedly lingered there, though the King and Queen waited for him to a ball: and, as he found *that* step would be the most offensive, though indeed due from him to one so partial to his family, he made a visit to Mr. Pitt, at Hayes.* These little hostilities were carried on with such vigour on both sides, that, notwithstanding all his curiosity and desires expressed of a longer stay, the King forced him and his bride to depart on the 25th,—only thirteen days after his arrival. They were overtaken in a great storm at sea, and in extreme danger of being lost; but escaped, not only with good fortune to themselves, but to the Court of England, who would have appeared as guilty to the people in driving them out at such a season, as if they had raised the tempest by sorcery.†

* The Prince visited Mr. Pitt on the 22nd of January, and passed two hours with him. On the 14th, the Prince had addressed him a very complimentary letter. Chatham Correspondence, vol. iii. p. 272, and note.—E.

† The Prince succeeded to the Dukedom on the death of his father in 1780, and for some years after resided at Brunswick, where the Princess, who was throughout life deservedly esteemed, made his Court very agreeable. In 1787 he commanded the Prussian forces which took possession of Amsterdam, and put down the republican party in Holland. His campaigns against the French republicans were less successful, and his well-known manifesto rendered his failure more glaring. He was mortally wounded at Auerstadt, and expired at Altona on the 10th of November, 1806, leaving behind him the reputation of a bold and enterprising, rather than of an able general. His Duchess took refuge in England, where she died at an advanced age. They were not happy in their family: of their two daughters, the eldest married the late King of Wirtemburgh, and

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The Parliament having re-assembled on Jan. 16th, the House of Commons on the 19th proceeded on the affair of Wilkes. He had given out that he would return from Paris, and make his defence: and to carry on the delusion, a dinner was bespoken, and company invited to meet him; but on the day destined for deciding his fate, a letter from him was delivered to the Speaker, accompanied by a certificate from two French surgeons, attesting his incapacity of travelling, from the ill state of his wound. The Court party objected even to the reading of the certificates, but though they could not prevent it, so eager was the curiosity of the House, they did frustrate a motion for adjournment by 239 to 102; on which many of the minority finding their weakness left the House. Others battled for the criminal till near four in the morning, but their numbers still dwindling away, Wilkes was at last expelled with scarce a negative, the warmest sticklers for him having been discountenanced and discouraged by the harsh epithets bestowed on him by Pitt in one of the former debates.

The next day Sir William Meredith and Sir George Saville moved to have Wilkes's complaint of breach of privilege examined. George Grenville tried to evade it, but was strongly attacked by Charles Townshend, and reproached with the dismission of General A'Court, and with the arbitrary influence exerted by the administration. Sir John Griffin* the day before had mentioned too the case of A'Court, and said he himself would not be intimidated by the disgrace of ten more generals. The Court at last yielded the point; and the 26th was fixed for hearing the complaint.

Sir William Meredith† and Sir George Saville were both men of character, and both singular in different ways. The first was a convert from Jacobitism; inflexibly serious, and of no clear head: yet practice formed him to a manner of speaking that had weight, and was worth attending to by those who had patience for it. He was, I believe, an honest man, though not without personal views, which a little sharpened his scorn of those who had unlike views, and were not equally honest.

Sir George Saville had a head as acutely argumentative as if it had been made by a German logician for a model. Could ministers have been found acting by the advice of casuists and confessors, Sir George would still have started distinctions to hamper their consciences; but though they walked not in such ruled paths, his want

came to a miserable end in Russia; the younger was the unfortunate Queen Caroline. Their eldest son was of weak understanding, and the younger, "Brunswick's fated Chieftain," a Prince of moderate abilities but signal courage, fell in middle life at Waterloo.—E.

* A general officer.

† Sir William Meredith was elected for Wigan in 1755, and for Liverpool in 1762. In 1765 he was appointed a Lord of the Admiralty, an office which he resigned on the dismissal of the Rockingham Administration. In 1774 he was sworn of the Privy Council, and made Controller of the Household. He died in 1790.—Cavandish's Debates, (note) vol. i. p. 52.—E.

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of ambition carried him so seldom to the House, that they were not often troubled with his subtleties. He had a large fortune, and a larger mind; and though his reason was sharp, his soul was candid, having none of the acrimony or vengeance of party: thence was he of greater credit than service to that in which he listed.*

On the 23rd these two Baronets moved to put off the affair of Wilkes's complaint of breach of privilege to the 13th of February, as the material evidence, Wilkes's servant, was in France with him. Sir George particularly attacked Grenville with much spirit. Grenville, as usual, spoke too long, though not ill, insinuating that this delay was calculated to keep up the flame. "He had always," he said, "been averse to having this matter discussed, which had better never be decided; and that he had only given way in order to vindicate Lord Halifax and Lord Egremont." It was perhaps true, that in some cases it were better that certain powers should not be defined. It might be of use that traitors should think Ministers have power of committing by General Warrants even members of Parliament; and at the same time Ministers ought not to have that power absolutely bestowed on them. But when once the case has happened, and that dormant or supposed power has been abused, it must be inquired into and regulated; or acquiescence constitutes the second evil hinted at above. But in any case Grenville's argument was faulty, for if it was desirable for the public that the case should not be defined, the private vindication of two men ought not to supersede that utility. However, though the minority on putting the question were not loud for it, the ministry gave it up. Sir George Saville took occasion to make it observed, that so bad was his opinion

* This character of Sir George Saville is not less honourable to his memory than Mr. Burke's well-known and brilliant panegyric at the Bristol election in 1780. Few public men received more respect from their cotemporaries—few, perhaps, have so well earned it. He devoted his time, his talents, and his purse almost exclusively to the public service. Neither the fashionable nor literary circles of London, nor the pursuits of the country, had any charm for him; he seldom resided at Rufford, the splendid seat of his ancestors: business was his passion, and whether in town or country, constituted his sole occupation; fortunately, he had abilities to perform it creditably, and his generosity, which was scarcely bounded by his great estate, had always usefulness for its object. The same discernment appears in his selection of the Parliamentary questions with which his name is identified, such as the Limitation of the Claims of the Crown on Landed Estates; the Relief of Roman Catholics as well as of Protestant Dissenters, and the Condemnation of General Warrants, and lastly, the Improved Representation of the People; all these he advocated with an earnestness and singleness of purpose, and consistency of action, which extorted the admiration even of his opponents. Though not an impressive speaker, he was always sensible and very fluent, and he spared no pains to understand his subject. His speeches, indeed, partook of one of the characteristics of his mind, which was a simplicity approaching to austerity, and an exemption from party, or even popular prejudices. His life in all respects strictly corresponded with his principles, and was unstained by vice or even by weakness of any kind; his death was regarded as a public loss. He died in 1784, unmarried, aged 57, and with him ended the illustrious line of the family of Saville. He was a collateral descendant of the Marquis of Halifax, to whose estates his father had succeeded.—E.

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of Wilkes, he had taken no part till, the man being expelled, nothing but the cause of the House in point of privilege seemed to remain. This did honour to Sir George, but prejudiced Wilkes, and the cause of liberty. The former's character, as I have said, was very fair: and indeed most of the Opposition were unexceptionable in that light. Yet Wilkes had, early in his warfare on the Court, told Rigby that he liked the Ministers better than their opponents (no great compliment to the first,) and desired him to apply to Fox to make him (Wilkes) governor of Canada—a proposal Fox rejected. It was not to be wondered at that Wilkes, so libertine and jovial, should not be captivated with the company of a set of young men who were as free from the spirit and vivacity as from the vices of their age. The chiefs were of eminent rank, and besides losing the power they thought affected to their birth, had been wantonly insulted by the Court. But wanting parts to preserve their power, they equally wanted them to recover it. Yet was the Court itself alarmed at a club into which the Opposition formed themselves, holding their weekly meetings at a tavern erected on the occasion by one Wildman, in Albemarle Street*—a circumstance I mention rather as an antiquary than historian; several pamphlets being published at this time addressed to, or written in the name of, that society.

On the 24th, Dowdswell proposed a committee of the whole House, to consider the Cider bill. Grenville opposed that motion, agreeing only to have a committee to examine the grievances occasioned by it, and to suggest corrections, but not with the power to repeal the bill. These restrictions were carried by 167 to 125.†

The same day the House of Lords sat on the *Essay on Woman*. Lord Sandwich moved to vote Wilkes the author of it, and to order him to be taken into custody. The Duke of Devonshire, and even the Duke of Richmond, though a courtier, spoke against this sum-

* This house, in which James Earl of Waldegrave died, has again become remarkable by a club created there in 1769 by several ladies of first rank; the first public female club ever known, and which gave great offence, though the ladies were almost all of distinguished virtue. Nor, though the age was notorious for divorces, though most of the female members were of the greatest beauty, and though most of the young men of fashion were of the club, did any scandal happen from that society. Even gaming, which at that time raged to so enormous a degree, went to no great lengths there. So that vice and satire, which prevailed so exceedingly, did not always meet where they deserved to meet. The King and Queen marked their disapprobation of the club, while Lord Despenser, Lord Talbot, and Lord Pembroke were in place, while Lady Berkeley, was of the bed-chamber to the Princess Dowager, though her husband, Lord Clare, had disavowed her last child, and while Miss Chudleigh had remained Maid of Honour to her, though she had owned her marriage with Captain Hervey to her Royal Highness, till she openly married the Duke of Kingston, though Hervey was alive; and was received by all the Royal Family as Duchess, after having been publicly kept by the Duke as his mistress. No wonder the sanctity of the Court passed for hypocrisy.

† For an account of this debate, see Chatham Correspondence, vol. ii. p. 281.—E.

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mary proceeding; and warm words passed between Lord Temple and Lord Marchmont, the latter of whom said, that though Wilkes was gone, he had left his gang behind him. At last both questions were formed into this one,—that it appearing to the House that Wilkes was the author, he should be taken into custody: but as he had withdrawn himself, a committee was appointed to search for precedents how to proceed.

On the 25th, Sir John Glynn in a very thin House moved to reconsider the Marriage Act; and a Committee was appointed. Sir John Philipps, too, proposed to re-appoint the Committee of the last year for inspecting the public accounts, and it was carried by 90 to 30 odd. Lord Holland and the Duke of Newcastle had concurred to bring that inquiry to nothing, contriving to have the time wasted on the accounts of the ordnance.

On the 31st Dowdswell moved a question against excise, though without naming it, in the Committee on the Cider bill, but it was thrown out by 172 to 152, seven of the minority being shut out when the question was putting: so near was the Court run by the minority, though without leaders, and frequently obstructed and distressed by the fluctuation of the family of Yorke, and the duplicity of Charles Townshend, who oftener spoke against than for them, and *that* generally when he had given the most solemn assurances of his support.

On Feb. 3rd, late in the day, Sir William Meredith moved for the evidence on which the secretaries of state had granted the warrant against Wilkes. The Ministry complained of the lateness of the hour, and Rigby moved to adjourn. Charles Townshend attacked Grenville on it, and was even seconded by his brother, the General; but the adjournment was carried by 73 to 60.

On the 6th there was a good debate* on Wilkes's complaint of breach of privilege, when Sir W. Meredith and Sir George Saville defended themselves against the imputation of want of candour, in having made their motion late in a thin House; the former proving that many violent questions had been proposed seven hours later than theirs had been. He moved for the warrant on which Wilkes had been apprehended, and for the information on which it had been grounded. To avoid the demand, Sir John Philipps moved the previous question, declaring that he meant to discharge the complaint. Lord Strange was at first for having the warrant produced but soon retracted and said the complaint ought to be discharged, as the suit was depending at common law—an argument that had been pressed on the Ministers when Wilkes's expulsion was agitated, and which they then had refused to admit.

I have more than once, in the former part of these Memoirs, touched on the character of Lord Strange, as a man acting on notions of his own, unwedded to any faction, and above temptations of money. He had, however, been gained by Fox to the Court, in the

* A graphical description of this debate is given by the author in a letter to Lord Hertford, vol. iv. p. 352 of his Correspondence.—E.

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present reign, by the offer of the post of Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, the county where his estate and interest lay. The large number of places in the disposal of that officer, could gratify his passion for sway in his own province; so true was the maxim of Sir Robert Walpole, that *every man has his price;* and so judiciously was this office held out to Lord Strange; for though he accepted the post on the views I have mentioned, he nobly refused to take the annexed salary of 1200*l.* a-year. He seldom afterwards differed with the successive administrations; but rarely attended Parliament.

Sir William Meredith consented to waive his demand of the information, though Beckford protested that he himself had never, as a justice of peace, granted a warrant without information on oath. Norton pleaded, that to grant it would instruct the accuser, Wilkes, in the defence of the accused Secretaries and Under-Secretaries of state; but T. Townshend urged that it had already appeared in the Court of Common Pleas, and in the ordinary newspapers. George Grenville* said that producing the warrant would engage the House to pronounce on the legality or illegality of it. Would the House declare that any papers might be seized? Would it declare that none might? Sir Anthony Abdy,† a lawyer attached to the Duke of Devonshire, said, a sight of the warrant was demanded as much for the excuse of such members of the House as had been concerned in it, as for blame; and General Conway added, that if the information was the defence of Wood and the others, how would it hurt them? But, said he, this matter is treated as too high for our inspection. I thought I lived in a free country. We have already chosen to give up our own privilege, and now are afraid to inquire on what grounds it is taken from us.‡ Nugent, Morton, Elliot, Wilbraham, Dr. Hay, Wood himself, Lord Frederic Campbell, Forester, Oswald,§ Ellis,

* For an account of Mr. Grenville's speech, see James Grenville's letter to Mr. Pitt. Chatham Correspondence, vol. ii. p. 285.—E.

† Sir Anthony Abdy, Baronet, of Chobham Place, Surrey, had been brought into Parliament by the Duke of Devonshire, for Knaresborough. He was a King's Counsel, in great practice, and likewise a country gentleman of considerable estate, having inherited the property of his kinsman Gainsford, the son of Sir Anthony Thomas. He died in 1775.—E.

‡ This speech of General Conway's appears to have made a great impression on the House. See the letter cited *supra*.—E.

§ The Right Honourable James Oswald, of Dunnikier, already mentioned as the adviser and warm partisan of Lord Bute. This was one of the last questions of great public interest in which he took part, his health being now on the decline; indeed he retired from Parliament at the dissolution. He had been a member for Kirkaldy, his native district, for more than twenty years, and possessed considerable weight in the House, as a clear, well informed, sensible, and effective speaker. His services were rewarded with a large sinecure for his son, and a bishopric for his brother. It is due to his memory to notice his kindness to men of letters; David Hume's History, and Political Essays were submitted to his revision before they went to press, and Lord Kaimes and Adam Smith lay under similar obligations to him. His criticisms, however, were probably the least valuable fruits of his friendship. His Correspondence was published some years ago, under the title of "Memorials of the Right Honourable James Oswald." Most of his papers having been burnt, the book contains nothing remarkable.—E.

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Lord North, and Sir John Glynn, debated the question for the Court, besides those I have mentioned; on the other side, Hewet,* King's Sergeant, Mawbey, Lord George Sackville, Dowdswell, Fitzherbert, Dempster, Charles Townshend, and Onslow; but the previous question was carried by 217 to 122.

The next day the Cider bill was compromised, and two shillings imposed instead of five.

On the 9th, the day appointed for considering the Marriage bill, Charles Yorke opposed going into Committee, and said Sir John Glynn should have stated objections, and proposed amendments; wished to have a bill brought in for that purpose. He talked of the wisdom and temper with which it had been carried through before: the truth of which may be seen in my former account of that bill. Rigby was for going into the Committee, his patron the Duke of Bedford having been, and continuing to be, its warm adversary. Lord Strange ridiculed ecclesiastical law, and frankly spoke of marriage as only legal cohabitation. George Grenville stayed away, and Lord Holland's friends were for repealing the bill. The Opposition, to court the Yorkes, were against altering it; but it was carried by 157 to 79, for a Committee to re-examine it. It was then proposed to go into the Committee on that day sevennight: Charles Yorke and General Townshend for the Monday sevennight after. Charles Townshend, who had shone so brightly against the original bill, kept away; but it was carried for the Wednesday, by 70 to 39.

On the 13th, the House of Commons entered seriously on the great question of breach of privilege on Wilkes's complaint, and the first day sat till midnight, four hundred and fifty members being present. Sir William Meredith opened the debate with calling for the three messengers who had executed the warrant, and for Matthew Brown, Wilkes's servant, who gave an account of what had passed when his master was seized. I shall not recapitulate these examinations, which may be found in the journals of the House; nor what was said by other witnesses. Their depositions lasted till nine at night. Philip Carteret Webbe then made his defence; and it was so scurvy, that he was reduced to plead inadvertence, and his being a servant of the Secretary of State. He even had the front to affirm, that there had been no intention of making Wilkes *close* prisoner. He then offered to produce his evidence, but, it being late, G. Grenville asked if they would proceed or not? Mr. Pitt said he thought they ought not to stop till they knew whether they still had a Constitution or not. Lord Frederic Campbell, supported by Rose Fuller and General Townshend, moved to adjourn. Thomas Townshend the younger urged that the House had voted the expulsion of a member at four o'clock in the morning—would not they proceed to hear

* Afterwards Lord Chancellor of Ireland, and a peer of that kingdom by the title of Lord Lifford. He filled the office with great credit. His judgments in the Court of Chancery were reported by Mr. Freeman, and the work is still one of some authority. He died in 1769.—E.

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his complaint at eleven at night? Mr. Pitt said it was derogatory from the honour of the House to adjourn. His own first wish had been to crush foreign enemies; now it was to crush domestic. When that was done he should die willingly. The question was then put, but the Ministers not caring to hazard their majority, when the House seemed inclined to proceed, few of their party went out in the division; and thence it was carried by 379 to 31, to go on.

The record of the writ of Habeas Corpus, and the returns to it, were then read; but so many of the members had retired after the division, to eating-houses and coffee-houses to refresh themselves, that the Ministers objected that evidence was not fairly heard on their side; and Sir James Lowther moving to adjourn, it was carried without a division a quarter before twelve.

The next day was spent in hearing precedents of general warrants, in which there appeared but too much countenance for the practice, yet founded on no law. The greater part had been issued against Jacobites, on the accession of the present Royal Family, when their establishment was new, and precarious. The Lord Viscount Townshend,* a zealous, cold, and authoritative Minister, had made free with the practice. It had been used even in cases of libels, but always in those of Jacobite tendency. Many in times of rebellion had been issued by the Duke of Newcastle, and three by Mr. Pitt himself, but against persons suspected of treasonable practices. These documents had Carteret Webbe now collected; he printed them, too, in his justification. But the case of Wilkes was not only dissimilar, but was important enough to call for redress of a power so obnoxious and liable to abuse. At one in the morning Sir William Meredith commenced the debate, and to what I have said added the history of those warrants. Fifty persons, he owned, had been taken up on such warrants; and then Wilkes on a like indefinite warrant. His very pocket-book had been seized to find evidence against him. The gentlemen who apprehended him were mere ministerial officers. The first warrant quoted was of 1662, for then was passed the first act for licensing the press: and as that act was temporary, and has not been revived, it is a proof that there is no law since to authorize such restraint. The warrants themselves have been found by the Court of Common Pleas to be illegal. He then read the two resolutions he proposed to move; the first that, *a general warrant for seizing authors and papers is not law.* The second, that *seizing Members of Parliament by general warrant is contrary to privilege.* Breach of privilege, he added, might be committed *in the manner*, even where there is no privilege. These warrants had

* Charles Lord Viscount Townshend, minister at the Hague, and afterwards Secretary of State to the Kings George the First and Second. By his eldest son Charles, he was grandfather of General George Townshend, afterwards Viscount, and of the famous Charles Townshend. His second son Thomas was father of another Thomas, often mentioned in these Memoirs. William, third son, was father of another Charles Townshend, called the black or Spanish Charles, from having been Secretary to the Embassy at Madrid.

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never been used but in times of danger, and then were followed by Acts of Indemnity, and thence never came to be questioned. They were suspended from 1675 to 1690, and then were resumed to protect the Revolution. Again in 1715 and 1745, the years of the Scottish rebellions. They were now used for such a trifle as a libel, that was in every man's hand. The licentiousness of the people had been checked; it was time now to quiet their minds by checking the licentiousness of power.

Lord Frederic Campbell, with much warmth, called on the House to vindicate Wood and Webbe, their accused members. Wood said he had done his duty, and hoped to be restored to the precise situation in which he had stood before the accusation. Sir W. Meredith said, Lord Chief Justice Keeling being accused, pleaded he had acted by precedent. The practice was censured before the person, as it is necessary to ascertain the crime ere the criminal can be condemned. Charles Yorke said he hoped to hear Keeling's case read another day; and then moved to adjourn. Norton said he was willing to have the general case adjourned, but not the particular one of the accused. The debate took that turn of postponing the case of the warrants, but the Ministers insisted on disculpating the accused, Grenville particularly declaring for discharging the complaint of breach of privilege. Pitt replied, that if the second question should pass, it would be impossible entirely to acquit the accused. They could not be acquitted or condemned till the general question should be affirmed or condemned. If the warrant should be declared illegal, he would extenuate their behaviour as having acted by precedent. To this Wood, with much heat and arrogance replied, that he would not accept of being *excused.*

Wood,* originally a travelling tutor and excellent classic scholar, is well known from those beautiful and simple Essays prefixed to the editions of the *Ruins of Balbec and Palmyra;*† whither he had travelled with two‡ young gentlemen of fortune and curiosity. His taste and ingenuity had recommended him to Mr. Pitt for his private secretary when Minister; but the observance required by Pitt, and the pride, though dormant, of Wood, had been far from cementing their connexion. Wood had then attached himself to the Duke of Bridgwater, and through him to the Bedford faction; but remaining in office when Mr. Pitt quitted, had, with too much readiness, complied with the orders of his new masters. His general behaviour was decent, as became his dependant situation; but his nature was hot, and veering to despotic.

Lord George Sackville told him that intentionally he had done right, but was not ready to say that he had done legally right. Lord Strange said he would not consent to postpone the acquittal of the

* Robert Wood died in September 1771; he was writing Dissertations on Homer, since published.

† See what is said of them in the Advertisement prefixed to the first volume of the Anecdotes of Painting.

‡ Mr. Bouverie and Mr. Dawkins.

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accused. General Townshend desired to have the debate abjourned to Friday 17th, being obliged to give attendance on his father, who was dying. His brother Charles, more decently than the rest, said the questions were the same, and required the same discussion: he would not consent to divide them. In truth, there could be no thought of separating them but in compliment to Wood, for few could have any partiality for Webbe. Sir William Meredith and Sir George Saville, both candid men, had wished to avoid naming persons,—a respect detrimental in great national questions; for not only the multitude will more easily be led by names than by speculation and theory, but what Ministers will fear to offend, if censure only touches their practice, not their persons? It is to the honour of the persons who composed that Opposition that their delicacy frequently, nay, constantly, hurt their cause. Yet should that delicacy not be imitated? When the freedom of a nation is at stake, what chance has liberty, if opponents have scruples for Ministers who have none?

Charles Yorke and Dowdswell then moved to adjourn till Friday; and General Conway observed justly, that if the accused were acquitted first, the general question would not be left entire; for could the House vote that general warrants were illegal, after it should have voted that they who executed those warrants were blameless? Yet Wood continued loudly to demand his justification. Mr. Pitt was for adjourning the whole debate; and said, if this was not agreed to, he would debate the whole. Sir George Saville said, Wood was guilty of impatience, though an honest one; and complained that he and Sir William Meredith were not suffered to prove their whole charge.

At half an hour after four in the morning the House divided, the Opposition being for adjourning the whole matter; and to the great dismay of the courtiers, the Ministerial party were but 207, and the opponents 197—a triumph in parliamentary cases little preferable to a defeat; so strong had been the alarm on seizing the papers, and so evident was it that the Ministerial Majority had been the work of venality against conviction.

Dr. Hay then moved to discharge the complaint; but Pitt, roused by this swell of his party, and feeling the weight of so large a minority, poured forth one of his finest rhapsodies on liberty, though at that late hour, and after the fatigue of so long an attendance and attention: and he severely reprimanded Wood's insolence, telling him that, if he would not accept excuse, he deserved censure. Grenville asked why these persons were blamed and not all their predecessors?* Pitt, still rising in fire and importance, took the whole debate on himself, asking what he had done, but in a war which he was called upon to invigorate? He had never turned out officers; he had sought for merit in those who *now* held precarious commissions, not by military service. They had not only saved their country, but him who had been undone if they had not saved their country.

* Pitt had issued two general warrants during the war.

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Grenville, not losing courage on this turn of fortune, replied ably and finely. He knew, he said, the nation was left on the brink of ruin.* The Ministers had had enough to do without hunting in alleys for libels. He then painted faction, first setting England against Scotland; then reviving party names, and drawing the line between the Parliament and people. Look! said he, look at Wilkes's letters, where he talks of *rare combustibles!*

Colonel† Barrè, rising to speak, and being pointed to by the Speaker under that military appellation, thanked him, but said he had no right to that title; yet it gave him occasion to ask why he had been dismissed? what had his Majesty done on his accession? He looked out if any man had been whispered out of the service, and did him ample justice. (This alluded to Sir Henry Erskine, dismissed in the late reign, and restored to his rank by the present King; a speaking instance against the change of measures since adopted.) Himself, he said, was of no consequence, but let Ministers take care how they deprived the Crown of other faithful servants at the end of a glorious war. Non de vectigalibus agitur, sed de animâ nostra res agitur. Precedents did not justify: Charles the First had acted on precedents.

Onslow congratulated Grenville ironically on having never given one vote for the last ruinous war, which he now so much condemned. And they, said he, who are for acquitting these gentlemen, ought to remember who insisted on having their two names inserted, when Sir George Saville and Sir W. Meredith would have omitted them.

In fact, the Ministers had got the names inserted with the view of having them cleared by a vote of the House.

Mawbey then moved to adjourn, which was overruled by 208 to 184, and then the complaint being discharged, the House rose at half-an-hour after seven in the morning, the longest sitting on record, exceeding that on the Westminster Election, in 1742, and the last sitting on the Militia Bill, in 17—; but this latter was less a debate than the perseverance of a very few persons who sat till six in the morning to perfect that bill.

The Court was strangely alarmed at this sudden rise of the Opposition, and set them roundly to oppose its progress, well knowing that when once the scale turns, it is difficult to secure even the venal, who hurry over to the side to which fortune seems inclining. Nor was much time given them to rally their forces, the great question coming on within four days.

* Alluding to the enormous debt contracted by the war.

† Being dependent on Lord Shelburne, Barrè had, under him, connected himself with Mr. Pitt, whom he had so savagely attacked not long before, and had been dismissed from the army.

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CHAPTER XXVI.

Debates on the legality of General Warrants, and the conduct of Wilkes, continued.—Treatise entitled "Droit lé Roi," condemned by the Lords.—Wilkes found guilty of being the Author of "The North Briton," and the "Essay on Woman."

FEB. 17th the House went into the debate on the subject, *that a general warrant for seizing the author, printer, &c., of a seditious libel is not legal.* Dr. Hay said it was evident this had been the practice, nor had the Courts below condemned it. He should, therefore, propose an amendment, that the question might be stated clearly and precisely. If that correction was agreed to, he intended to offer others that should condemn the whole practice of the secretary's office. He then moved to add the word *treasonable* after *seditious*; and then he would propose, he said, to subjoin the following sentence, *though such warrant had been according to the practice of office, and has not been condemned by any courts of justice in which such warrants have been produced.* He was seconded by Wedderburn, who argued against taking up one particular warrant, half excusing that in question by saying, he would not affirm that practice makes law. Pitt ridiculed the Doctor and the Ministry for trying to perplex the question; but owning handsomely that he should like the question better if spread over the whole practice, and not confined to the single instance before them. If his own practice had been faulty, he was willing to bear his share of public blame. He called on the Ministers to show what was really the subject matter of the question: was it on *seditious* libels? then do not cut and shuffle with our liberties by an epithet. We had seen the day when an epithet would defeat Magna Charta. Any other epithet of four syllables would throw dust in the eyes of members, as well as *treasonable.* But now, said he, they parry and *twist*, and I like it the better. I am glad that all the learned doctor's abilities could produce was an epithet. But keep separate things separate in their nature. Vote the general question on *seditions* first. We never desire to alter the practice in cases of high treason. The learned gentleman, he supposed, would allow that there might be seditious libels without treason in them. It was shallow, the artifice of attempting to draw in gentlemen to condemn seditious warrants by coupling the word *treasonable* to them, which aggravates the offence; but by not daring to let the question stand simply on its own merits, on the case of a general

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warrant issued against a seditious libel, not a treasonable one, they tacitly avowed that the libel not being treasonable, their own conduct had been illegal. But no general warrant to search universally without specification of name or place, was allowable, even in case of treason. *General warrants are always wrong;* yet if this amendment left the House at liberty to debate on the whole question, and not on that amendment solely, he would not be against the stating those words. Hay was hurt, and said he had nowhere been accustomed to the manœuvre of quibbles: he had only affirmed that general warrants had been produced in other courts: he had not said that those courts had decided on them. Conway pursued Pitt's argument, and showed how totally the original question and the proposed alteration of it differed; that if any thing could authorize a general warrant, it was treason. By inserting that word, the ministers betrayed the badness of their own cause; he feared they were a little tender; that they could not bear the last division. He honoured the lights of the law, but feared the House had a little too much of them: yet could those learned men prove that treason and sedition were the same? Why was it necessary, too, to describe historically what had been the custom? The case was clear and simple, when a gentleman came and slipped in a word that totally varied the argument: it was *white*, he inserts the word *black;* and thus would vote that the Ministers had not done wrong by taking up a man for a crime of which he had not been guilty. If a general warrant is good against treason, and not against sedition, and yet you couple them, and make them one crime, are Ministers blameless for inflicting on sedition the punishment only due to treason? Separate the questions, and vote, if you can, that the warrant was legal.

Hussey* said he liked the amendment, because he disliked all general warrants; for what was to follow, he did not understand it. Did it mean to imply that the silence of the King's Bench was affirmation? He feared some such thing was meant; but it would be a libel on the judges that sit there. He did not, however, he said, mean to extend his argument to high treason. He wished to have general warrants condemned, because to some there stood the names of men of virtue, which seemed to authorize so bad a practice. Wedderburn said sharply, that he had guarded himself by alleging that the practice of the King's Bench could not make law; but they had been taunted with epithets; the time was come when men would no longer be led by epithets† and flowery declamation. It was hurting our country to study popularity by vilifying the profession of the law. Was a definition nothing but epithets? The Opposition, he knew, would be glad, if they could, to stand clear of epithets. Charles Yorke was for adopting the amendments, and spoke

* Richard Hussey, Esq., M. P., for East Looe, Attorney General to the Queen, Counsel to the Admiralty, and Auditor to the Duchy of Cornwall and Greenwich Hospital. He died in 1780. Cavendish's Debates, vol. i. p. 197, note.—E.

† Alluding to Mr. Pitt.

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for temper. *Treasonable* corresponded with the evidence given at the bar. The common warrants had that description in them. He was for stating what had been the common usage, and then for condemning it. None of those warrants had come before the Courts below for argument or consideration. Sir William Meredith said, he hoped this point would be decided by the spirit of liberty, not by law; and with some heat added, "I never passed my life with the vices of Wilkes." This sentence, provoked by what had fallen from Wedderburn, and supposed to be aimed, as it justly might have been, at Dr. Hay, who, though so servile now, had been the intimate of Wilkes,* was levelled at Lord Sandwich. But Wedderburn took it up, and said, if Sir William had meant any thing unparliamentary, he might have taken another place. Dr. Hay, thinking it necessary to vindicate himself, did not conciliate more favour. He had long, he said, known the unhappy man, had received pleasure and instruction from him, but with many good qualities he had grown profligate; did not know who incited him; had advised him against his excesses; yet, said he, I am no hypocrite; I have told him he was grown the *God* of defamation from keeping seditious company; he had even attacked the Crown, and the *parent* of the Crown; for himself, he pitied the poor *devil*. Some persons interposing to prevent a duel, Sir W. Meredith said, he had every day been aspersed as taking up this matter for the sake of Wilkes. This he could not bear. Wedderburn had taken it up on tip-toe, though neither pointed at him nor Dr. Hay. Himself would last year have stopped Wilkes's behaviour.

Hussey then proposed to insert the words *in the King's Bench where the warrants had never been condemned or approved, whereas they had been condemned in the Court of Common Pleas.* To this Norton agreed, though he said he would show that they had been approved in the King's Bench. Prisoners are brought thither by Habeas Corpus, and the court is counsel for the prisoner. They examine the legality of the commitment, and must remit him, or bail him, or remand him. Remanding him, or requiring bail, is approving the commitment. Pitt proposed to add, "in which court (the King's Bench) it does not appear that the validity of general warrants has been brought in question." Charles Yorke said he agreed with Pitt, but would have the sentence run thus, "although hath been frequently produced to, and never been questioned by, the King's Bench." Sir William said he could not agree to the amendment, for the House had only heard evidence ex-parte for exculpation of the accused Ministers. Pitt objecting strongly to the words, *never questioned*, Charles Yorke offered these, "and the validity never de-

* Wilkes subsequently published a very friendly letter, dated 26th March, 1763, addressed to him by Mr. Legge, inviting him to meet Dr. Hay at Dinner. Indeed, the intimacy of Wilkes was a reproach shared at that time with Dr. Hay by several of the most eminent persons in the kingdom. And it was not till after the publication of the forty-fifth number of the North Briton, on the 23rd of April, 1763, that their eyes were opened to the enormity of his offence.—E.

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bated." Forester approved this, and asked if the point had never been litigated, why should those words be inserted? George Grenville protested that nothing should make him say that *all* those warrants were legal; but with Norton he desired to add, "though the parties have been remanded and bailed." Pitt, offended that the opinion of some Judges had been quoted in defence of the warrant, said, he was no judge, but sat there to judge Judges. There had not been a violation of the Constitution but had been sanctified by the greatest Judges. Let Norton turn to evidence and prove such prisoners had been remanded. If discharged, let the House have that evidence also. Conway treated the whole amendment as trifling; and asked if they would take no notice of the decision of the Common Pleas against the legality of the warrant, and yet would take notice of a *no* decision? He wished to have the whole referred to a committee. Charles Yorke affirmed that none had been remanded; but agreed with Norton that they had been bailed. Charles Townshend asked, since the lawyers allowed that bail might be given on an erroneous warrant, why they would *mention it*? Norton owned that he meant from thence to argue for the legality. The amendments were agreed to.

The Court having carried this point, Norton impudently confessed this was what he had aimed at; and as there were so many causes connected with this depending in the Courts below, he should move to put off the question for four months. The ministers did not doubt but the legality of the warrants would be condemned in Westminster Hall; yet a previous censure in parliament might not only ensure that decision, but produce arraignment of the Administration. They feared, from what had passed in the foregoing day, that they should never be able to carry an approbation of the warrants,—and if they could, into what confusion must the nation have fallen, if such warrants were upheld by Parliament, and anathematized in the other courts? Their plan, therefore, was to jockey: and the Opposition had fallen into the snare. It had been proposed that Lord Granby should move the adjournment; he refused, and yet spoke for it,—and was immediately rewarded with the Lieutenancy of Derbyshire, which the Duke of Devonshire had resigned, and wished, from the rivalship between their families in that county, to see in any other hands.

Norton, continuing to triumph in the arts of attorneyship, asked to what end the House should decide on the point which was to be determined elsewhere? Let, he said, a committee be appointed to draw up a bill. The practice of a court does make law. For Secretaries of State he demanded more power than for a common justice of peace. The House sits to make laws, not to expound them. He then dropped this sentence, so decent, yet so worthy of the mouth it fell from, and so often flung in his teeth,—*If I was a Judge, I should pay no more regard to this resolution than to that of a drunken porter*;—a sentence that would have made old Onslow* thunder

* Arthur Onslow, Speaker in the reign of George the Second.

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forth indignation! Norton then moved to adjourn the debate for four months, as so many causes were depending on the illegality.

Charles Yorke made a very long speech against postponing a present decision, as against the dignity of the House: and he scrupled not to pronounce the warrant illegal, which he protested he had never seen till Wilkes was taken up; nor had any question been asked of the Attorney or Solicitor Generals by the Administration. Warrants dated from the Star Chamber. Himself had always been for taking this matter up in Parliament, notwithstanding its pendency below. Previous questions, to avoid debates, may be useful during foreign treaties, but never in cases of privilege. In questions of this sort the House ought to hold the balance between King and people. It was a question in point of law impossible to be denied. Were he a Judge, he should pay regard to the decision of the House of Commons. The question ought to be determined for the sake of the Secretaries of State. He must be for some law.

Notwithstanding Yorke disculpated himself of not having seen the warrant, yet the Ministers protested that after Wilkes was taken up, Yorke had given his opinion that No. 45 was a libel, and had advised the commitment of him to the Tower. This was advising a man to knock down another, and then pleading that he had not seen the bludgeon. Lord North said, if a law was necessary, a partial resolution was trifling. By deferring this, they meant to introduce something much better.

Lord George Sackville said, it would only alarm the nation to fling over the question the thin parliamentary veil of adjournment. When could a question of liberty be so properly taken up as under such a King? It was the time to lop such an excrescence. Lord North had promised much, but would perform nothing. The House of Commons singly cannot make law; but can declare upon it. He thanked God that on this question the whole body of lawyers was not on the side of power: that battery would be too much to stand. How came the Secretaries of State by this practice, but from the Star Chamber and Licensing Act? It had never been abused till now, for it had been exercised only against traitors. A discretionary power must always be at the peril of the Secretary that uses it. But he would therefore declare it illegal for a warning to them, and to show the people that they had a watchful House of Commons.

Nugent said, liberty rings round the House, and we may all be unanimously in the wrong. We are not likely to be *unanimously* wrong, replied Conway, nor rash, for nothing was ever so fully debated. The Ministers had narrowed the question to Wilkes, and then called it too narrow. The previous question would in effect be a negative. Wood had called for immediate decision. There had been issued but one warrant as extensive as this down to the time of Lord Townshend, and that had been in the reign of Charles the Second. He that gives a power of tyranny gives tyranny. Hussey added, that the Licensing Act had been dropped because the Peers would not consent to let their houses be searched.

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Lord Frederic Campbell said that in a fornight's time general warrants would be determined to be illegal; and then, what Secretary of State would dare to sign one? Lord Granby, declaring he thought them illegal because Lord Chief Justice Pratt had thought so, said, no Secretary of State after that opinion would venture to issue them.

Charles Townshend made a most capital speech, replete with argument, history and law, though severe on the lawyers: a speech, like most of his, easier to be described than detailed. How great, he said, must be the talents of Norton, if the House heard him with patience, though comparing them to a *drunken porter*. Whether in the House or out of the House, Norton, he feared, would be fatal to the cause. He then gave the history of the Licensing Act, and read the resolution of the year 1675, drawn by Mr. Locke, and the report of Lord Chief Justice Vaughan of usage not constituting law. Had Norton lived in the age of ship-money, how he would have argued for putting off the decision of its being illegal! But it was become more necessary to alter this, because of the many precedents in its favour. He then gave a description of the warrant against Wilkes, and how long they had been before they applied it to him. He abhorred Wilkes, he said; and drew a severe picture of him, and another panegyrical of the great Whig Lords at the time of the Revolution, and of those at the accession of the present Royal Family. But it seems, continued he, we are not to have a resolution, but a bill. The first time was always the best time; the natural mode the best mode. One advantage had been derived from Wilkes, he had stopped a growing evil. Nobody could think what thirty years more in abler hands would have done. This warrant without description of person might take up any man under any description of a libel. If the House did not come to some resolution, what dissatisfaction it must create. Mankind would learn that the lawyers were divided in their sentiments on the legality, and would be clamorous to have settled a point so important to the security of their persons, houses, and papers. But do not be wheedled by promises; who gives promises gives deceit. He praised Mr. Pitt, and concluded with saying that this warrant was like an experiment in anatomy, which might be tried on a poor man. Wilkes is odious, cry the Ministers; commit him. If Parliament suffers it, you may strike at higher objects.

After several other speeches, Pitt said this was not a warrant, but a delegation of magistracy, which the Crown could not give, and should Secretaries of State give it? The debate had been carried on without heat—indeed with too much coldness. Lawyers termed this warrant erroneous;—was that term harsh enough? Hear the language of Ministers and their agents: Carteret Webbe said he had settled Wilkes *comfortably* in the Tower with his shaving things! Then, they say, you need not pronounce this illegal; Secretaries of State will be sufficiently frightened; the Judges may or may not declare it illegal; and you shall have a law. I should be against such a law; it would be augmenting the power of the Crown by law. What will our constituents say if we do not ascertain their liberties?

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How do you know the Lords will agree to the bill? Not doing is doing.

He was answered by Grenville and Sir John Philipps; but Lord Howe,* though a Lord of the Admiralty, spoke against the adjournment. Elliot said, if there must be a victim, they might have a hecatomb of Ministers who had signed such warrants. These warrants, it seemed, had stalked about unknown to Mr. Pitt, who had been Secretary of State, and to Mr. Yorke, Attorney-General.

Colonel Barré ridiculed Lord Barrington, Elliot, and Grenville, with much humour. Lord Granby thinks, added he, that no Secretary of State will venture on these warrants after Pratt's opinion; but Grenville says that opinion was *undue*, erroneous, and precipitate. For himself, he esteemed the professors of the law, but detested the profession. Pratt he commended; and said, shall France deride our languor when her parliaments are making such strides towards liberty.

At five in the morning the House divided, and the adjournment was carried by 232 against 218; a majority of only fourteen. The world expected that the Ministers would resign—at least endeavour to treat.†

The offensive behaviour of Norton in the preceding debate, brought out a story very characteristic of his unfeeling nature. When Dr. Hensey was condemned for Treason in the last reign, Lord Mansfield asked Pratt, the Attorney-General, when he would have him executed? Pratt, struck with compassion, could not bring himself to fix the day. Lord Mansfield then asked Norton, who, turning to the prisoner, said, "Doctor, when will it be agreeable to you to be executed?"‡

While mankind expected that the Opposition would vigorously pursue the advantage of so large an increase of their numbers, day after day, and week after week slipped away without their exerting one symptom of spirit or activity. No motions were made, no inquiries set on foot, no zeal expressed to keep up the passions and hopes of the party. Without doors all hearts were with them, and

* Lord Howe was then only an Irish Peer. He succeeded to his title on the death of his elder brother at Ticonderago in 1758. His great services raised him to the English Peerage in 1782, as Viscount Howe, and as Earl Howe in 1788. He died in 1799.—E.

† This debate is described in the author's letters to Lord Hertford.—Correspondence, vol. iv. p. 373.—E.

‡ This statement is probably much exaggerated. There is no doubt that Pratt applied to the Court, according to the usual practice, to appoint a day for Hensey's execution. Lord Mansfield desired him to name the day, and on Hensey's solicitor asking that it might not be an early day, Pratt said he was ready to give as long a day as might be proper. At last the Court agreed that it might be a month.—Burr. Reports, vol. i. p. 651, R. v. Hensey. The sentimentality imputed to Pratt certainly formed no part of his character; and as the story is without question inaccurate, we may fairly doubt whether Norton was guilty of so curious a piece of brutality. Hensey was respited on the very morning that he was going to execution. On the 5th of Sept. 1759, he appeared in Court and pleaded a full pardon.—E.

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ready to second their attempts with clamour and applause. At first they seemed to expect that the Ministers would come and lay their places at their feet. The dream itself was over before an effort was made to realize it. Not a pamphlet was written, not a meeting was held, to concert farther measures. A supineness unparalleled! but to be accounted for from the composition of that minority. Pitt affected to be courted to discountenance party, and to be placed at the head of every thing without seeming to desire it. He despised Newcastle, and resented the manner in which he had been treated by that Duke, by Devonshire, by Hardwicke, and the Yorkes. Charles Yorke was, besides, incompatible with Pitt's friend, the Chief Justice Pratt, as the Chancellor's seal was equally the object of both. Lord Temple, the soul of faction, was detested by the whole party, except by his own small connexion. Charles Townshend was attached to nobody, and trusted by nobody. Legge was industrious, but not spirited: he could negotiate for himself, but not for a party. Conway had singly meant to arraign the warrants and had no thought of dipping in faction. Some were too fair, and others too dirty, to take the general steps that might lead to the good of the whole party; and thus, where there was no concert, and in truth but few able men, there could be no consequences but inactivity and defeat. That defeat fell heavy on the most conscientious, who having offended the Court by their opposition, were thus exposed a sacrifice to its resentments.

Nor was this conduct, I doubt, solely founded on inability and outward disunion. Pitt might expect to be again sent for by Lord Bute, and was unwilling to be clogged with numerous dependants, odious to the favourite, and distasteful to himself. He and Lord Temple had far more rancour against their brother, George Grenville, than against Lord Bute; and Pitt, at least, had never been personal against the favourite, who, with all his resentment to Lord Temple, as the instigator of Wilkes, had received more recent stabs from George Grenville. Whether during this suspension of hostilities, any negotiation was renewed, I do not pretend to say; nor is it important, as it certainly had no effect, unless that material one of cooling the growing party.

The Ministers, on the other hand, wore a good countenance, and were as alert as their adversaries were supine and lifeless. To procure votes, to work under-ground, to write letters, despatch messengers, and collect all possible forces, this was the fort and excellence of Sandwich's genius. He and Rigby were desperate, and Grenville little less so. They soon perceived the want of discipline in the enemy's troops, and the insufficiency of their commanders. With some address of their own, and with the defect of it in their opponents, they weathered the session, obtained full power, and showed that they dared to make use of it despotically.

On the very day of the last great debate in the House of Commons, Lord Lyttelton, seconded by the Duke of Grafton, acquainted the Lords that on the following Tuesday he should lay a complaint before

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them against a new book called *Droit le Roi*. This pestilent treatise was a collection from old statutes and obsolete customs of the darkest and most arbitrary ages of whatever tended, or had tended, to show and uphold the prerogative of the Crown. The fulsome flattery and servility of ancient lawyers in every reign were amassed together, and shoved upon the world as the standing law of England; no retrospect had to all the immunities obtained since by the Civil War, by the Revolution, and by various other struggles of Parliaments with the Crown. Such a code obtruded on the Crown, as a codicil to the stretch of General Warrants, spoke for itself. It was incense laid on an altar erected to power on which human sacrifices had already been offered. Without metaphor, such a compilation proved that prerogative must have been the object of the Court before such gross adulation could dare to step forth in the face of both Houses of Parliament. The author was one Brecknock, a retainer of the law, and a hackney writer. As no attempt was made to prove whether he wrote by instigation, it remained problematic. Certain it is, that he soon afterwards attached himself to the Earl of Northumberland.*

On the 21st, Lord Lyttelton made his complaint, and moved for a censure of the book as Jacobitical, and violating the Bill of Rights, and the Revolution. Ministers, he said, ought to have taken notice of it; but they who had fallen so severely on seditious pamphlets, had overlooked this tract, so subversive of all liberty. Lord Dartmouth treated the book with still more severity. Lord Halifax affected to go farther, but complained of Lord Lyttelton for not acquainting him with his intention. Lord Marchmont to the censure proposed to tack a compliment to the King on his love of liberty; for so servile are some men, that they cannot condemn flattery without making use of it.† The book thus attacked on one side and given up on the other, was sentenced to be burnt, and the author ordered to be taken into custody. The latter part of the sentence nobody took any pains to execute.

On the 24th, the Lords communicated their resolutions to the other House, who concurred in the same judgment.

On February the 21st, Sir John Philipps, as he had before acquainted the House he would, moved for leave to bring in a bill to ascertain the power of Secretaries of State in granting warrants—a line almost impossible to draw. Treason was to be kept in awe on one side; the Ministers themselves on the other. Nor could this boon to liberty but be suspicious when offered by a hand so rankly

* Hugh Smithson Percy, Earl of Northumberland. His eldest son married a daughter of Lord Bute. Both the Earl and Brecknock afterwards, finding their expectations not answered, turned against the Court. Brecknock was hanged twenty years after in Ireland, for being accessory to an atrocious murder perpetrated by Mr. Fitzgerald, who suffered with him.

† The compliment was not insincere, for the King probably entertained more enlarged views of constitutional liberty than Lord Marchmont. His Lordship clung to his Jacobite principles to the last, though he changed their object.—E.

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Jacobite! The Ministers had made their use of the idea, and desired no such bill: and the Opposition were not forward to let them draw such a bill. It was therefore dropped with scorn by both sides of the House; and yet the Court afterwards affected to talk of this bill as a tender made to liberty, and rejected by its advocates.

The same day was Wilkes found guilty in the King's Bench, of being author of the North Briton, and of the Essay on Woman.

The City of London, to honour the steadiness and services of Mr. Pratt, the other Chief Justice, presented him with the freedom of the City, and thanked their own Representatives for their behaviour on the question of the warrants.

On the 6th of March, it was agreed to amend the Marriage bill by another bill, as Mr. Yorke had proposed: and the same day died his father, and the father of the Bill, Philip Earl of Hardwicke; a man who, during his power, had coloured over very confined parts, and very few virtues, with a gravity that was construed into both, as it served the purpose of himself or his dependents. Pride, revenge, and avarice were his true features; and whatever pictures shall be drawn of him where those lines do not predominate, will be unlike, false, and flattering. To conceal all knowledge of his vast wealth, his sons did not prove his will till the memory of him was faded away.*

* Lord Holland has justly observed, "that wherever that great magistrate (Lord Hardwicke) is concerned, Lord Orford's resentments blind his judgment and disfigure his narrative."—Mem. vol, i. p. 139, note. He certainly has in this instance drawn a caricature, of which there is no merit in the execution to compensate for the faults of the design. Lord Chesterfield, though also a political opponent, has done Lord Hardwicke more justice.—See Miscell. Works, vol. iv. p. 51. Admitting many of his eminent qualities, he elegantly says of his avarice, that though it was his ruling passion, he never was in the least suspected of any kind of corruption; a rare and meritorious instance of virtue and self-denial, under the influence of such a craving, insatiable, and increasing passion.—See also Lord Mahon's Hist. vol. iii, p. 201. The Editor has only further to observe, that none but a lawyer who has practised in the Court where Lord Hardwicke so long presided, can correctly appreciate his discharge of the duties of that high office. His judgments maintain their authority to the present hour, and furnish the earliest and clearest exposition of the principles of the Equity Jurisdiction of this country. And whoever may have had the opportunity of examining his Lordship's note books, will see the patient attention and indefatigable research that distinguished every part of his judicial career.—E.

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CHAPTER XXVII.

The Earl of Egmont.—The Budget.—Taxation of the American Colonies.—New Bridge at Blackfriars.—Appearance of the "Lettres, Mémoires, et Négotiations du Chevalier D'Eon," &c.—Lord Clive appointed Governor General of India.—Contest at Cambridge.—Philip Earl of Harkwicke.—Jeremiah Dyson.

While men were taken up with the politics of the age, there was a Minister so smitten with the exploded usages of barbarous times, that he thought of nothing less than reviving the feudal system. This was the Earl of Egmont,* who had actually drawn up a plan for establishing that absurd kind of government in the island of St. John. He printed several copies of his scheme, and sent them about to his brother peers. And so little were they masters of the subject, and so great was the inattention of the Ministry to the out-lying parts of our empire, that his Lordship, in the following year, had prevailed with the Council to suffer him to make the experiment, if General Conway had not chanced to arrive at Council and expose the folly of such an undertaking, which occasioned its being laid aside. Lord Egmont was such a passionate admirer of those noble tenures and customs, that he rebuilt his house at Enmere in Somersetshire in the guise of a castle, moated it round, and prepared it to defend itself with cross-bows and arrows, against the time in which the fabric and use of gunpowder shall be forgotten.

On the 9th Mr. Grenville opened the budget, fully, for brevity was not his failing; but he did it with art and ability too; though not disguising how much he was hurt by abuse. He said it had been written in pamphlets that 400,000*l.* a-year was dealt out in pensions; pretending that the accusation had been levelled against the profusion of those granted in Ireland, which he denied to be so great as alleged, particularly in that bestowed on Lord Sandwich, which, as I have said, had been stopped. But in truth the charge had been levelled against that sort of corruption in England; and on that he chose to be silent. Much art, he said, had been used to dissuade people from subscribing to the loans of Government; but no new money was to be raised,—no lottery; the latter to be kept in reserve for another exigence. He hoped, therefore, people would engage in the funds,—as if moneyed men would not

* John Perceval, second Earl of Egmont.
‡ In America.

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keep their cash a year longer, when it must be borrowed! He took great merit on the revenue being managed with more frugality than in the late reign, and on the increase of the customs, particularly in the duties on tea, though the increase of trade had much more share in that rise than his regulations. He stated the debt incurred by the late war at sixty-four millions already funded, and nine that were not. But above all he praised, and justly, the reduction of the demands from Germany. They amounted to 1,354,803*l.*, and upwards, of which 103,355*l.* had only been allowed. 263,211*l.* had been suspended, and 988,237*l.** had been struck off. The time had been limited for the demands to be brought in, or more would have been asked from that quarter: and yet, our taxes, he said, exceeded by three millions what they did in 1754. He then opened his, famous shall I call it, or fatal, plan for collecting a revenue from America;† a plan which, though it took place in the session I am describing, I will not unfold here; for though the regulation was enacted now, the consequences did not appear to this country till the winter following. I shall be obliged to say so much on that head hereafter, that to avoid repetition, and to introduce the detail where it will come in with more propriety, and be more useful to the reader, I shall pass it over now;—and would to God that at the moment I am writing, at the end of 1768, the subject was not only fresh, but threatening a scene of long and terrible calamity both to England and her colonies! His object he said was to make them maintain their own army. Till the last war they had never contributed to their army at all. The extraordinaries of the American war had cost England 36,000*l.* a-year. He had, additionally, a plan for preventing the colonies from trading directly to France, Holland, Portugal, or the French islands. Thus did this pedlar in revenue confound the tranquillity both of America and Great Britain; and to realize farthings, set both countries at variance, at the risk of treasure, human lives, liberty, and common and mutual preservation.

On the 12th, at the East India House, which had been a theatre of disputes and clashing interests, Mr. Amyand,‡ having quarrelled with Sullivan, the leader of the faction opposite to Lord Clive, suddenly proposed to give the government of Bengal, with full powers over their affairs, to that lord, if he would undertake the commission. Lord Clive, then present, said this motion was totally unexpected; yet would he accept the offer, if a board of directors on whom he could depend should be chosen. The election was then at hand.

* All the sums mentioned in this speech must be carefully re-examined, for I am not sure they are not exact; [nor has the Editor been able to verify them. —E.

† A plan, of which the consequences were so little foreseen, that Walpole does not even notice it in a letter to Lord Hertford, written two days afterwards. Corresp. vol. iv. p. 386.—E.

‡ Afterwards Sir George Amyand. [He was one of the leading Directors of the East India Company, and an eminent merchant in the City. He died in 1766. —E.

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The train caught so rapidly, that it was proposed directly to invest him with his jaghire, which had been voted as precipitately too, if somebody* had not observed that a law-suit being commenced on that subject, the law must decide it.

The City of London applied to Parliament for more money for their new bridge at Blackfriars. James Grenville objected to it. Dr. Hay broke out and abused the Common Council, whose late behaviour, he said, entitled them to no favour. He alluded to their thanking their members for voting against general warrants. This produced as warm language in return from Beckford and Onslow. George Grenville interposed, and said, the question was not whether the City deserved money, but whether it could be afforded. That their temporary bridge having been burnt by accident, they ought to have a gift of six or seven thousand pounds. Sir William Baker† in disdain moved to adjourn, that they might not accept it.

The Printers of the London Evening Post and Gazetteer were called before the House of Lords, on a complaint made by the Earl of Marchmont, for printing a letter (written by Wilkes) reflecting on the Earl of Hertford, Ambassador at Paris, for employing David Hume the historian as his secretary, and representing the embassy as totally of Scotch complexion. Wilkes, then an outlaw, and in France, had gone to the Earl's chapel, who treated him civilly, but neither returned his visits nor invited him to dinner, which it was impossible he should do, representing the person of the King so grievously outraged by that libeller. Lord Marchmont proposed to inflict a fine of 100*l.* on each printer. Lord Weymouth said fifty were sufficient; not more had been imposed on a printer of a spurious speech for the King. Lord Temple put them in mind how much himself and the Duke of Cumberland had been abused; and in answer to the Duke of Bedford, who had complained that names were now printed at length, said, that practice had been begun when himself and Mr. Pitt had resigned the last time. The Duke of Richmond said, he remembered that the period in which the Duke of Cumberland had been most traduced, was in the year 1757. Lord Temple and Mr. Pitt were then in power. The truth was, no side had abstained from invectives when out of place. The difference was, that no attempt was made to punish the authors and printers but under the administration of Grenville, Lord Sandwich, and that set.

On the 23rd of March appeared one of the most extraordinary

* It appears to have been Lord Clive himself who made this observation, "not thinking it strictly honourable to take advantage of this sudden spirit of generosity, and to carry merely by his popularity a case which was depending at law, he rose and requested that they would desist from their liberal intentions: adding, that from being sensible of the impropriety of going abroad while so valuable a part of his property remained in dispute, he would make some proposals to the Court of Directors, which would, he trusted, end in an amicable adjustment of this affair." Malcolm's Life of Lord Clive, vol. ii. p. 230.—E.

† One of the Aldermen and member for Plympton. He had married one of the co-heiresses of Jacob Tonson the printer.—E.

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books ever published, and though written by a foreigner, and in French, by no means inferior in detraction to the North Britons. It was a large quarto, called *Lettres, Mémoires, et Négotiations particulières du Chevalier D'Eon*, &c.: and contained the history of his employments, troubles, quarrel with Monsieur de Guerchy, and his own wonderfully imprudent and insolent letters to the Duc de Praslin, the second Minister in power at the Court of Versailles. The contempt expressed for the Comte de Guerchy was transcendant; but yet this was not the most reprehensible part of the work. With the most indefensible wantonness, D'Eon had inserted the childishly fond, but friendly letters, of his patron the Duc de Nivernois. With still greater indiscretion, he published others of an intimate friend employed in the office of the Secretary of State at Versailles, in which that friend, in confidence, had familiarly censured his masters: and with the most abominable treachery D'Eon added confidential letters between the Ducs de Nivernois and Praslin, in which, though with good-will towards *him*, they spoke of their intimate friend Monsieur de Guerchy with much contemptuous pity, which might be excused between such near friends, though never to be pardoned by Guerchy. These letters D'Eon, when trusted with the Duc de Nivernois's keys, had stolen or copied. To such lengths blind, headstrong revenge had driven the mad, unprincipled wretch! But what satisfaction did it create here, to read, under the hands of the chief Ministers in France, to how low an ebb that Court was sunk in abilities! the two Dukes owning to one another that their poor Guerchy, as they called him, was yet the fittest man they had to employ. Among such a heap of baseness great parts appeared; and it seemed lucky for his Court that a man so likely to be raised, and so capable of any treachery, unbosomed himself before he was possessed of more important secrets. In some instances, as in a letter to his mother, D'Eon seemed to have worked himself up to a pitch of frenzy; throughout, to be swayed by intolerable vanity.* The blow to Guerchy was heavy and cruel; and scarcely less mortifying to the Duc de Nivernois. Praslin, a hard, unfeeling man, took it with implacable re-

* The book displays cleverness rather than "*great parts.*" D'Eon was an unprincipled coxcomb, bold, ready, and plausible; with a smattering of literature, and more than common powers of writing. At the outset of the dispute he was not much in the wrong, for the difficulties raised to the payment of his disbursements as Minister were ungenerous, if not unjust; and M. Guerchy's lamentations over the guinea per month lavishly expended in English Gazettes would have put the forbearance of most men to a severe test. In his passion D'Eon forgot the laws of decency as well as of honour, and the publication of his book injured him certainly not less than his enemies. It had an immense circulation, and the attempts to suppress it at Paris, of course, served to make it more sought after. Lord Holland, who happened to be there at that time, used to lend his copy by the hour. A reply to D'Eon was published, under the title of "Examen des Lettres, &c. du Chevalier D'Eon, dans une Lettre à M. N—," and is smart enough. The Critical Review (1764) treats it as a satisfactory refutation of D'Eon's charges; but the public continued to laugh at the French Ambassador and his Government, and they fell in general estimation fully to the extent stated in the text.—E.

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sentment; and yet, in one respect acted sensibly and honourably: instead of ruining St. Foix, the person whose letters D'Eon had, unprovoked and wickedly, disclosed, he was preferred, and never suffered any marks of his master's displeasure. Every possible attention was employed here to console M. de Guerchy, and to prevent his thinking that he was lowered in the public esteem; but was it, alas! possible he could believe so? The other foreign Ministers demanded satisfaction for so gross an insult on one of their order; and the Court was willing enough to grant any reparation in its power. But what reparation could it make proportioned to the offence? All it could, it did. The Attorney-General was ordered to file an information against D'Eon for a libel.

The imbecility of the Opposition, notwithstanding the large accession of their numbers on the question of the warrants, had left the Ministry in possession of full power. The sense of the nation had in vain appeared to be averse to them. It still continued so, wherever its genuine voice could be heard: and never more than on the following occasion. The death of the Earl of Hardwicke had left open the honour of High Steward in the University of Cambridge. Lord Sandwich, on the prospect of that event, had declared himself a candidate for that office, though attended with neither salary nor power. Lord Royston, son of the deceased and now Earl of Hardwicke, was his competitor. Ambitious industry was never exerted so indefatigably as by Sandwich on this occasion. There was not a corner of England, nay, not the Isle of Man, unransacked by him for votes. He ferreted out the mad, the lame, the diseased, from their poor retreats, and imported them into the University. Letters on letters were written, and fawning applications made to all who could influence a vote of any country clergyman. Lord Hardwicke, on the other hand, was cold, proud, and void of generosity.* With the clergy, indeed, he had much connexion; and, being a man of no vice, and by poring over historic MSS., supposed to be learned, he seemed adapted to fill a nominal charge in a society that is expected to be devout and studious. At least, the profligacy of Sandwich could not but be unsuitable to them, whether they had the re-

* Walpole's hatred of Lord Chancellor Hardwicke may be traced in this portrait of his son. Lord Hardwicke was one of the best informed noblemen of his day. The Athenian letters which he wrote, in conjunction with his brother, whilst at the University, ranks next to the Travels of Anacharsis among works of its kind. "The Correspondence of Sir Dudley Carleton," is more curious than interesting; and the editor seems to have correctly appreciated it, by restricting his first edition to twenty copies, and his second to fifty. Perhaps there was some ostentation in terming the next impression a third edition. He is entitled to more credit for his State Papers, published in two volumes, quarto,—a work of value, and which still fully maintains its consideration. Lord Hardwicke's health was very delicate, and he neither liked nor shone in general society, but he did not want decision of character, and had a strong sense of honour. He was firm in his political connexions, and exemplary in private life. A biographical account of him is given in Cole's MSS. in the British Museum, Donation, 5886.—E.

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ality, or only the semblance of religion and learning. When the day of election came on, the votes appeared to be equal, though each side pretended to have a majority of one. Great altercations ensued, and the meeting broke up in confusion; on which recourse was had to common law, where, after many months, a decision was pronounced in favour of Lord Hardwicke. Many instances appeared of bribery practised by Lord Sandwich; who, besides being rejected, experienced many insults and indignities. The under-graduates who, having no votes, had not been courted by him, were riotous, and hissed his chief agents: and when he went to the University in the month following, and dined in the hall of Trinity College, they marked their abhorrence to him by quitting the hall, and refusing to dine with him! Young Thomas Pitt,* and Frederic Montagu,† Sandwich's own cousin, who had gone down to support him, were so disgusted with his practices, and with the factious confusion he had caused in the University, that they declared they would assist his cause no longer. When the former told him he would ruin the University, he replied, "That would be nothing to him: it would be the better for Oxford." Yet himself had been bred at Cambridge—but Oxford was cherished by the Court.

On the 12th of April came on the election of East India Directors, when Sullivan's list was chosen, though Clive had the support not only of the Administration, but of the Duke of Devonshire.‡ Sullivan himself was elected by a majority of but one vote. He thought that in the new Direction he had twelve votes to ten; but before the day of the balloting for their chairman, Lord Clive had bought off one of them. When the election came on, Sullivan desired to be named without being obliged to submit to a ballot, at the same time cajoling the other party with great professions to Lord Clive. His antagonists, however, insisting on a ballot, the numbers appeared to be eleven and eleven. Sullivan finding himself betrayed or overreached, retired with heat, and Rous, his principal enemy, was chosen chairman. Had Sullivan, who was the creature of Lord Shelburne, succeeded, Colonel Barré was to have gone Governor to Bengal, which was given to Lord Clive, and he was soon after decorated with the Order of the Bath, to give dignity to his new employment.

At the same time, to mark that Parliamentary services or disobedience were the leading steps to favour or disgrace, Mr. Bridgman§ was turned out of the Board of Greencloth for his vote on Gene-

* Thomas Pitt, of Boconnock, nephew of Mr. William Pitt, but attached to Mr. G. Grenville, and by him made a Lord of the Admiralty.

† Frederic Montagu, only son of Charles Montagu, of Paplewich in Northamptonshire, Auditor to the late Prince of Wales.

‡ The chief of the Whigs in Opposition.

§ Son of Sir Orlando Bridgman, after whose death he became Sir Henry; [and having succeeded to the estates of his cousin Thomas, the last Earl of Bradford, who had died without issue, was in 1794 created Baron Bradford. He died at an advanced age in 1800. He was grandfather of the present Earl.—E.]

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ral Warrants; and was succeeded by Richard Vernon,* formerly an officer, a jockey, a gamester, and brother-in-law of the Duchess of Bedford. Mr. Cadogan† was appointed Surveyor of the Royal Gardens; and Jeremiah Dyson was made one of the Lords of Trade. Of this man it is necessary to say a few more words. He was a tailor's son, had risen under Nicholas Hardinge from a subaltern clerk of the House of Commons, to succeed him as first clerk, and by education and principle was thought, and had conversed as a staunch Republican.‡ In that employment he had comported himself with singular decency and intelligence. In truth his parts were excellent: he was quick, subtle, shrewd, clear, both in conception and delivery, and was master of argumentative eloquence, though void of every ornamental part of it. Being of an unhealthy complexion, and very fretful temper, he had quitted his laborious post, and was now come into Parliament, secretly sold to the favourite; but from his behaviour as their clerk, having concilated much goodwill to himself among the members, he was for some time heard with great favour and satisfaction, an indulgence he lost afterwards, when his warmth made them recollect he had once been their servant. He now appeared as devoted to George Grenville, and indeed was excellently useful, from his parts and great knowledge of Parliamentary business, to all who employed him. But proving both slippery to his friends as fast as they fell, and vexatious to his enemies, few men became equally unpopular. Having deserted Grenville on a change of times, and happening to convert his tied wig into a bag, Lord Gower being asked the reason, said, "It is because

* Younger brother of Henry Vernon, of Hilton in Staffordshire; and married to Lady Evelyn Leveson, Countess Dowager of Ossory. [Mr. Vernon's later life was more creditable. He became a great traveller, and visited the East; and he served with distinction as a volunteer in the Spanish expedition to Algiers. He was one of the handsomest men of his day.—E.]

† Charles Sloane Cadogan, only son of Charles Lord Cadogan, [afterwards created Earl Cadogan. His second wife was Miss Churchill, a niece of Horace Walpole. He died in 1807, aged 78.—E.]

‡ Dr. Akenside, by some thought a Poet, was of the same principles with, and an intimate friend of, Dyson, who obtained his being named Physician to the Queen. To that mistress and to that friend, he made a sacrifice of the word *Liberty*, in the last edition of his poem on the Pleasures of the Imagination. It was uncourtly, a personification to be invoked by one who felt the pulse of royalty. [The alteration to which Walpole refers is as follows. In the old editions there is the passage—

Wilt thou, kind Harmony, descend,
And join the festive train, for with thee comes
Majestic Truth; and where *Truth* deigns to come
Her sister Liberty will not be far

In the later editions it stands thus—

. . . . . for with thee comes
Wise Order; and where *Order* deigns to come
Her sister Liberty will not be far.

Nichols's Liter. Anec. vol. viii. p. 525.

Akenside's political tergiversation is an unpleasant commentary on a work so full of elevated thoughts as his poem. Personal attachment to Dyson probably influenced him. He died in 1770, in his forty-ninth year.—E.]

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no Tye will hold him.'"* Dyson will appear again on the stage in a critical moment.

* Mr. Dyson had changed his politics on the King's accession, when he became at once a determined Tory, having previously professed the opposite creed. He afterwards formed one of the party that went under the name of the King's friends, a political section which can hardly be said to have existed in the preceding reigns, and which the personal character of George the Third rendered very influential on public measures. A more valuable recruit could not easily have been found. He was certainly a most able parliamentary lawyer, and the exactness and precision that characterized his mind, caused his opinion to be always depended upon. These qualities, added to his discretion, gave him a moral influence over the House which could not be the result of his political conduct. His manners were obliging, and his private life irreproachable. It is highly to his credit that, when Clerk of the House, he departed from the example of his predecessors, by making no profit of his patronage. Nichol's Literary Anecdotes, vol. viii. p. 523; Hatsell's Parliamentary Precedents.—E.

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CHAPTER XXVIII.

Prorogation of the Parliament.—Walpole's Conduct on the dismissal of General Conway for voting against Ministers on the question of the legality of General Warrants.—Trial of Carteret Webbe for Perjury.—The Earl of Northumberland Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

On the 19th the Parliament rose. And now it is that I am obliged to weave the history of my own conduct into a large part of the following narration. Two considerable eras having taken their complexion from my councils, the thread of my story would be imperfect, if I omitted what relates to my own behaviour. I shall give it as briefly as the subject and clearness will permit, and hope the reader will excuse egotisms where no glory was the result of my actions. Chance, more than design, presented the means; and if the moments were luckily seized, it was from no merit, no foresight of mine, that those moments were brought on.

Having fully seen the incapacity of the Opposition, sensible how ill they were united, and foreseeing that their strength would rather diminish than augment, and at the same time flattering myself, from the resistance which the Ministry had experienced, that they would be less flippant in their innovations on liberty, which was fortified by getting rid of general warrants, I had determined to give over politics; and to withdraw myself from shallow councils. I was preparing to make a visit to my friend and relation,* Lord Hertford, at Paris, when, two days after the rising of the Parliament, I was stunned with the notice of Mr. Conway being turned out of the King's Bed-chamber, and dismissed from the command of his regiment of dragoons. As *I* had been a principal cause of this unworthy treatment, and of this destruction of his fortunes, nothing could be more sensible to me than this blow. Nor could I remain a moment in doubt from the complexion of some in power, but that the stroke was aimed still more at me than at Mr. Conway, though directly I was out of their reach. The Bedford faction I knew were my mortal enemies. Yet I saw, too, that Mr. Conway had a share in the resentment of others. Grenville was not of a nature to pardon the

* Catherine and Charlotte Shorter were daughters of John Shorter, of Bybrook in Kent. Catherine was first wife of Sir Robert Walpole, and mother of the author of these memoirs. Charlotte was third wife of Francis Seymour, Lord Conway, and by him mother of Francis Earl of Hertford, and of General Henry Seymour Conway.

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slight Mr. Conway had made both of his favour and power. He had offended Lord Sandwich, too, by refusing to influence the chaplain of his regiment to vote for him at Cambridge; and Lord Holland had long groaned for an opportunity of revenging himself on Lord Hertford for his treatment of Bunbury. The tone of the ruling Administration was despotic, nor had they forgotten how lately they had trembled with apprehension of losing their power. Here were more than motives sufficient to egg on general or particular vengeance. And in general I must leave it; for after long search and much information, I cannot fix the deed on any single man. There was but one man among the suspected that ever solemnly denied having a share in it; and he constantly did: I mean Lord Bute. All the rest have charged it on others, though still without disavowing having had a hand in it themselves. The King often afterwards protested to Lord Hertford that his Ministers* forced him to it. Grenville declared that his Majesty was more eager for it than any of them. The Duke of Bedford alone was frank, and avowed that though he had not recommended the measure, he had told his colleagues, when they proposed to remove Mr. Conway from the Bed-chamber only, that it was foolish to provoke him by halves; and that to leave him his regiment, and take away the Bed-chamber, would be telling other officers that they might oppose the Court with impunity.

Be it as it may, the boldness of the step was almost unprecedented. Sir Robert Walpole had dismissed the Lords Westmoreland† and Cobham‡ from the command of regiments; and Mr. Pitt from a cornetcy; but it was not till by a personal, violent, and constant opposition, that they had made themselves as obnoxious as possible. Yet even that measure, provoked as it was, had occasioned great clamour; and had contributed to animate the Opposition, which at last overthrew that Minister. Mr. Grenville had joined in that Opposition, had risen on that foundation; and the Duke of Bedford had signed a protest against the measure of dismissing officers for parliamentary reasons. How different was the case now! The temper and fairness of the man disgraced, his aversion to faction, the disinterestedness of his character, his general co-operation with the measures of Government, his being recently recommended to favour by Prince Ferdinand for his services in Germany, and his being brother to the ambassador at Paris—all these were considerations that made the measure amazing. But when it was observed that this punishment was inflicted for a single§ vote in Parliament, when it was evident that that vote had been peculiarly conscientious, and given in a cause avowed by the nation, and against a practice certain of being, as it soon after was, condemned by the Courts of Law, and though

* I have seen a letter from the King to George Grenville, in which his Majesty pressed him to turn out Conway.

† John Fane, Earl of Westmoreland.

‡ Sir Richard Temple, Lord Viscount Cobham.

§ This does not mean the vote of a single day, but all the votes on general warrants considered as one question.

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maintained by Parliament in retrospect, yet given up for the future by that very Parliament as pernicious; when the context, too, appeared to be, that military men in Parliament were to forfeit their profession and the merit of their services, unless implicitly devoted to the Court; could these reflections, when coupled with the arbitrary measures which the nation had observed to be the system of the Court, fail to occasion the blackest presages? Lord Bute, in truth, had slunk away from his own victory; but Grenville remained, and had Bute's tools, and Sandwich and Rigby to war with on the constitution, and Lord Mansfield and Norton ready to turn the law against itself.

It was a beautiful contrast, the behaviour of the person aggrieved. His temper, decency, and submission were unalterable and unequalled. He neither complained nor tried to instil a sense of his injuries into a single friend, though he wished they should take his part, and resent for him. He could not have entertained a wish worse founded: his friends were rejoiced at not being called upon; and had no ambition to share the crown of his martyrdom. There lived not three more interested men than the Duke of Argyle,* Lord Lorn, and Lord Frederic Campbell, the father and brothers of Lady Ailesbury,† Mr. Conway's wife. The first loved money; and had incurred unpleasant suspicions in his efforts to obtain it. Lord Lorn‡ was sordidly covetous, and had not sense enough to foresee a blessing in futurity beyond the first half-crown that glittered in his eyes. Lord Frederic§ was sensible, shrewd, and selfish; and on this and a subsequent crisis showed that no connexion or obligation could stand against the eagerness with which he pursued immediate fortune. Nothing else weighed with him, except the inveteracy of national prejudice. As Mr. Conway had acted in opposition to Scottish measures, Lord Frederic, forgetting Mr. Conway's friendship and kindness, and his own youthful situation, and borne away by a hot temper, often and indecently attacked him in Parliament, though without any brilliancy of parts to colour over such improper behaviour.

* General John Campbell, Groom of the Bed-chamber to George the Second, and cousin and successor of John and Archibald Dukes of Argyle when an old man.

† Caroline, daughter of the latter Duke John, third wife and widow of Charles Bruce last Earl of Ailesbury, by whom she had an only child, Mary Duchess of Richmond. The Countess of Ailesbury married, secondly, General Henry Seymour Conway, only brother of Francis first Earl of Hertford of that branch.

‡ John Campbell, Marquis of Lorn, married to the famous beauty Elizabeth Gunning, widow of James Duke of Hamilton.

§ Lord Frederic Campbell had been bred to the law, and succeeded well there, but quitted the profession on his father's attaining the dukedom. [As he was brother-in-law to General Conway, Mr. Walpole seems to have expected him to have followed Conway's politics.—Mr. Croker's note to the fourth volume of Walpole's Letters, p. 369.—Wraxall says of him, "Devoid of shining talents, he nevertheless wanted not either ability or eloquence in a certain degree, both which were under the control of reason and temper. His figure and deportment were remarkably graceful." He married the Dowager Countess Ferrers, sister of Sir William Meredith, and died at an advanced age in 1816.—E.]

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The Duke of Richmond, who had married Lady Ailesbury's daughter, kept himself more free from blame. He had been witness to the integrity of Mr. Conway's conduct at the conference with Mr. Grenville, and certainly loved him, though not enough to participate his disgrace. The Duke, however, offered to take a part in Parliament if Mr. Conway's friends would move for an inquiry into the cause of his dismission; but that offer did not include his Grace's engaging any farther against the Court.

There was still another relation of Mr. Conway more deeply involved in his disgrace, and more immediately called upon to resent it; his brother, Lord Hertford. Yet there were both real and specious reasons for his submitting to it.* Mr. Conway had taken this part, not only without consulting him, but when he must have known how unwelcome it would be to Lord Hertford, then in the King's service both at home and abroad, and well treated; connected with the Ministry, and ever desirous of being so with all Administrations. Lord Hertford had even, after his brother's first vote, made remonstrances to him though in vain. On the other hand, honour, interest in a general sense, and personal resentment, called on Lord Hertford to espouse his brother's quarrel. Ambassador in France, where no officer was ever broken but for cowardice or some atrocious crime, it could but strike the French Court that the Ambassador stood in little estimation at home, when such an affront was put on the family. Could he expect more consideration if he acquiesced? On the other hand, should the Opposition succeed, in which, besides his brother, were his wife's nephew, the Duke of Grafton,† and his old friends, whom he had already offended by not acting with them, what could he expect but, at best, the humiliating circumstance of being saved by his brother whom he had abandoned? Nor could Lord Hertford doubt but that Mr. Conway partly suffered on his account, as far as Lord Holland had any share in the measure. Yet, though there had been no instance of such a disgrace remaining unresented, much less when such a character was so unjustly treated, not a single resignation marked that the sufferer had either a friend or relation in the place. He was at once sacrificed by the Court and abandoned by his own family.

* Lord Hertford could not reasonably be expected to court a share in the consequence of an act of which he disapproved; and he was of a temperament that too easily disposed him to shrink from any personal sacrifice. His political principles were very indefinite. His merit was of a different character. Lord Chesterfield was sincere when he said of him in a letter not intended for publication, "I verily believe he will please as Viceroy, for he is one of the honestest and most religious men in the kingdom, and moreover very much of a gentleman in his behaviour to every body."—His administration of Ireland was respectable, and in general approved of, and it passed away in almost uniform tranquillity.—Hardy's Life of Lord Charlemont, vol. i. p. 224. He filled many high offices, and was very prosperous throughout life. He was created Marquis in 1793, and died in the following year, leaving a large family.—E.

† Lord Hertford had married Lady Isabella Fitzroy, youngest daughter of Charles Duke of Grafton who was succeeded in the title by his grandson Augustus Henry of whom much will be said in some of the following pages.

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It became the more incumbent on me to make him all the reparation in my power. I offered him six thousand pounds, which he refused; and I altered my will, giving him almost my whole fortune unless his regiment should be restored to him; a destination with which I acquainted him. And though it certainly would not augment the gift, I determined to hazard all I had rather than not revenge both him and myself. Grenville, the very day before the dismission of Mr. Conway, whether to detach me from him, or fearing I should make use of the indiscretion he had been guilty of, ordered the payment of my bills at the Treasury; a step that, far from soothing, but served to increase my resentment. I dreaded lest Mr. Conway should think I had kept any underhand measures with the Treasury; but I soon convinced both him and the world how steadily I embraced the cause of my friend. Yet for the first time in my life I acted with a phlegm of which I did not know myself capable. I shut myself up in the country for three days, till I had conquered the first ebullitions of my rage, and then returned to town with a face of satisfaction, which some thought indifference; and others joy at having dipped Mr. Conway in Opposition. Both were mistaken. I knew that both Mr. Conway and the Opposition were little formed for the business. I had every thing to discourage me, and nothing but perseverance and the firmness of my own temper to carry me on. I foresaw, indeed, that the persecution he had undergone would raise the character of Mr. Conway, would lend him an importance he would never have assumed, and might one day place him at the head of this country. I foresaw that the violence and unprincipled rashness of the Ministers would conduct them to a precipice; but I should far overrate my own sagacity, if I pretended to have discovered that those prospects were near enough to administer any comfort to my impatience. I knew the folly of those I was to act with. I could not flatter myself it would be exceeded by the folly of those I was to act against.

If self-interest restrained Mr. Conway's family from embracing his defence, it was as natural that the Opposition should caress him. A martyr is as creditable to a party in politics as to a sect in religion. Yet so decent and so dignified was the Opposition of that time, that they expressed none of the heat and ardour with which parties usually seize such an event. The Duke of Devonshire, indeed, came to me, and with great delicacy desired that I would in his name make an offer to Mr. Conway of a thousand pounds a year, till his regiment should be restored.* This noble offer Mr. Conway as generously declined. However, it gave lustre to our cause; and it was my purpose to raise as high as I could the character of our party, and to spread the flames of emulation from such examples. The Ministerial tools, on the other hand, were not idle, but began to defame Mr. Conway as a spiritless and inactive General, reviving in

* The Duke subsequently gave the best proof of the sincerity of this offer by bequeathing General Conway a legacy of 5000*l.*—E.

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scandalous papers the miscarriage at Rockford.* This artillery, however, we turned upon them, and displayed the malignity of not being content with ruining him without proceeding to the grossest defamation. Mr. Conway, too, by my advice, called upon the detractors to avow themselves, and, if they dared, take up the weapons like men, which soon silenced that dirty kind of war.

But these prosperous beginnings were almost all I could accomplish. Every step I took I found discouragement and disappointment. There was no union in our party, nor could I bring about any. At first I laboured to form a little junto of the most considerable of our friends in the House of Commons, who should plan our future measures and conduct them. But of those I could not prevail on any three to assemble and enter into concert. Legge was dying; Charles Yorke was proud, insincere, waiting for an opportunity of making his own bargain, and offended that Mr. Pitt was disposed to make Pratt Chancellor; though the latter, for the good of the cause, was willing to waive the seals. Charles Townshend, neglected by the Court, seemed zealously attached to us; unfortunately, we could neither do with him nor without him; yet his jealousy of Grenville and fear of Mr. Conway would have fixed him, if any thing could. There was another man of whose art and abilities I had a high opinion, and who was as practicable as the others I have mentioned were little so,—I mean Lord George Sackville. But insuperable difficulties kept him from us too. Pitt had proscribed him; Newcastle did not love him; the Duke of Devonshire was too cautious to join him; and Conway, knowing Lord George had been his enemy, though it had never come to an open rupture, would not listen to any connexion with him, but pleaded the stains on his character, and the enmity borne to him by Prince Ferdinand. I lost my temper at finding that, whilst our enemies stuck at nothing, every phantom and every fancy was to clog our councils and retard our advances. The dignity of great Lords, and their want of sense, the treachery of some, the piques of others, all had their operation, and not a single prejudice was removed to facilitate our attempts. I had surmounted my repugnance to Newcastle, and, though in truth to little purpose, had consented to advise with him. He was still the same; at once busy and inactive, fond of plotting, but impossible to be put in motion. Nor, indeed, propose what I would, could I obtain to have a single measure carried into execution.

* Conway conducted himself less well than Wolfe at Rochfort, but far better than the other generals. "Though eminently distinguished for his gallant and indefatigable behaviour," says Walpole, "he never had the happiness of achieving any action of remarkable eclât, or of performing *alone* any act of singular utility to his country. However, he had been engaged in six regular battles, besides smaller affairs."—(Counter Address to the Public on the Dismissal of a late General.) He commanded a division with credit in the Seven years' war. An ill-natured cotemporary critic charges him with being a "*martinet*," and with unnecessarily fatiguing his men, but admits that "he would have made a very good general if he had not been spoilt by his education under the Duke of Cumberland." Life of Lord Chatham, Ap. vol. iii. p. 262.—E.

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But what hampered us most was Mr. Pitt. He justly resented having been abandoned by Newcastle, Devonshire, and the Whigs. He despised both Charles Yorke and Charles Townshend; and though he expressed civil applause of Mr. Conway, would neither connect with him nor see him. He at once talked of an Administration to be composed of great Whig Lords, and of his own resolution not to force himself on the King; that is, he wished the great Lords should force him on the King without his concurrence, that he might have the merit of disavowing them, and of profiting of their weight. Conway was as difficult as Pitt, and too proud to make any advances to him. Thus, wherever I turned, there were no facilities. Even Lord Temple, accustomed to run and meet faction in the highways, seemed cold and indisposed to connexion with us. At the same time I heard that a treaty was carrying on between him and his brother George; a report which, though true, greatly deceived me; for, concluding that Lord Temple was too firmly united with Mr. Pitt to negotiate without him, I imputed the coldness of both to an approaching league of the whole family; whereas the truth was, though then a secret to all the world, that Mr. Pitt and Lord Temple were on bad terms; the former disapproving the violence of Temple; and Temple being enraged that Mr. Pitt would not lend himself to all his passions.

Perceiving so little hope of union amongst ourselves, I conceived a better prospect from the factions of the Court, which, by every art I could devise, I endeavoured to inflame. I soon learned how wide the breach was growing between Lord Bute and Grenville; and though I then looked on the former as the more dangerous of the two, and of all men was determined not to connect with him; yet to his friends I held a plausible language, insinuating that it was possible he might be forgiven by our great Lords, and left them to think that, if the favourite withdrew his protection from Grenville and the Bedfords, his case would by no means be desperate with the Opposition. In the same kind of style I talked to the friends of Grenville; still imputing Mr. Conway's disgrace alternately to the other faction, accordingly as I conversed with either. I saw that, hostile as they were, despair must cement their union. Both would be more prompt to quarrel if they thought themselves not proscribed by us.

An incident fell out favourable to this plan. Grenville, ever averse to Lord Holland, had destined his place of Paymaster to be shared between Lord North and Stanley, and they had even taken joy on it. But Lord Bute had prevented it being carried into execution; and Lord Holland now came from France, stung with this insult: though as the passing of his accounts was in agitation, he for the present stifled his resentment, and affected to pay court to Grenville. As, however, to hoodwink me to his own share in that business, and to inflame my anger to Grenville, he laid the chief blame of Conway's disgrace on the latter, I indulged him, as usual, in the imagination that he deceived me; and, as if to vent my own passion, blew up his as high as I could against Grenville. From Lord Hol-

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land I heard what had escaped me. Conway at the end of the Session, on a motion for thanking the King for reducing the German demand, had made a panegyric on Prince Ferdinand and the hereditary Prince, saying how hard it was that *their* country, which had suffered so much for *us*, should not have ample indemnification. Grenville had answered, that surely if the King had been content to lower the demands for Hanover, he was at liberty to reduce those of Brunswick. This had passed in a thin debate; nor had I been present. But Lord George Sackville had remarked, and said, "Conway has undone himself." It was, it seems, an irremissible crime to applaud the hero who had commanded our armies and given them victory; and to plead for another hero who had married the King's own sister and fought his battles!

I shall omit the detail of many other stratagems that I found for annoying the Administration, they having been damped or annihilated by the supineness of my confederates. The summer was in every respect unfortunate to us; and by the Session following, we scarce deserved the name of a party. Death took off some of our chief leaders, who, though they would not lead us, yet by the sanction of their names, had kept together an appearance of numbers, which dwindled away as our hopes of success vanished. What farther regards us as a party will be mentioned in its place. I now return to the other occurrences of the year.

Two vacant garters were bestowed on the Duke of Mecklenburg* and Lord Halifax. About the same time died at Paris the King's mistress, Madame de Pompadour. She retained her power to the last, though their armour had long been exhausted. The Duc de Choiseul, whom she had destined for Minister, succeeded her in the King's confidence without a rival.

May 4th, Beardmore, one of the persecuted writers, carried his cause against the messengers, and recovered one thousand pounds for damages.

On the 9th Mr. Conway's late regiment was given to the Earl of Pembroke; not without occasioning remarks a little disadvantageous to the standard of his Majesty's piety. Lord Pembroke, one of the wildest young men of the times, had been dismissed from the King's Bed-chamber for debauching and eloping with a young lady of distinction, though married to a more beautiful woman, sister of the Duke of Marlborough. Nobody could tell what the King had to do to interfere in that intrigue: but having done so, it seemed little consistent to reward a young profligate† with the spoils of a man strictly

* The Queen's brother.

† Lord Pembroke was again made a Lord of the Bed-chamber in 1769, without applying; and exactly at a time when he was said to have carried off another woman, a young Venetian bride (he was then at Venice,) the very night of her wedding. [Lord Pembroke had served in the seven years' war, and was popular with the officers under him, though not much of a soldier. He was dissolute and extravagant, and notwithstanding his large income, left when he died heavy debts, which his only son, the late Earl, a very respectable nobleman, honourably paid.—E.]

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virtuous and conscientious. It was now remembered that at the beginning of this reign, the Earl of Dartmouth, a young nobleman as pious as Lord Pembroke was licentious, had applied to be of the King's Bed-chamber, but had been rejected by Lord Bute, lest so sanctimonious a man should gain too far on his Majesty's piety. An instance that if it proved the religion of the King, did not bear witness to that of the favourite. But in such a theatre of hypocrisy, it mattered little who was the principal impostor.

On the 15th died Dr. Osbaldiston, Bishop of London; and the next day Lord Chancellor Henley was created Earl of Northington, a step not communicated to the Duke of Bedford, who much resented it. But Grenville was more mortified, who found himself excluded from the nomination of the New Bishop of London. He had wished to raise Newton* to that mitre, but Lord Bute procured it for Terrick. This man, with no glimmering of parts or knowledge, had, on the merit of a sonorous delivery, and by an assiduity of backstairs address, wriggled himself into a sort of general favour; and by timing his visits luckily, had been promoted by the Duke of Devonshire to the See of Peterborough. Yet he had been of the first, notoriously obliged to that Duke, to abandon him on his fall, sailing headlong with the tide after the favourite's triumph. Again, when the favourite retired, Terrick, who was minister of my parish,† was lavish to me of invectives against that Lord; and sifted me eagerly to learn in what channel Court favour was likely to flow. Having soon perceived his mistake, he had made out a distant affinity with Worseley,‡ a creature of Lord Bute and a kind of riding-master to the King; and now to Grenville's surprise rose, all unworthy as he was, to so eminent a station in the church. This detail I communicated to Dr. Lyttelton, Bishop of Carlisle, who adhered to George Grenville amidst their family breaches; and who, being both gossiping and mischievous, kept up an acquaintance with me of ancient date, that he might from my warmth collect materials to carry to Grenville. I took care to furnish him according to his wish. It was wormwood to Grenville to learn this proof of the favourite's still subsisting ascendant; and when I had once set them on the scent, I knew they would touch on it in more instances than this.

On the 22d Philip Carteret Webbe was tried for perjury, being accused of having forsworn himself in the cause against Wilkes. The jury staid out fifty-five minutes, but at last acquitted him: a vindication that no more cleared his character than conviction would have made it worse.

The Earl of Northumberland§ returned from Ireland, where his

* Dr. Thomas Newton, Bishop of Bristol.

† Twickenham.

‡ Thomas Worseley, Surveyor of the Board of Works.

§ Sir Hugh Smithson, of a very recent family, had married Lady Elizabeth Seymour, only daughter of Algernon Duke of Somerset, whose mother was heiress of the Percies Earls of Northumberland; on which foundation Hugh and Elizabeth were created Earl and Countess of Northumberland.

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profusion and ostentation had been so great,* that it seemed to lay a dangerous precedent for succeeding governors, who must risk unpopularity if more parsimonious; or the ruin of their fortune, should they imitate his example. At his departure he broke with William Gerard Hamilton,† his secretary, and dismissed him to make way for the Earl of Drogheda,‡ the favourite both of Lady Northumberland and the Primate.

Lord Northumberland had an advantageous figure and much courtesy in his address, which being supported by the most expensive magnificence, made him exceedingly popular with the meaner sort. They who viewed him nearer, were not the dupes of his affability or pretensions. The old nobility beheld his pride with envy and anger; and thence were the less disposed to overlook the littleness of his temper, or the slender portion he possessed of abilities; for his expense was a mere sacrifice to vanity, as appeared by his sordid and illiberal behaviour at play. Nor were his talents more solid than his generosity. With mechanic application to every branch of knowledge, he possessed none beyond the surface; and having an unbounded propensity to discussion, he disgusted his hearers without informing them. Yet his equals were but ill-grounded in their contempt of him. Very few of them knew so much; and there were still fewer that had not more noxious vices, and as ungenerous hearts. Lord Northumberland's foibles ought to have passed almost for virtues in an age so destitute of intrinsic merit.§

* Dr. Johnson said, in allusion to it, "that his Grace was only fit to succeed himself." Boswell, vol. ii. p. 210.—E.

† He had been likewise Secretary to the Earl of Halifax.

‡ Charles, sixth Earl and first Marquis of Drogheda, K.P.—The Primate had four years before importunately pressed Mr. Pitt to give this nobleman the rank of colonel; and although the application was supported by the Duke of Devonshire and Lord Besborough, Mr. Pitt was firm in resisting it. "Among the very many lieutenant-colonels," he said, "above Lord Drogheda on the list, there were not a few who could not be postponed without great hardship, and loud complaints in the army. He had publicly pledged himself to that most meritorious class of officers, that he would never contribute, from any considerations of family or parliamentary interest, to their depression." The Primate's letter and Mr. Pitt's reply are given in the Chatham Correspondence, vol. ii. p. 59. The transaction reflects great honour on Mr. Pitt, and furnishes an additional proof of the high sense of public duty entertained by that illustrious statesman, in this, as in many other respects so superior to most of his cotemporaries, not excepting the Primate of Ireland. Lord Drogheda obtained his rank in 1762, and eventually reached almost the head of the army list, having in his old age been appointed Field Marshal. He died at Dublin in December 1821, in his ninety-second year. He saw little, if any, foreign service, but he had been constantly employed in his own country, where he was much esteemed. He preserved to the last a remarkable elegance and amiability of deportment.—E.

§ It must be recollected, that Walpole, from some private cause, bore Lord and Lady Northumberland no good will, and frequently sneers at them in his Correspondence. A childish feeling of envy at Lord Northumberland's brilliant success in life, was probably at the bottom of this, and prevented Walpole's making due allowance for the temptations attendant on great and unexpected prosperity. His Lordship had the tastes that became the high rank to which he was elevated.

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The Countess of Northumberland was a jovial heap of contradictions. The blood of all the Percies and Seymours swelled in her veins and in her fancy; while her person was more vulgar than any thing but her conversation, which was larded indiscriminately with stories of her ancestors and her footmen. Show, and crowds, and junketting, were her endless pursuits. She was familiar with the mob, while stifled with diamonds; and yet was attentive to the most minute privileges of her rank, while almost shaking hands with a cobbler. Nothing was more mean than her assiduity about the King and Queen, whom she termed her *Master* and *Mistress;* and yet, though indirectly reprimanded by the latter, she persisted in following her Majesty to the theatres with a longer retinue of domestics than waited on the Queen herself. She had revived the drummers and pipers and obsolete minstrels of her family; and her own buxum countenance at the tail of such a procession, gave it all the air of an antiquated pageant or mumming. She was mischievous under the appearance of frankness; generous and friendly without delicacy or sentiment.*

Lord Northumberland's son, Lord Warkworth, was married to the third daughter of the favourite;† on which foundation the father was admitted to the private junto, which now met daily at Mr. Stone's.‡ It was composed of Lord Bute, Lord Northumberland, Lord Mansfield, Norton, Stone, and the brother of the latter, the famous Primate of Ireland, who had followed the Lord Lieutenant to London; coming, as he outwardly professed, to promote harmony and reconciliation. As he died soon after, before he had given any specimens of his arts here, I pretend not to say what were the real motives of his journey. He did visit Mr. Pitt; but a man so notorious for cunning as the Primate, was not likely to win on the *caution* of Mr. Pitt, who never *was explicit*, and least of all to men of abilities. It appeared, however, from the meetings I have mentioned, and other symptoms, that the favourite was peeping out of his lurking-hole, and was disposed to let his power be felt. Grenville, though drunk with vanity, was sober enough to be stung with any competition; and yet his obstinacy disgusted those whom it was most ne-

He patronised the arts, and was generous to men of letters. His vanity was unaccompanied by arrogance, and his feelings, though not warm, were kind and amiable. Neither his talents nor acquirements were above mediocrity. He died in 1786.—E.

* The Duchess's defects are, no doubt, greatly exaggerated by Walpole. M. Dutens says of her Grace, that "she possessed great elevation of mind, natural and easy wit, a good and compassionate heart, and, above all, a strong attachment to her friends, whom she took every opportunity to distinguish and to serve."—Memoirs of a Traveller, &c., vol. ii. p. 100. She met her death, which was sudden, with great firmness and resignation.—E.

† The marriage was unfortunate, and dissolved in 1779. Lord Warkworth became Duke of Northumberland in 1786. He served as Lord Percy in the American war. Unlike his father, he was totally devoid of ostentation, and most simple and retiring in his habits. He died in 1817.—E.

‡ The house of Andrew Stone, in Privy Garden.

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cessary for him to attach. He offended the Duke of Bedford and Lord Halifax by refusing to let the Treasury bear the whole charge of the fines imposed on the messengers. The Duke experienced so many slights, that he kept retired in the country, and Rigby went to France, professing that it was to be absent, lest he should be blamed if the Duke should submit to such ignominous treatment; but Rigby had, no doubt, secured the Duke's submission before he ventured to leave him, as he called it, to himself. However, the Duke of Cumberland was so much misled by those wayward humours, that before the end of the summer he sent Lord Albemarle* to Woburn, to sound their dispositions, and endeavour to draw them from the Court. Not one, not his own sister Lady Tavistock, would talk to him on politics; only the Duchess said drily, that her husband was Minister, and that every thing was done that he desired. Mr. Pitt had said more truly, some time before, "They will disgust the Duke of Bedford in the spring, that they may not be teazed with his solicitations; and they will sweeten him again by winter, with some trifling favour, that he may give them no trouble in Parliament."

* George Keppel, third Earl of Albemarle. His youngest sister, Lady Elizabeth, was married to Francis Russell, Marquis of Tavistock, only son of John, Duke of Bedford.

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CHAPTER XXIX.

Appearance of "An Address to the Public on a late Dismission."—Walpole's Answer to that Pamphlet.—Dr. Lloyd, Dean of Norwich.—Charles Townshend's "Defence of the Minority in the House of Commons on the Question relative to General Warrants."—Death of the Earl of Bath.—The Chevalier D'Eon.—The Count d'Estaign.—Death of Mr. Legge.—Of the Duke of Devonshire.—Outlawry of Wilkes and Death of Churchill.

WHILE the factions at Court thus held one another at bay, Lord Holland was endeavouring to persuade Lord Bute to take again an office of business. But the rash fit, like the small-pox, never seized him but once. He chose to insinuate opinion of his power, rather than to display it. Nor, though the favourite professed that Lord Holland was the only man who never deceived him, could I on the nicest inspection ever discover that Lord Holland had any real weight with him; whether it was owing to Lord Bute's want of courage or want of confidence in the adviser.

Though I saw clouds enough to comfort me with the prospect of a storm, yet, there being no open hostilities commenced, it was difficult for me to unravel the windings and turnings of so many minds, who were all my enemies. Though I was disposed to widen any breach that might happen, by inclining our force to one side or the other, yet it was not prudent to slacken our measures against the united body. Temporizing too far might cool the zeal of our friends; and the distance of six or seven months to the meeting of Parliament might wear out the memory of Mr. Conway's wrongs, as the Ministry had intended it should, they having forborne to dismiss him till the session was over. The public cause, as well as private injury, called for spirit. The higher we could raise the flame of Opposition, the sounder benefit we conferred on our country. Prerogative was the object of the Court; and corruption so flagrant in both Houses of Parliament, that, if the people were not animated enough to hold both in check, no resource would be left but a civil war. Early opposition was the only preservative against the latter. My nature shuddered at the thoughts of blood, and I felt what every good man will feel in civil commotions, *that there is nothing so difficult as to make the people go far enough, and prevent their going too far.* An opportunity presented itself that showed me what I could have done, but, thank God! I was not so culpable as to embrace it. As one of my objects was to raise the characters and popularity of our party, I had inserted a paragraph in the newspapers observing that the abolition of vails

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to servants had been set on foot by the Duke of Bedford, and had been opposed and not complied with by the Duke of Devonshire and family of Cavendish. Soon after, a riot happened at Ranelagh, in which the footmen mobbed and ill-treated some gentlemen who had been active in that reformation. I was apprehensive lest any personal mischief should happen to the Duke of Bedford, and forbore to spirit up that contest, though I desired so much to make the Ministers both odious and ridiculous. To the first, indeed, their characters were open: but the worse they were, the more difficult it was to make them ridiculous. They were so profligate, that they were the first to laugh and the last to feel. It was more my business, too, to incense the people than to divert them. Our party was more popular than fashionable; and in a very corrupt age fashion is very formidable. Nor was this all the difficulty: I wished to secure liberty, and to revenge my friend without passing the bounds allowed against public enemies. My friends were timid, or cautious, or over-candid; and I experienced what I have said before, that a country will never be saved by the best men in it. Ours had been rescued by two of the worst—Lord Temple and Wilkes. I had little but my pen to carry on the cause with; and I knew any violence would not be more disrelished by my enemies than by friends. Half our party was likely to desert us; and the other half not likely to support me. When a man is borne up by the party, abuse little affects him; but I did not choose to encounter it when I might be left to stand the fire alone. I had seen the fate of Wilkes, abandoned by all he had served; and had no mind to accompany him in his exile. Still, my honour and my pride would not suffer me to sit patient under the insults offered both to Mr. Conway and myself. I determined to vindicate his character and assert my own independence in a manner that should do credit to both; and I succeeded, happily, by observing at once so much firmness and decency, that while I held him up as a perfect character, I secured my own as a faithful and undaunted friend. The opportunity was offered to me by a most shameless and illiberal attack made on him officiously by the agents of the Ministry in a thing called, "An Address to the Public on a late Dismission." This I answered in a Counter-Address.* It was replied to by the first author, one Guthrie, in a style at once so gross and tedious, that if any man could have patience to read it, I should desire he would form his idea of that Ministry from that production. The only sentence worth refuting was my being charged with having flattered and been obliged to George Grenville. I, who had never stooped to comply with Lord Holland while connected with him; who had set at defiance the power of the Pelhams; had not bowed to the plenitude of Lord Bute's power, nor courted even Mr. Pitt when I admired him most in the zenith of credit and victory; was not likely to have bent the

* This tract is printed in the second volume of Walpole's works. It is written with temper, and in an agreeable style, though with less spirit than might have been expected from the warmth of the author's feelings on the occasion.—E.

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knee to the prater Grenville, with whom I had broken almost as soon as he had any power at all. Let that imputation answer itself!—But I was obliged to him, said the pamphlet—hear in what manner. Almost every friend or dependant I ever had could witness my refusals of soliciting Ministers for them or for myself. But when Grenville was Treasurer of the Navy, I had, at the desire of one of my voters at Lynn, desired him to get a child into the academy at Greenwich, which he granted. Another time, for I will be rigorously sincere in stating my obligations to him, I had heard that American officers were to repair thither, or forfeit their places. My deputy, who enjoyed a sinecure in Philadelphia (I think it was,) came to me in a fright, and begged I would intercede for his being excused, as he was in a deplorable state of health, which terminated in less than two years in his being bed-ridden, or seldom able to stir out of bed. Still, I would not ask his being excused, but wrote to Mr. Grenville to beg that if no fault was alleged against my deputy, and the order was not general, he might not be laid under the cruel necessity of throwing up his employment. Mr. Grenville civilly answered, that he knew of no such order or intention; that he would inquire into it, and no particular hardship should be laid on the person I interceded for. I have preserved his letter; and have thus stated my obligations. Whether they were so mighty that they ought to have balanced in my mind Mr. Conway's ruin, the world will judge; or, if I forgot them, I must own I had not so accurate a memory as that minute Minister. The pamphlet, however, being enriched with this anecdote of my obligations, must have been directed by Grenville himself—and it was tedious enough to have been written by him too.

This was not the only instance of Grenville's borrowing scraps of reputation by the hands of his dependants. I have some tracts corrected by himself. The writers, as they were communicated to me *in confidence by the authors, I will not name.* There was another scribe who laboured hard in extolling his patron. This was Dr. Lloyd, tutor to Mr. Grenville's sons, and promoted by him to the Deanery of Norwich.* This Zany published a most fulsome panegyric on him, addressed to himself, crying him up as the first financier in Europe, and obliquely insinuating his enmity to Lord Bute. When Grenville was attacked in the preceding winter in a celebrated tract called the Budget,† written by Mr. Hartley,‡ and exposing the blunders, and

* "Dr. Lloyd was a man of very polite manners, extraordinary composure of mind, and resignation to the Divine will. He died in 1790, aged 64." Nichols's Illustrations of Literary History.—E.

† The title is, "The Budget; inscribed to the man who thinks himself Minister.

Emendare tuos quamvis Faustine libellos
Non multæ poterunt, mea litura prodest."

It is a quarto of only twenty-two pages, slovenly written, and with little vivacity of expression.—E.

‡ Mr. Hartley was a frequent writer of pamphlets on the side of the Opposition,

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fallacies, and triflingness, of his system, Grenville inveighed bitterly in the House of Commons against such liberties, and protested he had never been concerned in any libels. I sat and heard these solemn falsehoods; having, I protest, seen Mrs. Grenville take out of her bureau and deliver to the author in my presence a rancorous pamphlet, written against Lord Temple and Mr. Pitt, corrected by Mr. Grenville's own hand,* and published immediately afterwards. This confidence I would not abuse.

There came out, not long after my pamphlet, another piece that *was to have* made much noise. It was called "A Defence of the Minority in the House of Commons on the Question relating to General Warrants;" and had no meaner an author than Charles Townshend. His prodigious parts must not be judged of by this, or indeed by any of his few writings. He never was an author in proportion to his abilities. His thoughts flowed in too rapidly to give him time to digest them; nor was he ever enough in earnest about any thing to consider it deliberately. This piece had poor success; and was confuted by some able retainer, if not by some able member of the Administration. Townshend was hurt by this miscarriage; and as he was, though so superior to rivals, infinitely jealous, he could not avoid conceiving a little spleen against me, though posterity may take my word, ay, and my vanity's word, that I never felt myself so little as the moment he opened his mouth. I do not know whether they would own it with equal frankness, but many men greatly excelling me in talents, ought to have shrunk, too, into themselves, and felt their own futility when Charles Townshend was present. Yet such alloy did he bear about him to those marvellous parts,

chiefly on the Revenue. He was attached both to Lord Rockingham and Mr. Pitt, and was the son of a physician, [who was also the most eminent metaphysician of his day. Mr. Hartley had the honour of negotiating and signing the preliminaries of Peace with America in 1783, and of moving the first resolution in the House of Commons against the Slave Trade. He was much respected by all parties, but his speeches seldom found a willing audience. Tickell has parodied him with most ludicrous effect in the "Anticipation;" and he is thus described by another cotemporary—

"Peace to the rest, for Faction now,
To shield her sons with poppied brow,
Bids Hartley stand before me.
Goddess, the potent charm I own;
My breath is lost, my voice has flown,
And dulness creeps all o'er me."
New Foundling Hospital for Wit.

He was a Fellow of Merton College, Oxford, until his death in 1813, at a very advanced age. Flattering obituaries appear of him in the Annual Register and the Gentleman's Magazine of that year. A clergyman of his College, now deceased, described him to a friend of the Editor "as an honest, high principled man, but a dull talker, and a prosy speaker."—E.]

* Mr. Grenville was concerned afterwards in several abusive pamphlets against Lord Rockingham and his friends. Some were drawn up by Whatley his secretary; others he penned himself, or gave the materials.

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that children and women had more discretion and fewer weaknesses. Being hurt at the success of my Counter-Address, he wrote these very words to Mr. Conway; "The touches and re-touches on your character are fine; some strokes nobly free; but in general not what I expected. So Charles Yorke and others of our friends think." Then, speaking of his own pamphlet, he added, "Mr. Pitt says it has had prodigious effect, and turned many. Grenville says it is serious, of great weight, and very hostile." At that very instant Mr. Conway and I happened to know that Mr. Pitt declared he would not read it; and having afterwards read it, said he found it very inaccurate. There was the same want of truth in affirming that Grenville called it *very hostile*. Townshend was afraid his friends should perceive how far it was from being offensive.*

It must not be supposed that I would pass off these trifling anecdotes of myself and others for a history of England. But they contain that most useful part of all history, a picture of human minds. They show how little men are, though riding at what is called *the Top of the World*. These and the following scenes were what filled me with disgust, and made me quit that splendid theatre of pitiful passions; not from having been too good for my company, but ashamed of being one of such *Dramatis Personæ:* and so far more inexcusable than the rest, that neither ambition nor interest had led me behind the curtain—perhaps if they had, I should have remained there still.

I have mentioned my surprise at the coldness of Lord Temple. What was become of that unwearied alacrity with which he used to unbosom all his factious soul on every man that was ill-used or discontented? Whatever his views were, they were not ripe: and therefore, to retain a party, or the appearance of it, he gave a great dinner to the Opposition. I was of it; and after dinner took occasion to explain the threats and arbitrary language tried upon Mr. Conway, and scorned by him. I forbore to name Grenville, but painted him plainly enough to fill the company with surprise and indignation. As the company was promiscuous, the discourse was circulated about the town, and reached Mr. Grenville's ears. On the 1st of June I received a letter from Mr. Thomas Pitt, desiring me to contradict a report said to come from me, charging Mr. Grenville with having said that if Mr. Conway voted according to his conscience he must be turned out. Thus had they dressed up the real report and substance in absurd terms that nobody might believe it. I immediately comprehended that this was a mandate issued to me as an inferior officer of the Exchequer, to justify Grenville and sacrifice my friend. I perceived, too, the advantage they had put into my hands,

* This tract (an octavo of thirty-eight pages,) is agreeably and temperately written, and unquestionably deserves to rank among the popular pamphlets of the day. The reply though preferred by Walpole, is now a far less readible performance.—E.

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and determined to make the most of it. Pitt's letter was so incredibly weak, and owned so much, that nothing was easier than to confute it. To add to their confusion, I had preserved exact minutes of the two conversations with Pitt and Grenville, of which they had had no suspicion. I felt the opportunity of doing justice both to Mr. Conway and to myself; and of making Mr. Grenville understand, that if he did not do me justice in the regularity of my payments, he was at my mercy, and must expect those letters would be laid before the public, if not before the House of Commons. This I hinted obscurely, being determined that nothing but persecution should drive me to that step. Knowing, however, the narrowness of Grenville's mind, it was useful to curb him by this menace, as I did too in the Counter-Address, and very successfully. I wrote a long, firm, and unpleasant letter in answer to Pitt's, and received another from him before there could be time for it (as he was in Cornwall,) but by Grenville's opening mine at the post: for with him was it concerted; and yet so flimsy, so fallen from the arrogance of the former was their reply, that I enjoyed not only triumph, but, I own, the teazing amusement of keeping them in hot water many months—the only use I allowed myself to make of those letters in punishing their culpable behaviour—moderate revenge enough after such insolence! and in which, when I had suffered the period to elapse, Grenville was far from having the generosity to imitate me. My payments were carefully made before the Parliament opened. When I had left the Session pass over without making use of the materials in my hands, an embargo was laid on the income of my employment. Have I been unjust in saying that almost any steps that are lawfully taken against banditti, were justifiable against such men? But I found means to retaliate, without violating the strictest laws of honour; nor have they been able to reproach me, though I had such opportunities of resembling them. Happily, I shall not have occasion to say more of myself for many pages, for though *I* slept not, the Opposition did.

Mechell, the King of Prussia's minister, was recalled. That Prince had formerly desired Sir Charles Hanbury Williams might be recalled by us, without assigning reasons for that request. He was now reminded of that transaction, and called upon to satisfy us in the same manner. An epigram in politics very consonant to the genius of Sandwich, who loved to strike a stroke, and never allowed for the bad consequences it might have.

About the same time our merchants printed a memorial in the newspapers, complaining of their not being permitted to cut logwood; an ill appearance after a peace so favourable to them, and so recent. The ministers published in the Gazette the King of Spain's denial of knowing any thing of that refusal, yet was not the Spanish Governor punished or recalled: and ere this matter was cold, Monsieur de Guerchy presented a memorial, demanding restitution of effects appertaining to the Duchy of Bretagne, that had been plundered from Belleisle. The Ministers referred the matter to General

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Hodgson,* who replied, "he had been ordered to take Belleisle, and had taken it: he knew nothing farther."

On July 8th died William Pulteney, Earl of Bath,† little considered, though immensely rich; for it was known that he would neither part with his money to do good or harm. He left his vast wealth to an old brother whom he despised, and a few legacies to ancient domestics; but so sparingly, that it was plain he thought the smallest sum a valuable present.

On the 10th came on the trial of the Chevalier D'Eon. He had asked for farther time to assemble witnesses, but being refused, made no defence; and absconding, was found guilty. He remained in England, and often in London, undisturbed and unnoticed.‡ The printers of the "North Briton" were likewise found guilty. Lord

* He was in the Duke of Cumberland's family, and much attached to him.

† In his eighty-third year. His old age was lonely and unattractive, being passed in the society of a few obsequious bishops and blue-stocking ladies, with whom he kept up a sickly commerce of flattery. His zenith had been bright; his decline was not mild. Avarice tormented even his last hours, and it is painful to witness, in his correspondence, how entirely he was subjected to that baleful passion. It degraded his nature, and almost disturbed his reason, for on no other ground can some of his acts be explained. His character as a politician was too severely censured by his cotemporaries, but in private life he was mean, selfish, and sordid, to an extent almost commensurate with his great abilities and attainments.—E.

‡ When the first part of these Memoirs was written there had not transpired the smallest idea of D'Eon being a woman, nor when that secret was first broached did it gain credit. Some years also elapsed before the fact was allowed, and it was some time before the dubious person assumed the female habit, and then only by command of the Court of France. I have not chosen to correct my narrative, not only because the change of sex did not happen till the personage had ceased to figure in an historic light, but because, having no notion of that doubtful gender at the time of her eccentric behaviour, my account will remain more natural, and does paint the general sensation produced by her exploits. The Government here acted as I have written, totally in the dark as to a false assumption of sex. [In 1777 an action was brought by a surgeon named Hayes against Jaques, a baker, who had received fifteen guineas to return one hundred guineas if it should be proved that the Chevalier was a woman; and the evidence of that fact was so strong that the jury decided in favour of Hayes. There were other actions on the same point, but they were disposed of by the Court, very properly declaring these wagers to be illegal. Da Costa *v.* Jones, Cowper's Reports, 729.—The Annual Register, p. 167, evidently copying some newspaper, says, "by this decision no less a sum than 75,000*l.* will remain in this country, which would otherwise have been transmitted to Paris. The same authority says, "Aug. 16th, the Chevalier left England, declaring that she had no interest whatever in the policies opened on her sex." From that time till the death of the Chevalier he was always believed to be a woman, and dressed as such. The post-mortem examination, which is stated in the Gent. Mag. vol. lxxx. p. 588, proved him to be a perfect male. He was never employed after his disgrace; but having been long a spy of Louis the Fifteenth, it was not deemed prudent to drive him to despair, and a handsome pension was granted to him, which he enjoyed till the Revolution. He then took refuge in England, and was afterwards reduced to great poverty. He died in London, at a very advanced age, in 1810. There is an interesting note on Chev. D'Eon by Mr. Croker in Walpole's collected Correspondence, vol. iv. p. 328. See also the article, a very partial one, in the Biographie Universelle.—E.

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Mansfield reprimanded Sergeant Glynn, counsel for the prisoners, for telling the jury that they were judges both of law and fact; the former of which, the Chief Justice denied, and said, if it was controverted he would take the opinion of the Judges thereon—a resource he was fond of applying to, when he could not alone support his own arbitrary assertions. He and the Ministers now finding themselves almost irresistible, pursued their blow. Two hundred informations were filed against printers: a larger number than had been prosecuted in the whole thirty-three years of the last reign!

On the 15th of the following month, came advice of Tortuga, or Turks' Island, being seized by Count D'Estain. This man had been twice taken prisoner by us in the last war, and both times had forfeited his parole of honour; yet with a laudable clemency had been spared.* France had rewarded him with the Order of the Holy Ghost; and he now commanded a squadron in the West Indies, with which he committed this new hostility and infraction of the peace. I saw the importance of the moment, and endeavoured to spirit up addresses against the peace-makers; but languor prevailed, and none of our great Lords could be brought to send directions to their agents for transfusing indignation through their counties. In the meantime the Ministers made representations at Versailles, which, however, despairing of redress, they did not dare to announce in the Gazette till an answer came disavowing D'Estain, and promising to restore the island and pay damages; yet with no mark of displeasure towards their own commander, who, it was not doubted, had acted by direction, both to keep down our stocks, and in revenge for some vessels, which one of our captains had burned at Newfoundland, where they had encroached. The man justified himself by his general orders; nor did the Ministers, though they privately reprimanded him for his zeal, dare to break him; but fearing farther hostilities, four men-of-war were ordered to Newfoundland.

Mr. Legge, after languishing some months, died August 23rd. A blow considerable to our party, as he was the only man in it proper, on a change, to have been placed at the head of the House of Commons. His abilities were known and respected: his timidity and time-serving had not been much remarked, but by the few he had been most conversant with; for, being supple and cheerful, and never offensive, he had always seemed to loiter behind his party, rather than to desert it. He met death with more manliness and unconcern than could have been expected, as he was not old, was happy, rich, and above the affectation of heroism or philosophy. An old friend

* The Count d'Estaign had broken his parole in India, and, having been again taken prisoner, was kept in close confinement at Portsmouth—a treatment of which he very unreasonably complained as harsh and unjustifiable. His name often occurs in the history of the American war, in which he commanded the French fleet with some reputation. He claimed a victory over Admiral Byron. During the French Revolution he acted a very vacillating, if not dishonest, part; and, having given offence both to Royalists and Republicans, he was brought to the scaffold in 1794, aged 65.—E.

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visiting him the day before he died, Legge said to him, "Brother sportsman, I used to laugh at your being too heavy for a chase, but now you are come in at the death." It was not equally sensible and unaffected, that he sent to Mr. Pitt, to acquaint him with his own approaching dissolution, and to exhort him to do his utmost to remove the present Ministers. Legge ought to have known how little Pitt would regard the death-bed admonition of a man for whom living he had little veneration. Legge left behind him, with orders for publication, a relation of his quarrel with Lord Bute, relating to an election for Hampshire. This piece neither hurt the favourite, nor reflected honour on the deceased. That the former should have meddled in an election, even before his master's accession to the Crown, could not surprise nor seriously shock any man: nor, though the narrative was not to appear till after his death, had Legge worked it up with a spirit to do himself honour. His obsequiousness pierced through the veil of hostility, and every body saw that, without other views, he would not have encountered a rising Minister; nor by Legge's own account, had the Favourite mitigated the scorn with which he treated him. I have said that Lord Bath loved money so much, that he thought a paltry sum, though given after his death, considerable bounty: it was much the same with Legge, he was so naturally compliant and inoffensive, that his daring to order the publication of a tame and posthumous satire, seemed to him an effort of prodigious vengeance.*

If the Ministers exerted little spirit against our neighbours, it was feared, on the other hand, that there were hostile views in the disposal of military commands at home. In fact, the Scotch obtained commissions every day: if by Lord Bute's influence, I rather think it was meant for a defensive guard for himself and the Court, than with views offensive to the Constitution. Depending on favour and

* Mr. Legge did not write the narrative mentioned in the text. It is the composition of the Bishop of Hereford, his intimate friend, to whom he committed on his death-bed "the publication of the papers that explained his case;" or, in other words, his correspondence with Lord Bute respecting the Hampshire election. (Some account of the Life of the Right Hon. Bilson Legge.) His object being, not, as Walpole supposes, to fix on Lord Bute the charge of meddling with elections, but to clear his own character from various insinuations, by showing, from the correspondence, that his refusal to yield to Lord Bute's Dictation in the Hampshire election, was the real cause of his disgrace, and that he might have remained in office if he had chosen to disgrace himself by taking the opposite course. The Bishop's observations explanatory of the transaction, are in the spirit that might be expected from a prelate not indisposed to translation, when treating of the conduct of those who dispense ecclesiastical patronage. To make up, however, for his courtesy towards his patron's adversaries, he heaps unmeasured eulogy upon his patron's memory. It is now, indeed, pretty well understood that Mr. Legge had no title to a tithe of the merits ascribed to him by his right reverend biographer. He was a very useful statesman. (See supra, p. 34.) His head, as Sir Robert Walpole said of him, had very little rubbish in it. He was good-natured, and easy in social intercourse. To exalted patriotism he never raised any pretensions; and whatever may be the Bishop's opinion, the friend and boon companion of Wilkes could he no pattern of religion or morality.—E.

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promotion, the Scotch themselves might have crowded into the army. Still it spread jealousy and alarm; and Mr. Pitt himself expressed dissatisfaction. These murmurs were largely increased by the elevation of one Colonel Fletcher to an old regiment over thirty-seven officers his seniors, among whom was Colonel Howe,* brother of the Lord of that name, and himself lately returned with glory from the Havanna. As Fletcher was devoted to the favourite, and known to owe this promotion to him, the partiality was the more grievously resented. To compensate for this step, the next regiment that fell was bestowed on Sir William Boothby,† but not without the secondary view of gaining this officer, who was a servant of the Duke of York.‡ That Prince returning from Italy passed to Paris; on which the King stopped his remittances, and obliged him to come home without delay. Grenville, who had taken umbrage at Lord Bute's interfering in the disposal of military preferments, procured Sir William Boothby's former regiment for Colonel Pearson.

To give the finishing blow to the hopes and credit of the Opposition, the Duke of Devonshire,§ who had gone to Spa at the end of August for a paralytic disorder, died there in the vigour of his age. He was by no means an able or enterprising man, but enjoyed a character uncommonly respected; and was universally regretted by all the Whigs as head of their party. No man would have disputed that pre-eminence with him; and we wanted even a nominal head. We had in the space of a few months lost three material men,—Lord Hardwicke, Mr. Legge, and the Duke of Devonshire. It was almost as unfortunate that we had kept Charles Yorke, Charles Townshend, and the Duke of Newcastle. The health of the Duke of Cumberland made his life as little to be depended on. At this very time he had two slight fits at Newmarket, and was reported dead; but was saved by the breaking out of St. Anthony's fire. The Duke of Devonshire bequeathed 5000*l.* to Mr. Conway; a legacy honourable to him, and conducive to his popularity. The nominal post of High Treasurer of Ireland being vacated by the death of that

* William Howe, brother of Richard Lord Viscount Howe, an Admiral, and one of the Lords of the Admiralty. [Afterwards a Lieutenant-General and K. B. He served in the American war, and was generally unfortunate. On the death of the Admiral he became Viscount Howe. The title expired on his death without issue, in 1814.—E.]

† Sir William Boothby, Bart., a Major-general and Colonel of the 6th Regiment of Foot, died, unmarried, in 1797.—E.

‡ Prince Edward, next brother to the King.

§ The Duke died on the 2nd of October, at the early age of forty-four. The scanty praise awarded him in the text is far below his due. He had been Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, in 1755, and First Lord of the Treasury in the following year. "In the ordinary business of his office," says Lord Waldegrave, "he showed great punctuality and diligence, and no want of capacity."—Memoirs, p. 141. A strong sense of responsibility, and a natural diffidence in his own talents, accompanied by a dislike for business, and an indifference to ministerial employments, gave him, at times, an air of indecision rather ungraceful; and he could be firm on great occasions, and his public no less than his private life was distinguished by unsullied uprightness and honour.—E.

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Duke, Lord Sandwich begged it for Lord Corke,* (who had married his niece, and from whose family it had passed to the Cavendishes by the marriage of the late Duke with the heiress of Boyle,†) but on supposition only that the new Duke would not ask it. "How shall we know," said the King, "if his uncles will ask it for him?" Lord Sandwich said he could find out by his old fellow-traveller Lord Besborough,‡ who had married the late Duke's sister. Lord Besborough, on the question being put to him by Sandwich as from himself, said laughing, "My Lord, is this to be a retainer?" "Why, to be sure," replied Sandwich; "it will be expected that the family should not act as they have done." The young Duke was but sixteen, was awkward, and full of the bashfulness of his race. He was entirely in the hands of his three uncles, the Lords George, Frederick, and John, all warm Whigs, enthusiasts to the memory of their father and brother, of characters eminently unstained, and not a little persuaded that their family was, and ought to be, the most distinguished in the kingdom. Their property was enormous, their credit great, and reputation truly honourable: but the talents of the race had never borne any proportion to their other advantages. The first Duke, besides being the finest gentleman of the age, had succeeded to the merits of his friend Lord Russel's martyrdom. Since that period the family had affected to drop all polish, and to wear the manners of plain English gentlemen, under an outside that covered considerable pride. Sir Robert Walpole had made advantage of their popularity, and having strongly attached the second and third Dukes to himself, he had placed them before himself as the leaders of the Whig party, and cried up their unembellished good sense, though the second Duke had no sense at all,§ and the third a very dubious portion.‖ William, the fourth and late Duke,

* Edmund Boyle, Earl of Corke and Orrery, married ——— Courteney, daughter of Lady Frances Courteney, only sister of John Earl of Sandwich. [The marriage being afterwards dissolved, he married the Hon. Mary Monckton, who long survived him. He died in 1798.—E.]

† William Duke of Devonshire married Lady Charlotte Boyle, second daughter and coheiress of Richard Boyle, last Earl of Burlington, Lord Treasurer of Ireland.

‡ William Ponsonby, Earl of Besborough, married Lady Caroline Cavendish, eldest daughter of William third Duke of Devonshire. Lord Besborough had been at Constantinople with Lord Sandwich. [He died in 1793, and was the grandfather of the present Earl.—E.]

§ What authority Walpole had for this assertion does not appear. The Duke was without ambition, and content to live as an English nobleman on his splendid domain. He died in 1729.—E.

‖ Dr. Johnson, a violent political opponent observed of him, "that he was not a man of superior abilities, but he was a man strictly faithful to his word. If, for instance, he had promised you an acorn, and none had grown that year in his woods, he would not have contented himself with that excuse. He would have sent to Denmark for it. So unconditional was he in keeping his word—so high as to the point of honour.—Boswell's Life of Johnson, vol. iii. p. 167. The same lofty feelings characterized his public life, and caused him to be implicitly trusted by the great party of which, without his own seeking, he was the undisputed head. Lord Waldegrave seems to have entertained no mean opinion of his

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with something more of the manners of a Court, had less abilities than his father. His brother Lord George* had none at all. Lord Frederick was lively, and having lived in courts and camps, a favourite of the Duke of Cumberland, was by far the most agreeable, and possessed the most useful sense of the whole family.† Lord John, the youngest, was hitherto little known. I shall have occasion to mention him frequently hereafter. He had read a good deal, and his eyes saw not faster than his memory retained. He was accurate in repeating words, sentences, nay volumes, if he pleased; nor was he defective in quickness or reasoning. Under the appearance of virgin modesty, he had a confidence in himself that nothing could equal, and a thirst of dominion that was still more extraordinary. It consisted solely in governing those with whom he was connected, without views either of interest or power. To be first, in however small a circle, was his wish; but in that circle he must be absolute: and he was as ready to sacrifice the interests and fortunes of those his friends and slaves, as he was his own. His plan seemed to be the tyranny of a moral philosopher. He was a kind of Heresiarch, that sought to be adored by his enthusiastic disciples, without a view of extending his sect beyond that circle.‡ His fair little person, and the quaintness with which he untreasured, as by rote, the stores of his memory, occasioned George Selwyn to call him *the learned Canary-bird*.§

These three Lords determined their nephew should ask no favour

talents.—Memoirs, p. 86. He was Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in 1737, and afterwards remained for a time in the Cabinet; but he accepted office with reluctance, and quitted it with disgust, for he loved his ease and scorned all the arts of intrigue. He died in 1755, aged fifty-seven.—E.

* Lord George Cavendish filled the place of Controller of the Household in 1762, and for some years represented Derbyshire. He had sufficient sense to speak respectably in Parliament. He died unmarried in 1794.—E.

† Lord Frederick Cavendish had frequently distinguished himself during the seven years' war as an excellent cavalry officer. In one of the last affairs of the campaign of 1762, he gained great credit by his spirited behaviour on the 6th July, when, under the command of Lord Granby, he defeated a considerable body of the French stationed at Horn in order to preserve the communication of the main body with Frankfort, the result of which defeat was the evacuation of Gottingen. He attained the rank of Field-Marshal, and died unmarried at an advanced age in 1803.—E.

‡ The sarcastic tone of these remarks on the Cavendish family may be ascribed to a family quarrel, in which the Duke of Devonshire had sided with Horace Walpole the uncle, against Horace Walpole the nephew, the author of these Memoirs.—Mem. i. 170, note by Lord Holland. Lord John Cavendish had also displeased Walpole by often thwarting his plans for the management of the Opposition, and particularly by prevailing on General Conway to act contrary to his advice. On these occasions, however, Lord John was actuated by the purest motives, and no statesman of that day showed a nicer sense of honour, or more strict notions of public duty. His influence with the liberal party was considerable, and raised him afterwards to a higher post than his talents could alone justly claim. At the time to which the text refers he was about thirty-two years old.—E.

§ There was shown about that time, and by that title, a Canary-bird that performed several tricks, by pointing to cards and numbers at command.

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of the Court; nor would they suffer him to carry their late brother's riband to the King, lest his Majesty should draw any promise or professions from so raw a lad; or, lest the boy himself should be wanting in proper respect, or be too blunt, if the King should mention his father. Lord Frederic, as of the Bed-chamber to the Duke of Cumberland, was the only one of the family that since their brother's disgrace had gone to Court: he therefore was thought most proper to restore the badge of the Order. At the same time, lest they should be taxed with rudeness, they desired Lord Besborough to thank Sandwich, but beg he would not neglect the interests of his friend. On this Sandwich ordered the patent to be drawn for Lord Corke; but Lord Mansfield, fearing the loss of that feather might root the Cavendishes in Opposition, prevailed to have it retarded. When Lord Frederic carried the Garter, the King used many expressions of concern for the death of the late Duke. Lord Frederic replied, his Majesty had not had a better subject, and that the family had never imputed their brother's disgrace to his Majesty's own movements.

Having foreseen the death of the Duke of Devonshire, and apprehending that it would break up and dissolve our party, I determined to know if we had any thing farther to trust to. During the summer I had had frequent conversations with Lord Lyttelton, who was on good terms again with Mr. Pitt and Lord Temple, and who really admired Conway. Lord Lyttelton's object was to reconcile George Grenville and his brothers, and to make a coalition between that whole family and the Opposition, with or without the Bedfords, but totally to the exclusion of Lord Bute. No man so addicted to wisdom was less wise than Lord Lyttelton; no man so propense to art was less artful; no man staked his honesty to less purpose, for he was so awkward that honesty was the only quality that seemed natural to him. His cunning was so often in default, that he was a kind of beacon that warned men not to approach the shallows on which he founded his attachments, always at a wrong season.* Mr. Pitt had neither tasted his views nor reasons; and Lord Temple, who was growing less disinclined to his brother George, neither trusted Lord Lyttelton with that secret, nor with the growing coolness between him and Mr. Pitt. On this miscarriage I resolved to feel my way myself, and went to Stowe. My doubts, if any remained, were there fully cleared away. I discovered that Lord Temple had no influence, scarce any intercourse with Mr. Pitt; and, though he en-

* The accomplishments of Lord Lyttelton were undeniable. Unfortunately they were overshadowed by an infirmity of judgment that materially lessened the dignity of his character. He seems to have been the easy dupe of Archibald Bower. There was often much misplaced sentiment in his conversation. His letters teem with foolish conceits, and the extravagant notions he entertained of parental authority, made him so severe and injudicious a father as to afford some excuse for the gross misconduct of his son, a young nobleman whose brilliant abilities he was almost the only person unwilling or unable to appreciate. Lord Lyttelton died in 1773, at the age of sixty-four. His public and private life had been irreproachable.—E.

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deavoured to slide over that coolness, I was determined to fathom it; and did. I said I had prayed Lord Lyttelton to bring about an interview between Mr. Conway and Mr. Pitt; that the latter wanted a second in the House of Commons, and could have no man so confidential, trusty, or creditable, as the former; that I was sorry to find no disposition to union in his Lordship's friends; and that though I would try my utmost till Christmas to cement our party, I should give over a foolish and hopeless opposition, if I met encouragement no where.

Lord Temple endeavoured to explain away this coolness, and said Lord Lyttelton was so newly reconciled to them that Mr. Pitt had not talked openly to him; but, continued he, if Conway had not been turned out, we should now have no Opposition—intimating, that my zeal was founded on resentment, not on any attachment to him and Mr. Pitt; and though with regard to himself this was most true, it was most unadvised arrogance in him to drop these words to me (as he did,)—"Conway did not resign for us." At the same time he was profuse of incendiary volubility, and of compliments to myself, particularly on my not only having overlooked Wilkes's attacks,* but in voting for him. We agreed in our sentiments, that there should be a select junto of the ablest men in the House of Commons to conduct the party. "Still, my Lord," said I, "we should have difficulties even there: the Duke of Cumberland would object to the admission of Lord George Sackville to our Councils." Lord Temple answered abruptly, "We must not have a Prince of the blood for First Minister; that would entirely alienate the King." This sentence explained the Duke of Cumberland's complaints of Mr. Pitt's coldness to all his overtures. I replied, I wished no more than his Lordship to see the Duke Minister: but he was of great credit to our party, and his life too precarious to make him formidable: "but," said I, "I was speaking of Lord George"—"Oh!" interrupted he, "there are very, very great difficulties about Lord George: he must make his own way before we can do any thing for him."

I was so offended at this royal style of *we* and *us*, and saw so plainly that Lord Temple, though he would be glad of our bearing him on our shoulders to St. James's, could not even disguise his little inclination to us, that I determined to disappoint him, and forbear all connexion both with Mr. Pitt and him. I acquainted Mr. Conway with the ill success of this visit; and here too, as usual, had a pill of mortification to swallow. Provoked at Lord Temple's dis-

* Wilkes had attacked me in the North Briton, for a panegyric on the sense of the Scots, in my catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors: a censure I regarded so little, that when Lord Holland was engaged in his bitter persecution of the Whigs under Lord Bute, I sent an anonymous letter to Wilkes, pointing out a very advantageous character of Lord Holland that I had formerly written in the paper called the World, and inciting the North Briton to take notice both of the author and the subject of the character. Wilkes caught at the notice, said but little of me, and fell severely on Lord Holland, as I had foreseen he would.

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course, he wished, he said, I had not gone so far: Mr. Pitt should come to him; he would not go to Mr. Pitt; nor liked to be thought to court any body. I replied, that it was with his consent I had proposed that interview to Lord Lyttelton; that I should never wish my friend to court men in power: overtures of union to men out of power were different; nor was there any sense in opposing without union. I told him we must either form as strong a party as we could, or give up the game. We could do better without Pitt than he without us; for he would never dare alone and unfollowed to trust himself with Lord Bute. Our business was to serve our country and preserve our characters. I had staked every thing, and valued not my fortune: but I did value my character, my understanding, and my ease; nor would expose my sense by a tame, middling, now-and-then opposition. That I would make no peace with the Ministers, but would go abroad, if I could not find more activity and more sense, than I had met with hitherto. Conway replied (unfeelingly enough as to me,) that for himself he was independent: he could wait; and supposed, if not soon, something would turn up at last. That he would oppose occasionally, but did not think it reasonable to say, It shall do now, or I will not try. This was a true picture of us both. I had embarked him and myself on principle, and without consideration; had gone on with redoubled zeal when I saw him injured; and now was impatient to repair the effects of my own rashness. He had been drawn in without knowing it, and had continued to act by system; could not bear to own, even to me, how deeply he felt the wound he had received; but was as much too much undisguised, on the other hand, in letting me perceive how little he felt the force of the sacrifice I had made to him. In this, and all his conversations, he dwelt on his obligations to the Dukes of Devonshire and Grafton. I said I respected their characters, but could not content myself with so narrow a bottom. He said, he thought himself bound in honour to acquaint Charles Townshend with what had passed. I said, it would immediately make him leave us; but I should not object to it, if he thought this strange delicacy honourable or necessary. He said he should not talk farther of it, nor appear cool to Mr. Pitt, lest it should be said that he had paid court to him, and was angry at the disappointment. He would have no opportunity, I told him, of showing either anger or civility to Mr. Pitt: but if he acquainted Townshend, all the world would know what had passed. He did write to Townshend the whole account.

I was now reduced to as disagreeable a situation as can well be conceived. I had, from a point of honour, and from ancient friendship, gone all lengths for a man who I perceived had much more system than warmth of affection. My secrets were communicated to a babbler; and it would be known that I had tried every quiver to wound the Ministers, without finding a single arrow to my purpose. The only thing that remained to do, I did—I kept my temper; and neither let Conway nor any man else suspect the mortifications I underwent. It had been double pleasure to my enemies to know I was

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not content with *him;* and to have let *him* know it, had disappointed the purposes to which I might still apply him both for his sake and my own. I wished to repair the hurt I had done him; nor till that was effected, could I accomplish my own object of with-drawing myself entirely from politics. The only notice I therefore took of what had passed, was at times to declare to Conway and others of the party, that I was so little satisfied with the conduct of the Opposition, that though I would never desert them, while they remained oppressed, yet was I determined to take my leave of them as a party the moment, if ever that moment should arrive, in which they should be successful. This declaration I afterwards found as satisfactory to myself as it had been honest to those with whom I acted; and how much I was in earnest in making this resolution, my adherence to it will demonstrate.

There was perhaps a greater difficulty attending us than all I have mentioned, though not very likely to befall us. It was, what answer we should make to a question Lord John Cavendish very sensibly put to me in one of our conversations. "If we do get the better," said he, "whom can we make Ministers?" It had been to no purpose to answer, "I do not care whom." Unless we could form an Administration, we must remain in Opposition. The event did happen; we were offered, and could not furnish out a Ministry; and yet it once more fell into our hands by a concourse of ridiculous circumstances, that if they do not ennoble History, yet render it perhaps more entertaining than revolutions of more serious complexion.

There happened at this time, in another country, an event of which I shall take some notice, though it had no relation to our affairs. The deposed Czar, John of Muscovy, had been confined from his youth, and, as it was said, had had drugs administered to him destructive of his intellects. He had been spared, however, during the long reign of his rival Elizabeth; and had even been visited by her short-lived successor, Peter the Third. This visit might perhaps have awakened some sentiments in favour of Ivan in Russian breasts; at least jealousy in that of the foreign murderess, who now reigned in the room of both.* On a sudden it was given out, that one Mirowitz had forced himself into the castle where Ivan was imprisoned, intending to deliver and proclaim him Emperor, but that so great was the fidelity and circumspection of the governor, that he had instantly cut the poor young Prince to pieces. This tale, almost as improbable as horrid, was believed by the greater number, and supported by a parade of forms and manifestoes. Mirowitz was tried by the senate, and beheaded, after reading a confession consonant to the story divulged. His accomplice, for *one* they did allow him to have had, was said to have made his escape, and to have been drowned in his flight crossing a river. As Mirowitz suffered death unaccompanied

* A similar story is related in Tacitus, of the visit paid by Augustus to his unfortunate grandson Agrippa, in the island of Planasia, having excited suspicions in the mind of Tiberius that caused him to hasten the Emperor's death.—1 *Annal.* v.—E.

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with the torments used in that country, it is no forced construction to suppose he was threatened with torture if he did not authenticate what was required of him; or deceived with hopes of pardon, and prevented by sudden execution before he could recall a false confession.* Whatever was the truth, the Empress had given such earnest of her bold and remorseless nature in the assassination of her husband, that no wonder she was suspected of being as deeply concerned in the death of Ivan. I was assured by the Duchess of Choiseul, wife of the first Minister of France, that a French physician who had been at Petersburg at the time, and employed at that Court, had told her that they who knew most believed that the death of the Empress Elizabeth had been hastened too by the arts of Catherine: yet this fell character did Voltaire and the literati of France select as the patroness of philosophy and toleration! She had artfully been generous to a few of them; and a poet and an author will go as far in whitewashing a munificent tyrant, as a Cossack or Calmuck in fighting for those who pay him. From Augustus to Catherine the Second, no liberal usurper has ever wanted an ode or a panegyrist. The Duchess of Choiseul, who had an excellent heart and solid understanding, being provoked at the scandalous encomiums poured forth by Voltaire on so black a character, wrote an answer to him with equal sense, spirit, and reason: a work, in her situation, improper to be seen: I was one of a very few that had the satisfaction of reading it.

On the first of November the sentence of outlawry was pronounced against Wilkes; and on the fourth died that bacchanalian bard, his friend Churchill. He was on a visit to his friend Wilkes at Boulogne, where his excesses threw him into a fever, and where he died in a few days with epicurean indifference—a meteor that had shone but four years, and never so brightly as he might have done. He had wished, he said, for an opportunity of satirizing Mr. Pitt and Charles Townshend, who had not yet entirely listed themselves with the Court, the moment for which Churchill waited impatiently; yet, writing as he did at random, it was at chance whether he would have touched or not the true blemishes and characteristic marks of men so compounded of defects and exquisite ingredients. Churchill could hew out a block that would brave time, and last to posterity, but stood not near enough to seize the lineaments and shades that distinguish a portrait, and exhibit a resemblance to the eyes of cotemporaries.

Among Churchill's papers was found a collection of letters from Lord Holland to Francis,† who had furnished them to the Satirist against his late patron. In one of those epistles Francis complained of Lord Holland for not making him an Irish Bishop, and threatened to publish something that would prove Lord Holland a still greater

* The account given in the Princess Dashkau's memoirs of this transaction, presents strong internal evidence of the guilt of Mirowitz. The Princess otherwise would not have taken such pains to exculpate herself from the charge of having been his accomplice. He appears to have been virtually insane.—E.

† Translator of Horace and Demosthenes.

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villain than the world believed him. To silence that wretch, Lord Holland sent him 500*l.*, and gave him a place in Chelsea College.

The Death of the Master of the Rolls happening at this time, Norton was appointed to succeed him, with an additional pension of 1200*l.* a-year; and Mr. Charles Yorke again consented to accept his former post of Attorney-general: on which the Duke of Cumberland said shrewdly, "We have lost a man of character, but they have not gained one." This arrangement, however, did not take place. The Chancellor* objected to Norton for Master of the Rolls: and Charles Yorke was frightened† with the offence taken at his deserting the Duke of Newcastle and his friends. Norton remained Attorney; Sewell was appointed Master of the Rolls; and Yorke accepted a patient of precedence over the Solicitor-general;‡ which only showed that he had made his peace without mending his fortune.

About the same time was published a pamphlet, perhaps the ablest ever written, called, an "Inquiry into the Doctrine concerning Libels." It severely took to pieces the arbitrary maxims of Lord Mansfield and Norton, who were roughly handled, as well as the late Lord Hardwicke. Dunning, a rising lawyer, was supposed the principal author, assisted by the Lord Chief Justice Pratt, and one or two others.

On the 19th died Stone, the famous Primate of Ireland, aged 57, having ruined his constitution by indulgence to the style of luxury and drinking established in Ireland, and by conforming to which he had found the means of surmounting the most grievous prejudices and of gaining popularity, ascendant, power: an instance of abilities seldom to be matched. He was aided, too, by several virtues: he was generous and charitable, and of a soul above revenge. When Lord Chesterfield§ held the government of Ireland, he told the Primate, "My Lord, you must govern this kingdom, for you have the best parts in it; but you want one thing, you must take orders:" alluding to the irregularity of his life. But Stone had greater parts than Lord Chesterfield imagined, for he *did* govern that kingdom without conforming to the decencies of his profession.‖

* Robert Henley, Earl of Northington.

† There was another reason given, and probably a more efficacious one. This was the number of suits commenced against the General Warrants, with which he did not care to meddle.

‡ The patent of precedence could not be *over* the Solicitor-general, whose official rank necessarily placed him next to the Attorney, and above all other members of the bar. The elevation of Mr. Yorke was of greater advantage to the senior barristers than to himself, for otherwise they could not have held briefs with him; though the Government cared, in those days, too little for the bar to have attached much weight to that consideration, unless they had desired to please Mr. Yorke. —E.

§ Philip Stanhope, Earl of Chesterfield, the famous man of wit.

‖ Mr. Cumberland says elegantly of the primate, "No man faced difficulties with greater courage, none overcame them with more address: he was formed to hold command over turbulent spirits in tempestuous seasons, for if he could not absolutely rule the passions of men, he could artfully rule men by the medium of their passions. He had great suavity of manner when points were to be car-

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Stone was survived but a few days by his ancient competitor the Earl of Shannon*—a more common character, he having sold his patriotism for a peerage; and maintaining by hypocrisy an influence that Stone had supported with the boldness of a statesman, and with scorn of the little knavery that he might have borrowed from his rank of Archbishop.

The noise which our succession of Patriots had made in Europe, and the disgrace their prostitution had brought on the character, gave occasion to the following anecdote. Monsieur Elie de Beaumont, renowned for his defence of the family of Calas, was in England, and went to Bath. Conversing there with Lord Chief Justice Pratt and Lord Strange, Monsieur de Beaumont said he wanted to see a Patriot. Lord Strange replied, there was no such thing. "You surprise me, my Lord, said the Chief Justice; till now I thought your Lordship one!"

At the conclusion of the year the cider counties instructed their members to join the minority; and Sir George Yonge† carried a letter from some of the chiefs to the Duke of Newcastle, proposing union. The Duke sent the letter to Mr. Pitt, as an inducement to him to declare himself. Pitt thanked the Duke for the communication, but observed, the letter had not been intended for him (Pitt.) He desired to be consulted no more, for he was, and would be a single man. The minority, he said, had heard the late glorious war abused the last session, and had sat silent. Therefore would he join nobody, but would act on every single occasion as he should think right.‡ Thus, without chiefs, numbers, or union, were we left to meet the opening of Parliament in the ensuing year!

ried by insinuation and finesse; but if authority was necessary to be enforced, none could hold it with a higher hand; he was an elegant scholar, a consummate politician, a very fine gentleman, and in every character seen to more advantage than in that, which, according to his sacred function, should have been his chief and only object to sustain." Cumberland's Mem. vol. i. p. 229.—E.

* Henry Boyle, a grandson of Roger, first Earl of Orrery. His hypocrisy could not be very deep, if the saying ascribed to him be true—"that he would not accept an honour whilst there was a shilling in the treasury." He has been described as "a warm, sincere friend, and undisguised enemy." His peculiar sphere was the House of Commons, not as an orator, but as a manager; and few country gentlemen, we are told, would continue a canvass in their respective counties without a certainty of Mr. Boyle's support, if petitioned against.—Hardy's Life of Lord Charlemont, vol. i. p. 88. He would have made an admirable Secretary of the Treasury in corrupt or turbulent times.—E.

† Sir George Yonge, Bart., was the only surviving son of Sir William Yonge, the eloquent and well-known supporter of Sir Robert Walpole. He was appointed Secretary at War in Lord Shelburne's administration, and subsequently became Master of the Mint. His last office was that of Governor of the Cape of Good Hope. He had many of his father's parts as well as failings, being kind, persuasive, industrious, reckless, scheming, and dissipated. His last years were embittered by the failure of a speculation into which he had entered in the neighbourhood of Honiton, which borough he had long represented in Parliament. He died at an advanced age at the beginning of the present century, and, having no children, the baronetcy became extinct.—E.

‡ The Duke of Newcastle's letter and Mr. Pitt's reply are printed in the Chatham Correspondence, vol. ii. p. 293–8.—E.

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CHAPTER XXX.

Church Preferments.—Meeting of Parliament.—Conway's Speech.—Lord Chatham's Legacy from Sir William Pynsent.—Speeches on Dismissal of Officers.—Duel between Mr. Chaworth and Lord Byron.—Renewal of the Question of General Warrants.

THE primacy of Ireland being vacant, Mr. Grenville was desirous of procuring that dignity for Dr. Newton, Bishop of Bristol; but, he declining it, Lord Granby solicited Grenville's interest for Dr. Ewer,* who had been his tutor, and Grenville intended to bestow that mitre on him. In the mean time it was known that Lord Northumberland espoused Robinson, Bishop of Kildare, and sought to make him Archbishop. This was immediately considered as a contest for power between the Favourite and the nominal Minister,—for that Grenville was only *nominal* Minister, appeared by Robinson's obtaining the Archbishopric; though when Grenville found he could not obtain it for Ewer, he had maliciously and artfully instigated the Duke of Bedford to solicit for Bishop Carmichael,† who being a Scot, his promotion would have struck mankind as the act of Lord Bute, more than the appointment of Robinson, whom he really supported. The intrigues of the late Primate had been so noxious and troublesome to the English Government, that it was determined no future Archbishops of Armagh should be Lords Justices, or have any power in the Administration. The new Primate, a proud but superficial man, had not talents to recover the credit enjoyed by his predecessors.‡

* Dr. John Ewer, of King's College, Cambridge, Canon of Windsor, and successively Bishop of Llandaff and Bangor. He published some single sermons on public occasions, and died in October, 1774. His library was sold by auction in 1776.—E.

† Dr. Carmichael was brother to the Earl of Hyndford. He had not long to wait for preferment, nor did he long enjoy it, for he was appointed Archbishop of Dublin in June, and died in the November following.—E.

‡ Primate Robinson, without being eminent either as a divine or a politician, filled his high office creditably. He had sound sense, and a turn for business, was not ignorant of the world, and his deportment admirably suited a great ecclesiastic. In these respects he bore a strong resemblance to Archbishop Sutton. He exerted himself laudably in building churches and parsonage houses, and in maintaining the character of the clergy. Like many of the Irish Archbishops of former days, he brought nobility into his family, by obtaining the barony of Rokeby, with remainder to a distant cousin; for although one of many brothers,

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January 10th,—the Parliament met. The King notified to the two Houses the intended marriage of his youngest sister, the Princess Caroline Matilda, with the Prince Royal of Denmark, her first cousin. Princess Louisa, her eldest sister, was so remarkably small of her age, that, though she lived three years after this, she never appeared but as an unhealthy child of thirteen or fourteen years of age. Lord Townshend and Lord Bottetort moved the address of the Lords; Lord Warkworth and T. Pitt, of the Commons. An accidental debate happening in the latter House, General Conway, to the surprise of every body, and particularly of me, who had with astonishment beheld his tranquillity, broke out on his own dismission, and attacked George Grenville with a fire, eloquence, and rapidity of passion and bitterness, that showed both how much he had resented and how much he had concealed. Very warm words passed between them; great applause was given to Conway by the Opposition; and the Ministers felt that the vengeance they had exerted began to lose something of its sweetness. They had infused a spirit into Conway with which all his friends would in vain have endeavoured to inspire him.

On the 15th, the King sent another message to both Houses, re-referring to their consideration an offer made by France to pay 670,000*l.*, in three years, for our maintenance of their prisoners, instead of 1,100,000*l.*, which had been settled, but with no specification of time, by the late peace. This offer was accepted on a subsequent day.

About the same time happened the following extraordinary event. Sir William Pynsent, a baronet of Somersetshire, died and left his whole fortune to Mr. Pitt, no ways related, nor personally known to him. Nor, as it appeared, was this great legacy so much the reward of his illustrious services as of his opposition to General Warrants. Sir William Pynsent, at his death, was aged 86, had formerly served in Parliament, and had voted against the treaty of Utrecht; his principles being zealously and unalterably Whig. He was said to have had parts and humour.* * * * * * *

Lord North had married his next relation†—had courted him, and stood fair to be his heir;‡ till, having voted for the tax on cider, Sir William, who had long lived retired upon his estate, had not only quarrelled with his cousin North, but had encouraged the mob to burn him in effigy. He then became enamoured of Mr. Pitt; is said to

he had no nearer descendants. He died unmarried in 1794, having survived his brother, Sir Thomas Robinson, whose baronetcy eventually devolved upon him. —E.

* "The original contains an imputation against Sir W. Pynsent, which, if true, would induce us to suspect him of a disordered mind."—Mr. Croker's note in vol. iv. of Walpole's Letters, p. 484, to a letter to Lord Hertford, giving more particulars of this bequest.

† Frederick Lord North, son of the Earl of Guildford, married Miss Speke, an heiress.

‡ This is very improbable, for Lord North was notoriously indifferent to money, and careless of his personal interests.—E.

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have cast some inconstant glances towards Wilkes, and, immediately before his death, had indubitably given orders to his lawyer, to draw a new will entirely in favour of General Conway; but it was not prepared in time. Mr. Pitt, therefore, found himself in possession of real and personal estates worth above forty thousand pounds, without the regret of losing a friend; without the imputation of having flattered his benefactor, for he had never seen him; without injuring a family, for Sir William had no very near relation,* and not one that expected his fortune; and with the satisfaction of owing such a public mark of esteem to his own virtue or merits.

On the 18th a meeting of the Opposition was held at Sir George Saville's, to consult whether they should bring on, or defer for some time longer, a renewal of the question on General Warrants. The doubt was raised by the ill health of Mr. Pitt. James Grenville and a nephew of Lord Chief Justice Pratt, who attended the meeting, would not say that Mr. Pitt desired the motion should be deferred. The company squabbled till two in the morning, and then agreed to adjourn the measure. Sir William Meredith wrote to acquaint George Grenville with this procrastination—a ridiculous piece of candour, and received properly by Grenville, who made no answer. These assemblies I seldom or never attended; they were childish imitations of Parliaments, rarely produced any good, and only taught a party to quarrel and split into *less* factions. Many who cannot utter in the House of Commons can prattle in a private room. Business can never be reduced to too few heads. There should, in party as well as in Government, be one man who should consult others separately, and act as he finds best from the result of that advice, and of his own judgment; but he should let the rest know as little as possible that they are almost all probably of different opinions.

On the 21st, Dowdswell proposed to reduce the sixteen thousand seamen to eleven thousand, but without effect. On the contrary, Charles Townshend spoke for the larger number in warm terms, and declared he had always approved the peace. This desertion did not surprise me: nor was it owing solely to his fickleness. He was now influenced by Lord George Sackville, who, dissatisfied with Lord Bute for not supporting him, had joined the Opposition: Oppositions are always great white-washers. But the declining state of the Opposition, by deaths and other causes which I have mentioned, had alarmed Lord George, and he began to look towards Grenville, who would want all manner of strength to support himself against the favourite.

On Jan. 23rd, the day of voting the army for the year, there happened a very spirited debate.† Beckford began it, by declaring that

* Yet a clergyman of the name of Pynsent went to law afterwards with Mr. Pitt for the inheritance, but lost his cause.

† An interesting account of this debate is given by Walpole, in a letter to Lord Hertford, of the 27th January, vol. iv. p. 488, of his Correspondence.—E.

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if any man would second him, he would oppose so large a number as 16,000 men, because we were in no danger of being attacked by surprise; and because he apprehended there was an intention of modelling the army, which he concluded from the dismission of General Conway. He mentioned, too, an expression dropped by Charles Townshend, which he said made his ears tingle; it was that *the Colonies were not to be emancipated.* The Colonies, said Beckford, are more free than Ireland, for America had not been conquered: on the contrary, it was inhabited by the conquerors. Townshend ridiculed Beckford's alarm, affirming he had only meant that the Colonies were not to be emancipated from their dependence on the supremacy of this country. Beckford told him he had expressed a single idea by a multitude of circumlocutions, and was troubled with a *diarrhœa of words*—an expression with which Townshend was much hurt.

Nicholson Calvert and George Onslow opened on the dismission of Conway in very strong terms. The former said, Grenville* had avowed it was for parliamentary conduct when he owned he had thought himself turned out for a similar cause. Onslow called the Ministers profligate and abandoned; and Lord Strange, attempting to defend them, was so roughly handled on his own tergiversations by Onslow, Sir George Saville, and Thomas Townshend, that he who was wont to be all spirit, quickness, and fire, was quite abashed, and showed at least the sensibility of virtue. Thomas Townshend went farther, mentioned a list of sixteen officers, carried into the closet for dismission by Lord Sandwich: and seeing the latter sitting under the gallery, he turned towards him, and said he would tell that Minister to his face in any private company, that he was a profligate Minister. Onslow added, that they had been so cowardly as to wait for the end of the session, and skulk behind the recess.

Rigby said the Opponents had quoted all the reigns to the last, but had stopped short there, and had not mentioned Sir Robert Walpole, who had said it must be a pitiful Minister that would not dare to turn out a man that voted against him. For himself, he said he did not believe the question of Mr. Conway's dismission would be brought on; which Lord John Cavendish assured him it would be.

Lord Harry Poulet† told Grenville that he would be ashamed to show his face, if he could be ashamed of any thing, if his uncle Lord Cobham‡ could rise from the dead—Grenville stopped him, and said

* Mr. Calvert's speech is reported in the xvith vol. of Parliamentary Debates, p. 44, and is the only portion of the debate that has been preserved. It is erroneously stated to have been made on a motion respecting the dismissal of these officers. See also the note giving an extract from the History of the Minority, p. 291.—E.

† Second son of Harry, and brother of Charles, Duke of Bolton, the latter of whom he afterwards succeeded in the title. He was in the sea-service, [and is said to be the "Captain Whiffle" of Smollet's "Roderick Random." He attained the rank of Admiral of the White, and died in 1794. He was twice married, but left no male issue, and the dukedom expired with him.—E.]

‡ He had had his regiment taken from him by Sir Robert Walpole.

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if his lordship had a mind to use such language, he knew where to find him.—Others interposing to reconcile them, Grenville acknowledged he had thrown out a challenge; but at last explained it away, and the matter ended. Ellis indiscreetly affirmed that the army was necessary to support the civil magistrates. Beckford replied, that at the late riot on burning the North Briton, the magistrates of the city had secured one of the rioters without military force.

Grenville entered into a long discussion of the Crown's prerogative of dismission; and confounded civil and military officers, without making the necessary distinction, that the latter lose a profession. He himself, he said, had not inquired formerly why he was turned out. Should he be turned out *to-morrow*, he would not inquire, *though if he did his duty and was approved by his country, he should think it extraordinary.* This sentence, seemingly incoherent with, nay, contradictory to, the rest of his speech, was, no doubt, levelled at Lord Bute, and dictated by the uneasiness of Grenville's situation, then not generally known. He proceeded to say on the dismissed officers that some might think one meritorious, some another; others might see cause of blame. This invidious hint called up General Conway, who with exceeding warmth and spirit made one of his most admired speeches. He had asked, he said, for a court-martial, that if any thing had been thought defective in his conduct he might be questioned on it. The refusal had proved that his dismission had flowed from no military offence. Even in the days of Charles II. the Lords Clarendon and Southampton had, though requested by the King to forbear, spoken against his measures, and yet had not been dismissed.* The situation of officers was grievous; called on by conscience and by honour, they were chastised if not obedient. Another profession was more fortunate; Bishops were made for life; and, indeed, were piously obsequious; they might be preferred for their behaviour in Parliament, but could not be dismissed for it. He himself had received intimations to take care what he did—Grenville started!—yet he should not say from what quarter; he would not reveal what was not proper; but he had been bid to take care what he did. He had despised those menaces, had done his duty, and had been punished. He knew the threats had not come from the King, who had restored Sir Henry Erskine. He had made, he said, a declaration that he was attached to no party, yet *that* allegiance, it seemed, had not been thought sufficient. He concluded with strongly exhorting his brother officers not to be made slaves—he might as well have called on the Bishops.

This debate was doubly mortifying to the Ministers, who were at once so rudely tasked by the Opposition, and unsupported by every man of the Favourite's faction—a tacit method of disavowing them;

* As on the Bill "for Liberty of Conscience."—Clarendon's Life, continuation, p. 248. The noble historian, however, observes, that from that time he never had the same credit with His Majesty he had before.—E.

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and an encouragement to those who might be tempted to oppose them.

On the 26th Mr. Chaworth, a private gentleman of fair character, was killed at a tavern by Lord Byron in a duel, to which the latter had been driven by the undisguised contempt with which the former had treated his want of honour and spirit, at a club where they had just dined together. Lord Byron was formally tried by his Peers,* and escaped punishment, in consideration of the provocation he had received.

On the 29th the question of General Warrants was again renewed in the House of Commons by Sir William Meredith,† more agreeably, indeed, to principle than to prudence. I had endeavoured to divert the attempt, and had the concurrence of the Lord Chief Justice Pratt's opinion, we both apprehending, from the great diminution of our party since the preceding winter, that, as we should make a much more inconsiderable figure on a division in Parliament than we had done before on the same question, the merits of the cause would suffer more from that defeat than we should gain by reviving the memory of it. Though the event in the House proved what we had foreseen, we found, however, strength enough to support a battle till between four or five in the morning. Sir W. Meredith, with great force and severity, exposed the conduct of Lord Halifax, who shamefully to that hour (and indeed for some years afterwards) defeated all prosecutions against him at Wilkes's suit, by standing on the privilege of his peerage. If they, said Sir William, who issued the warrants, had put themselves on the justice of their country, it would have alleviated their guilt; but *while the privilege of the House of Commons was given up, the privilege of the other House had interfered to stop justice.* He then moved that *General Warrants were not consonant to law or to the liberty of the subject;* and in a second question, *if against a Member.* Lord Strafford himself, he said, had issued but one, had pleaded that it was according to practice, and yet had recalled it. Charles II. had applied to Parliament for leave to do it by the Licensing Act. Application had been made in King William's reign to renew that Act, but it was refused. Some said the illegality was decided by the law; others that it was not. Some would say that the House of Commons was not to declare what was law. Who would bring it to an issue? Dryden Leach, and other printers, were ruined, and could not carry on the suit; Wilkes expelled, outlawed, banished, had no longer any interest in the question: the Secretaries of State did not desire to bring it to any issue; the House of Commons alone could do it. Sir Edward Coke declared that, when courts of law would not decide on a clear question, the House of Commons ought. Sir Alexander Gilmour added,

* The trial is reported in vol. xix. of the State Trials, p. 1178: of 123 peers present, 119 voted him guilty of manslaughter; the remaining four voted him not guilty generally.—E.

† An abstract of the arguments in this debate is given in the Parliamentary History, vol. xvi. p. 8.—E.

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that not one lawyer, last year, had defended the legality of General Warrants, but had given assurances that they would be decided in the Courts below; and yet that decision had been postponed till Wilkes had been outlawed.

Dr. Hay replied with much and able subtlety; owned that when he was for putting off the question last year he had meant to reject it; his party had said that it was not proper for that House to declare on law; he himself had said those warrants were illegal, unless great urgency in their favour.* He agreed that, by the common law of the land, those warrants were illegal: nay, he thought the question ought to be settled by Parliament, not by a resolution of one House only. Sir William had omitted the words *seditious* and *treasonable*, though adopted last year. The House might do what it pleased, but ought it to do so? Why not make the case general to all cases? Then this resolution, he heard, was to be followed by another on breach of privilege; but was every injury to a member a breach of privilege? Was the House to be a universal judicatory for offences? But the House had already declared that it has no privilege in the case of seditious and treasonable libels—a question of law is safe in courts of law; but Houses of Commons, not being permanent, may vary their resolutions. One House—both Houses cannot declare laws, though they, with the King, may enact laws. The question had either been adjudged, or was pending: both were true. The Court of Common Pleas had decided and given damages; then he named the Chief Justice Pratt, taking notice of the strong expression of *an iron rod* used by that magistrate on the occasion. All juries say General Warrants are illegal; but at present the question had been hung up by the bill of exceptions, which bills are in the nature of appeals—an argument why the House should not, at that time, make a declaration. If there had been delay, why was not the offender called on? He had heard that the delay arose from the prosecutors. If any thing was done wrong in the Courts below, the House alone could redress it. He then, as a correction to the proposed question, moved the following strange and scarce intelligible sentence (to load the motion ridiculously, and with intention to reject afterwards the question so amended,) "That in the particular case of libels, it is proper and necessary to fix, by a vote of this House only, what ought to be deemed the law in respect of General Warrants; and for that purpose, at the time when the determination of the legality of such warrants, in the instance of a most seditious and treasonable libel, is actually depending before the courts of law; for this House do declare that a General Warrant for apprehending the authors, printers, or publishers, of a libel, together with their papers, is not warranted by law, and is a high violation of the liberty of the subject."

It was quite requisite for me to state the words of this proposition, and account for them; for standing as they do on the printed votes without a comment, what could posterity or persons ignorant of par-

* So in the original MS.

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liamentary craft and proceedings, think of them? Would they believe such a proposition was seriously debated?—yet, as the votes never joke, could they avoid believing so? The fact, as I have said, was, that the Ministry, to load Sir William Meredith's question with absurdity, made use of their power, as the majority, thus to amend the question, and forced the opponents to debate it thus hampered, or withdraw it; and even the latter could not be done without leave of the House, that is, of the majority, who probably would not have granted that permission, that they might give a negative to the question thus loaded, instead of rejecting Sir W. Meredith's plain question, which it would have been more unpopular to do. By the strict rules of the House they could even have obliged the debate to be pursued on the question, only as amended; but, content with the certainty of rejecting it in their own way, they suffered the Opposition to argue on the simple state of the case, and the debate accordingly proceeded so. Lord Middleton asked if the Petition of Rights had not come in by declaration? and, with regard to the charge of delay, he said the plaintiffs could not afford to go on with the Bill of Exceptions, and then were accused of protracting; and, to justify the renewal of the question, he observed, that Lord Coke says, "Many a good proposition had succeeded at last by being pursued year after year." Sir W. Meredith said, he had omitted the word *seditious*, that the question might carry no reference to Wilkes, being calculated for the general and indefinite good of all. No epithets ought to be mixed with prosecutions, nor should a man be liable to be prosecuted as a traitor for having written a libel. No privilege held against treason; but the House ought not to be deprived of its members on a false charge of treason. Conway asked if Hay had been serious in his motion? did he mean his amendment should go out into the world on so important a question? It would be a mockery of Parliament. Grenville called him to order; but Conway persisted, and said it would be a shameful proceeding. Wedderburn and the Solicitor-General again interrupted him; but he was supported by Sir George Saville and Onslow; and the Speaker declared there was nothing disorderly in Conway's words. Dowdswell said, Dr. Hay had argued on the whole question, therefore he would; but Lord Frederick Campbell endeavouring to fix the debate on the question as amended, Charles Townshend tried to compose the heat that had arisen by recurring to the subject, and said he hoped no lawyer would assert that juries were not judges of law as well as of fact. De Grey, Solicitor-General, said, the juries had given the prosecutors exemplary and vindictive damages, and had been animated by faction. The defendants had pressed the prosecutors not to delay. Charles Yorke spoke for three quarters of an hour on the side of the Opposition; said he would retract if he had altered his opinion; but found reasons against the warrants growing all over the kingdom. The warrant had been so *emphatically illegal*, that it never could be debated in a court of law. It was expedient for Parliament and for the honour of the Crown, that Parliament should take the lead in ques-

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tions of law. The House of Commons had often carried up resolutions to the other House. This question was connected with the privileges of the House. Precedents made in good times were felt in bad. The words of the warrant had been copied from an old blundering warrant of office, and could never be taken up again. The Crown should extinguish any jealousy of such a proceeding in future, by not making difficulties on plain questions. Beckford said, this country was obliged to Wilkes for the stand he had made. It had been the more necessary when a Whig Ministry acted on Tory principles, and he quoted the instance of Minutius, who pleaded that he had written nothing against the Emperor and *his mother*.

Dyson said, if the House of Commons had a right of declaring law, it had no occasion to make laws: they might declare to be law whatever they wished should be so. Lord George Sackville asked if the seizure of papers would come in question in the Courts below? and said, that had they had a mind to impeach the Secretaries of State, they must previously have come to this declaration.

Norton entered into the defence of Lord Halifax, whose delays, he said, had not impeded the decision of the great cause. Lord Halifax had been guilty of a slip; and therefore, against such a prosecutor as Wilkes, was justifiable. Lord Halifax had availed himself of his privilege, till Wilkes was outlawed, (and so he did for years after;) the journeymen printers had applied to be bought off. Dryden Leach's attorney had come to him (Norton) and said he had heard it was wished to compromise Leach's cause; but he (Norton) had refused, but had offered to bring it to an issue in a week; since then had never heard of him. Till that very day they had not been able to get the bill of exceptions sealed. Charles Yorke had said that question had never been argued; but he (Yorke) had argued it himself. (This Yorke denied.) It would be a quære whether Lord Halifax, as Secretary of State, was a Justice of Peace. Had not the most respectable characters, living and dead, been abused? That sort of libel deserved no quarter.

Colonel Barrè said the Inquisition itself did not seize papers for evidence. Opposition keeps Ministers in order, though many oppose from faction. About twenty officers had opposed the Court last year on the question of General Warrants! It was now said, all but one had repented—if they had, were such officers fit to be employed? He commended Lord Nuneham* and Lord Charles Spencer, who had resisted the connexions and importunities of their

* George Simon Viscount Nuneham, eldest son of the Earl of Harcourt, was a sincere republican, and retired from Parliament because he could not continue to vote according to his principles, without offending his father. [He became *wiser* afterwards, and accepted the post of Master of the Horse to the Queen, and his wife that of Lady of the Bed-chamber. Wraxall describes him as a nobleman of high breeding, well informed, and of a most correct deportment, though of manners somewhat constrained and formal. He died without issue in 1809, aged 63, and was succeeded by his brother, the late Field-Marshal Lord Harcourt, on whose death the title became extinct.—E.]

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families: and then said ironically, "When the two present honest Secretaries of State* die, the Court may choose one of the most profligate abandoned dogs in the kingdom to replace him."—This was levelled at Lord Sandwich, who was sitting under the gallery. Barrè then advised the Ministers to adopt the question without amending it—why would they do things too well? Such a man as Sandwich would write a panegyric on Nero. If this question was suffered to pass, it would make the King beloved and the Ministers less hated. General Howard,† in answer to the attack above, said, he remained of the same opinion as last year, and had never paid court nor asked pardon.

Lord North defended his uncle Halifax, on whom he thought Barrè had bestowed the epithet of *little-minded*. Barrè said he had applied it to the Administration in general. He was glad to see Mr. Grenville with all his friends about him. It had been said in a foregoing debate that he had carried the whole Administration home in his chariot. He liked Lord North's panegyric on one of the Secretaries—if any body had a mind to make a panegyric on the other, he was welcome.

Conway again declared his surprise that they would load such a question with so many words. Why not pass it simply, or put a negative? Was there ever an instance of such a preface with new matter? On the Star-Chamber and other grievances each resolution stood single. Lord Halifax might be in the right, but had caused delay. All that we have valuable stands on resolutions.

Grenville then spoke his usual hour; and immediately after him Sir George Saville rose to take notice of most obnoxious words that had fallen from Dr. Hay in the beginning of the debate. I hear, said Saville, that *the Law of Government is superior to the Law of the Land:* such words are impeachable. Dr. Hay replied that *the Law of Government* meant *the Law of necessity*. This produced great warmth and calling to order, till at last Sir George Saville said he was glad the gentleman did not avow those words. Hay taxing Conway with want of temper, the latter replied, he believed those who had meant to hurt him, had hurt themselves more. Onslow offered to produce pamphlet for pamphlet written by the Administration: and then Hussey very ably and for fifty minutes discoursed against the arbitrary tenets set up by the Court and its lawyers; yet still with the candour and decency peculiar to him. The circumstances inserted in the amendment, he said, were not true. He doubted if ever the question could be determined in Westminster Hall. This was the first time that ever a *probable* cause was pleaded in behalf of General Warrants. *New doctrines sprung up every day in Westminster Hall.* A number of points must be determined before that cause could be decided; as whether a Secretary of State is a Justice of Peace; whether his messenger is a constable; whether

* Lord Sandwich and Lord Halifax.

† He was a favourite of the King, who made him Commander-in-chief in Lord Shelburne's Administration, and he was afterwards a Field-Marshal.—E.

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the reason assigned for the commitment was a probable cause, &c. Great difficulties, too, there were in contending with the Crown, and against its influence and its money, &c. He did not believe that the Warrants would come before the Courts below. The predecessors of these Ministers had always compounded such prosecutions. The Justices in Ireland having imposed illegal oaths, the House had declared them illegal, but went no farther; excusing the Justices on the circumstances of the times: it was in King William's reign. Lord Palmerston,* a young man of sense, and who spoke then for the first time, declared himself convinced by Hussey's arguments. Rigby pronounced Lord Halifax's intrenching himself within privilege, justifiable; for who knew what damages might be given against him?—and so far was true; juries could impose fines to the vastest amount; and as such fine became the property of the prosecutor, the Crown itself could not remit it. But what latent defects, therefore, were discovered by agitating these questions? A Secretary of State could commit a grievous injustice, and yet could avoid punishment, if sheltered by the privilege of his peerage. On the other hand, for a slight imprisonment, a jury, naturally partial to their equals, especially when oppressed, and as naturally averse to their superiors, can give damages to the amount of the defendant's whole estate, without his being able to obtain redress from any quarter.

At half an hour after four in the morning the Question, as amended, was rejected by 224 against 185, the Opposition being forced to divide *for* the question that had been imposed on them, or they could have obtained a division on none at all.

A remarkable circumstance in the foregoing debate, but which would have interrupted the thread of the narration, was that Norton told the younger Onslow that he should be diverted, for he would treat Yorke worse than ever he had been treated—and he kept his word, being willing to lower Yorke, who might be his competitor for the Seals. Yorke, bore this insult with too little spirit, and thence and by his fluctuating behaviour, and by discovering far less parts than he was supposed to possess, daily sunk in the estimation of the House.

* Henry, second Viscount Palmerston, the grandson of the first Viscount. He was a very accomplished nobleman. At this time he was only 26 years old.—E.

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CHAPTER XXXI.

Distinction between late Motions on General Warrants shown in the Votes.—Dismissal of officers.—Proceedings against Almon deferred.—Mr. Grenville's Resolutions.—Dr. Browne's Pamphlet.

THE next day Sir William Meredith, uneasy that Dr. Hay's ridiculous preface should, by being united to this question, pass for his, proposed his difficulty to the House, the speaker having been so impartial as to delay the impression of the votes. Grenville confessed it was hard, and yielded that a distinction should be made. Conway caught artfully at this concession, acknowledged Grenville's candour, owned he had been too warm himself, but desired Ministers to observe what difficulties were brought on gentlemen by such unparliamentary arts. Grenville repented his concession, and Dyson, the Jesuit of the House, endeavoured to explain it away; but Conway pinned them down to what had been yielded, and the votes were so cooked as to ascribe the amendment to the House, and distinguish it from Meredith's original motion.

Not content with this atonement the elder Onslow, two days afterwards, on a motion for paving the streets, parodied Dr. Hay's question, but desired it might not be printed in the votes, as none of his constituents would understand it.

We of the Opposition had another business on the anvil, as knotty and full of difficulties as the question on General Warrants, and on which it was as arduous to decide whether we should bring it into Parliament or not. This was the complaint on the dismission of officers for their parliamentary conduct. Lord John Cavendish had pledged himself to move it; and it would not only revive the odium against the Ministers on a topic of such popular sound, but the cruelty exercised on General A'Court, deprived of his bread for a silent vote, and the rigour shown to Conway, though so decent and conscientious, had been particularly crying. Still there were both solid and private objections. The all-puissance of the Court, was sure of putting a negative on the question; and thence officers would become still more dependent when the Crown should be thus authorized to cashier them at pleasure, by the approbation of Parliament. Charles Yorke and Charles Townshend were afraid of a debate that would reduce them to quit their allies before they had made their peace, to oppose the Crown on so favourite a branch of prerogative as that of holding a scourge over its dependents. The Duke of Richmond, though he

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had promised, if the question should be stirred, to take part for Conway, could not wish for the occasion of differing with an Administration with whom, on every other point, he was united; and the officers in general, though they would have rejoiced to be emancipated from their dependence, were as little desirous of seeing a topic agitated, which would have obliged them to approve the practice, or exposed them to the resentment of the Crown, with the certainty, at the same time, that a censure of the practice could not be obtained by so weak an Opposition. Nor, hurt as I was at the treatment of my friend, could I myself wish to have the matter discussed in Parliament, where, by voting against the measure of dismissing officers for their conduct in the House, I must in fact have condemned my father, who had used the same severity, though on far higher provocation, and against determined opponents. Even Conway himself, aware that he should be deserted by his brethren, the officers, was by no means eager for bringing on the question. In this dilemma, Lord Temple advised Lord John to go to Hayes, and learn of Mr. Pitt whether, if they should defer the motion, he should be for it, when he should be able to come forth. This very advice indicated that Lord Temple at that time knew not Mr. Pitt's mind, and wished to learn it for his own private reasons. Mr. Pitt's answer then, and his change on the same occasion afterwards, marked that at that hour he had received no overtures from the Court, and that afterwards he probably had, as will be seen. Lord John went to Hayes, and found Mr. Pitt in bed with the gout. Pitt said he knew not when he should be able to come to the House: if he could, he should be warmly with the Opposition; yet he feared too many negatives on that question would authorize the Court to dismiss officers. He condemned the practice strongly; and said whatever party or division of party might prevail hereafter, he hoped, though he grew an infirm old man, and that all was over with him, that they would do justice, not only to the persons dismissed, but to the principle. He was sorry the question of the Warrants had been stirred this year: had Opposition waited till a decision against them had been pronounced in Westminster Hall, not an argument in their behalf would have remained.—When Lord John returned with this answer, I begged him to wait, and to give out that it was in compliment to Mr. Pitt, which would do credit to our cause—and by delaying, I hoped to avoid the question.

Almon,* an active and officious printer for the Opposition, at-

* Almon was a bookseller and political writer, as well as a printer, in all which capacities he received frequent employment from the extreme section of the liberal party. He was a bustling, self-important personage, whose zeal and fidelity brought him into a certain degree of intimacy with several of the leading men of his day, and he was thus enabled to collect the information which occasionally presents itself in his works. His life of Lord Chatham, though not to be generally depended upon as an authentic narration, contains some curious anecdotes illustrative of the political disputes of that period, and is in every respect superior to his life and letters of Wilkes—an insipid, tedious, and disgusting book, particu-

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tached to Lord Temple and Wilkes, having been prosecuted for publishing the excellent letter on libels, appeared on February 6th, in the King's Bench, to show cause why an attachment against him should not be issued. As Lord Mansfield would not openly appear in this cause, (he himself being severely treated in that pamphlet,) as Judge Denison* had resigned, and the new judge had not taken his seat, Wilmot,† the remaining judge in that court, said, "It would be too much for him to take upon himself." The Attorney-General moved to have Almon bound over to the next term. His counsel desired he might be heard, or dismissed; but he was bound over. This suit was afterwards dropped, when Mr. Grenville found it convenient to have libels written *against* the Administration.

The same day Onslow moved for a call of the House for that day fortnight, that the House might be full on the great questions of Dismission of Officers, of Canada Bills, the Money due on the Manilla Ransom, the Cider Tax, &c.; and it was agreed to.

Grenville then proposed his thirty-five resolutions‡ towards a bill for laying duties on America, by *his memorable Stamp Act.* This famous bill, little understood here at that time, was less attended to. It removed the burden of a tax to distant shoulders; and the most momentous acts are seldom much discussed, when no immediate interest occurs to oppose them. The colonies, in truth, were highly alarmed, and had sent over representations so strong against being taxed here, that it was not thought decent or safe to present their memorial to Parliament. The chief colonies had long been increasing in power and opulence; and wise men had not been wanting to foresee how difficult it would become for so small an empire as Britain to contain them within the necessary limits of dependence. Nor would that subjection probably be maintained, but by garrisons

larly discreditable to its author, as he was in possession of materials that might have yielded both interest and instruction. Almon, in his latter days, was unfortunate in business, and died very poor at an advanced age in 1805.—E.

* Sir Thomas Denison died in the autumn of this year. His memory was honoured by an epitaph from the pen of his friend Lord Mansfield, very long and very dull. It is said of him "that besides being conversant with the different branches of the profession, he was in an eminent degree master of the learning of a special pleader." Memoirs of Lord Chief Justice Wilmot, p. 13.—E.

† This enlightened judge and most amiable man was the second son of Robert Wilmot, of Osmaston, Derbyshire, and brother of Sir Robert Wilmot, for some years the Chief Secretary in Ireland. He subsequently became Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, but with great reluctance, for he says in one of his letters, "The acting junior in the commission, is a spectre I started at; but the sustaining the office alone, I must refuse at all events. I will not give up the peace of my mind to any earthly consideration whatever. Bread and water are nectar and ambrosia, compared with the supremacy of a court of justice." He retired from the Bench in 1771, and died in 1792, aged 82, leaving one of the most spotless characters to be found on the roll of British judges. A selection of his judgments and opinions was published by his son. They are remarkable for elegance and perspicuity, and their learning and acuteness cause them to be still highly prized. The memoir of him already cited, is a pleasing tribute to the memory of a good father by a good son.—E.

‡ The resolutions were not 35 in number, but 55.—E.

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and regular forces; the charge of which, if borne by the colonies themselves, would leave to England but a precarious power over them; or would be too weighty an expense on the mother-country; and would even place a greater military force in the hands of the Crown than would be consistent with the freedom of this constitution; for of necessity the troops stationed in America must be often changed, and brought back to Britain; or might grow too intimately connected with the colonists; or might lose sight of all obedience but to their own officers. Long had the colonies been neglected, or overlooked. Sir Robert Walpole, whose maxim was, *Quieta non movere*, had been content with seeing no troubles arise in America. He had left that province to its proper minister, the Duke of Newcastle, Secretary of State, who had a closet full of despatches from that quarter unopened for a large number of years.* The Board of Trade, whose department it was, had sunk into a perfect sinecure for Members of Parliament; insomuch that Martin Bladen,† one of the commissioners, applying himself to the duties of his office, it was said with humour, that Bladen was *Trade*, and the other commissioners the *Board*. Two events concurred to rouse both the Americans and the English Government from this lethargy. The first was the conquest of Canada, which, delivering the colonies from apprehensions of the French, had thus early taught them to feel their own weight and importance. The second was the power of the Crown being in the hands of Grenville. It had been proposed to Sir Robert Walpole, to raise the revenue by imposing taxes on America, but that Minister, who could foresee beyond the benefit of the actual moment, declared it must be a bolder man than himself who should venture on such an expedient. That man was found in Grenville, who, great in daring, and little in views, was charmed to have an untrodden field before him, of calculation and experiment. The opposition of the Americans touched a third string predominant in his nature,—an obstinacy of supporting his will and his power. In the light of easing and improving an over-burdened country and revenue, he was not blameable in wishing it could be accomplished. Nor, considering how great a debt had been incurred by supporting the colonies in the last war, was it unreasonable to desire that they should assist their mother in contributing to lighten a burden become

* The late Lord Essex informed the Editor that one of the Under Secretaries of that day had often said to him, "Mr. Grenville lost America because he read the American despatches, which none of his predecessors ever did." There is no doubt that the business of the colonies was despatched in a very slovenly manner —or to use Mr. Burke's words, it was treated "with a salutary neglect;" and the many volumes of Minutes of Colonial Affairs still preserved at the Board of Trade, relate generally to such insignificant transactions as to be almost ludicrous.

† Colonel Martin Bladen, M.P. He had in earlier life shown his industry by a translation of Cæsar, which he dedicated to the Duke of Marlborough, under whom he served in the German wars. He was made Sub controller of the Mint in 1714, and one of the Board of Trade in 1717, and might have risen higher if he had chosen. He died at an advanced age in 1746. See more of him in Warton's notes to the Dunciad.—E.

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almost too grievous to be supported. But to this single object were all Grenville's views and knowledge confined. His policy by no means embraced impediments or consequences. To say that his plan would be confined to the present assistance as then chalked out, was what neither himself pretended, nor was it by any means adequate to the mischiefs the attempt might produce. He himself termed it but an experiment towards farther aid; and as such the Americans immediately understood it. Little did he weigh the danger of a contest between the mother-country and such distant, extensive, and now powerful subjects. Less did he attend to the opportunity he threw into the hands of Spain and France, of exciting a mutinous spirit in our colonies, and when occasion should serve, of throwing assistance into them against their parent. Least of all did he foresee the damage he would inflict on trade, and how far the expected aid would be from compensating the loss the British merchant would suffer by a quarrel with our out-lying brethren; but it was the fate of the times I am now describing,—I mean during the administrations of Lord Bute and Grenville,—to stir questions which, for the happiness of the whole, had better have slept in oblivion. The Americans soon learned to enter upon and discuss those problems of government, the benefits of which happy nations had better enjoy than agitate; which, from the perversity of man, are never universally assented to, and consequently cannot be moved without mischief; and which wisdom will never recall from speculation into dispute, but when the afflictive hand of power makes opposition to them the only remedy left against tyranny and arbitrary will.

From this moment nothing was heard from America but questions on the right of taxation, and whether the colonists had not carried with them all the birth-rights of English freemen: whether their assemblies were not parliaments, and whether any man could be taxed who was not represented. Parallels were drawn between the Americans, Scotland, and Ireland; and while all obedience was acknowledged* to the Crown, the jurisdiction of the British Parliament came to be undervalued, and set at nought. Every assumption of liberty that had been pleaded here against our kings, was now set up against the jurisdiction of England. The overflow of political writings in these islands, had long been transmitted for vent to America, and were now the basis of a new paper war. Nor were there wanting in the chief provinces men of subtle and liberal minds, who knew

* I say *acknowledged*, because they thought it prudent in their quarrel with the Parliament, to shelter themselves under the banner of the Crown, and because they founded themselves on their charters, which were grants from the Crown. At the same time there were some men amongst them of a more democratic spirit. It was much talked of at this era, that a wealthy merchant in one of the provinces had said, "They say King George is a very honest fellow; I should like to smoke a pipe with him," so little conception had they in that part of the world, of the majesty of a European monarch? The Crown could not take advantage of the Americans throwing themselves into the arms of prerogative, because the Americans did it to shun paying taxes, which the Parliament was inclined to grant.

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how to set their pretensions in the fairest light. Still less was there a dearth of aspiring demagogues, who felt how much consideration must attend real or affected patriotism. On both sides of the ocean, there happily were found some men of that moderate frame of mind, who, though commonly the last to attain credit in the loud cry of faction, were successful in tempering the evil, though censured at home, and but ill rewarded with the attention they merited from America.

I have thus touched upon the outlines of this ill-omened dispute. More must be said on it hereafter; yet shall I sparingly treat a subject on which so many volumes have been written, and which at the moment I write,* seems calmed—I fear, not composed. New pretensions erected, and the honour of old claims to be asserted, seldom moulder away *pulveris exigui jactu*. These disputes, like all others on government, date from the foresight always wanting in new institutions. Men talk of patriarchal systems, and original compacts. Necessity and accident formed all systems, and men were governed long before they reasoned. Where ambition was in the governed, and wisdom and humanity in the governors, the system proved gentle and moderate. Where the contrary happened, power was earlier felt. When once formed, succeeding men were ambitious to usurp government, and to correct it. When it grew intolerable, it was patriotism to force it back to its principles. At last, patriotism itself was found to be the shortest, as it was the most plausible step to power: and the patriot becoming the attorney for his countrymen, proved the only winner by the gain of the cause. When the New World was discovered, it was parcelled out as the property of the princes whose subjects made discoveries. The expense of settling it after driving out or butchering the natives, would have been enormous: the hazard from such long voyages and new climates, most unpromising. To tempt their old subjects to make the experiment, it was necessary for the European sovereigns to offer both great and specious encouragement. From Britain, especially, where the monarch was not absolute, he could not despatch large involuntary embarkations. Grants of vast tracts of land were a shining bait: and, as the fashion gained ground, lasting privileges were superadded. Charters, clothed with the most flattering conditions, were liberally bestowed; and as the Crown was the sole dispenser of those graces, the King's Ministers were little likely to insert any other dependence as terms on which the boon was granted. Assemblies were instituted, rather in imitation of Parliaments, than as subservient to that of the maternal empire. Little in those faint outsets of new government was it natural to foresee that one day or other it might come to be wished that the line had been drawn with more precision. Thus (as I have said, it has happened to governments in general,) conclusions have been drawn from premises which never existed. The Americans founded themselves on charters greedily asked and carelessly granted; and though I would be far from weakening written,

* In January, 1769.

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or any established principles, it is easy to see that, whatever the letter of such charters may be, or the spirit on which they were bestowed, the Legislatare could not intend they should exempt the colonies from the jurisdiction of Parliament. I have indeed no doubt, but Elizabeth, James, and Charles, would not have been averse to establish their own authority over new provinces, independently of Parliament: but the question on either hand was certainly never in contemplation. Both policy and humanity in this great contest between Britain and her colonies, should rather use their efforts to reconcile their interests, than to pronounce between them. Parliament ought to have no ampler jurisdiction over the colonies, than it has over the inhabitants of Britain; nor would that be sufficient guarantee for the liberties of America, if Parliaments, vindicating their authority by force, should be inclined to feel partiality against those that had resisted its domination. Equal claim to indulgence and lenity of treatment with other British subjects should be ascertained to the colonies, if under the same jurisdiction. An unequal yoke, from whatever cause imposed, whether under a King or a Parliament, must be felt most by those most subjected to it. The colonists have affected to be willing to contribute to the aid of the whole, provided they may tax themselves,—a pretension liable to great difficulties: for, though to avoid dependence on British Parliaments, they may at present choose this flattering alternative, what security can there be that their assemblies, thus erected into Parliaments, will remain harmoniously ready at all times to share the burden? Some have demanded for the Americans a right of sending representatives to the English Parliament,—a question, even if acceptable to them (which it is thought it would not be,) perhaps still more replete with danger. We know tolerably well what a British Parliament can and cannot do: how far it can be corrupted, how mischievous that corruption may be, and how far the weight of the House of Commons can operate against the two other parts of the Legislature: but who can tell what change in the constitution might be effectuated by touching, by enlarging the actual existence of that assembly? Add a great number of members; it may grow cheap, or too preponderant in the scale. A large number of Americans may clog, and clash with, every British operation. A small number may be too potent, from the very extensive dependencies they must enjoy in that part of the world. A member of each province would become its viceroy: and when we see how prodigious is the influence of any popular orator here, though under the eye of the Sovereign, what would be his authority if a Pitt, or a Wilkes, were to return to America, clothed with the mantle of disgust and patriotism?

These, therefore, are questions to be skinned over, if possible, by moderate councils. On some disputes, to pronounce is to declare battle. While undecided, men will weary themselves and others with literary altercation. Determine the point, and the adversaries have recourse to the *means* of recovering the ground they have lost. It is the kindest way of ruling men to govern them as they will be

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governed, not as they ought to be governed. The peace and happiness and security of society is the intention of laws, and ought to be of law-givers: and to *reconcile* is perhaps a more amiable virtue in a patriot than to *reform*. It has not the same glaring appendages; but carries a more internal comfort to the man that exerts it, as it is purchased with fewer and lighter hardships to those in whose service it is employed.

When Grenville moved the resolutions, Colonel Barrè was the first, and almost the single man, to oppose them, treating severely Charles Townshend, who supported the motion.* Barré, Alderman Baker, and a few more, proposed to adjourn the consideration, but were defeated by a majority of 245 against 49, after a debate that lasted till nine o'clock. On the 15th, when the bill was brought in, Rose Fuller presented a petition from Jamaica, desiring to be heard against it by counsel. This Grenville, with heat and haughtiness, opposed, as it was a petition against a money-bill. Conway pleaded for receiving the petition, showing the distinction between this and taxes laid at home, where the persons to be taxed have representatives with whom they can entrust their interests, and who can object to any designed burdens that may be too oppressive. Charles Yorke made a long speech against receiving the petition; but it was in truth a set speech in favour of the bill, and occasionally applied to the petition. The House ill-relishing opposition to a tax which was not to fall on themselves, the petition was rejected, and the bill easily passed. About the same time a petition from the cider counties met with the same fate on a division of 150 to 82.

So triumphant was the Administration that the very creatures of Mr. Pitt were forward to chant their praises and stigmatize their opponents. Besides a sermon against libels, preached on the 30th of January by Dr. Lyttelton, Bishop of Carlisle, there was at this time a servile tract against Faction, published by Dr. Browne, who, a few years before, had written a thing, called *An Estimate*, which, notwithstanding its pert and silly positions, had met with unaccountable success. In that piece Mr. Pitt had been his hero. This Browne, the ape of Pope, and who had written some poems, not without merit, had afterwards produced two very indifferent tragedies;† and, lastly, an absurd treatise on Music, which he pretended to apply to the formation of a visionary Government. He ended his life deplorably by his own hand in a fit of illness and madness, having been invited to Russia to assist the Czarina in some of her ostenta-

* Colonel Barrè's eloquent invective is the only portion of the debate that has been preserved. It is directed chiefly against an observation of Mr. Grenville, that the Americans were "children planted by our care and nourished by our indulgence." It has been often reprinted. Parliamentary History, vol. xvi. p. 38. Mr. Adolphus, in a note to vol i. p. 171, throws doubts on the authenticity of the report, and there is nothing in Colonel Barrè's character to make it improbable that he may have been his own reporter, and not a very faithful one.—E.

† Barbarossa and Athelstan.

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tious projects on legislation, and being oppressed, either with imaginary glory, or despondence of supporting his reputation.*

These panegyrics, or vindications, answered no better to the Ministers than their severity. Williams, the reprinter of the North Briton, being sentenced to the pillory, he went thither in a coach marked 45, the number of the famous paper for which Wilkes suffered, and which became his hieroglyphic with the mob, who near the pillory erected a gallows, on which they hanged a boot with a Scotch bonnet. At the same time 200*l.* was collected for Williams.

* This tract of Dr. Browne's, entitled "Thoughts on Civil Liberty, Licentiousness, and Faction," hardly deserves notice, except from the success of the author's other works, of which it has all the faults and none of the merits. Its failure was complete. The author committed suicide in the following year, being then only in his 51st year. His fame rests entirely on his tragedies, which are still favourites with the public; but his treatises display an ingenuity and extent of information, and occasionally a power of expression, at least equally commendable; and it is to be regretted that those qualities were so wasted on ephemeral publications, and directed by a mind always verging on insanity. A long and very dull life of Dr. Browne is to be found in the Biographia Britannica.—E.

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CHAPTER XXXII.

Isle of Man Act.—King's Illness.—Motion respecting *Ex-officio* Informations.—Warburton.—Dismissal of Officers.—Newfoundland and Virginia Petitions.

Among Grenville's economic projects, one was to purchase from the Duke of Athol the sovereignty of the Isle of Man, which was the harbour and *entrepot* of the smugglers between Great Britain and Ireland, and who were secured by the jurisdiction of that Peer. As the Duke was unwilling to part with his property, Grenville, well-founded in his scheme, determined to force it from him by Act of Parliament, or to oblige him to compound under that terror. A bill was accordingly brought in for that purpose, and the Duke and Duchess* were heard by their council. Mr. Grey Cooper,† who pleaded their cause, made a most admired speech at the bar of the House, and the Scotch members and the Opposition supported the Duke's rights. At last the matter was adjusted by purchase of the title of the Duke and Duchess, for which the former received 70,000*l.*, and her Grace 2000*l.* a-year for life.

On the 20th the House was called over, as appointed; but, Mr. Pitt not appearing, the magnificent threats of motions which our party had thrown out, were again laid aside, and at last dropped, from various reasons as will be mentioned, but particularly by the great event to which the King suddenly falling ill gave birth.

Some time before his marriage the King's face was full of pimples. These had so entirely disappeared, that it was apprehended he had made use of external remedies to repel them. It is certain that from that time he frequently laboured with disorders on his breast, particularly during the Queen's first pregnancy. He was now again seized with a cough and fever, for which he was repeatedly blooded four times, and was apprehended to be in much danger.‡ So critical

* The Duchess had inherited the island from the Earls of Derby, from whom she was descended. [Her ancester John, the first Marquis of Athol, having married Lady Amelia Stanley, daughter of James, seventh Earl of Derby and his celebrated Countess. The Duchess was daughter and heiress of James, second Duke of Athol, and had married her cousin John, the third Duke, by whom she left a large family.—E.]

† Afterwards Sir Grey Cooper, Baronet, Secretary of the Treasury, and a Privy Counsellor. He was generally a dull speaker, but had considerable abilities, and was much esteemed in his department. He died in 1801. His speech is reported in the Parliamentary History, vol. xvi. p. 21.—E.

‡ Mr. Adolphus, in the new edition of his History, says "The malady with

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a situation made men take notice that, to secrete him from all intercourse with his Court, Lord Bute had placed the King at Buckingham House, a damp unwholesome spot, and rendered more perilous by the neighbourhood of two infectious hospitals. The vigour of his age and his sanguine constitution seemed to require more exercise and air than he enjoyed in that sauntering and domestic life. It was even said that Dr. Duncan* advising his Majesty to have one of his palaces in the country fitted up, and to live there for some time, Lord Bute harshly reprimanded the physician, and asked him what he had to do to advise beyond his line?—a question which reason could easily have answered, though awe might not. After stating some intervening matters, I shall return to this subject.

The Chevalier D'Eon having accused the Comte de Guerchy of a design to have him assassinated, the grand jury found the bill against the Ambassador. The new insult was not more perplexing to the Ambassador than it was to the Ministers. The latter determined to remove the verdict by a writ of *certiorari* into the King's Bench, and then to issue another of *noli prosequi*. The affront, in the mean time, met with no support, and was soon forgotten in the subsequent national disputes.

On the 4th of March, Nicholson Calvert, seconded by Sergeant Hewet, moved the House to take from the Attorney-General the power of informations *ex-officio*—a blow intended to stigmatize Norton, as well as to serve liberty. Mr. Conway having observed that those popular questions only terminated in confirming the power that was abused, had vainly laboured to prevent the motion. Grenville and the lawyers opposed it; and denying that the power had been abused, urged that there was no reason for taking it away. Charles Yorke spoke on the side of the Court, and, after a short debate, the motion was rejected by 204 to 78.†

Bishop Warburton,‡ who thought the persecution he had suffered from Wilkes and Churchill, his devotion to the Ministry, and his great pre-eminence in learning over his brethren on the bench, had entitled him to one of the most considerable mitres, resented so much the promotion of Terrick to the see of London that, during

which his Majesty was afflicted, exhibited symptoms similar to those which, in 1788, and during the last years of his life, gave so much unhappiness to the nation. I did not mention the fact in former editions of this work, because I knew that the King and all who loved him were desirous that it should not be brought into notice. So anxious were they on this point, that Smollet having intimated it in his complete History of England, the text was revised in the general impression—a very few copies in the original form were disposed of, and they are now rare." Adolphus, vol. i. p. 175.—E.

* Afterwards Sir William Duncan, Bart., a Scot; he married Lady Mary Tufton, sister of the Earl of Thanet.

† Mr. Nicholson Calvert's speech is given in the Parliamentary History, vol. xvi. p. 42, where it is said that he was very inefficiently supported by Sergeant Hewet.—E.

‡ Bishop of Gloucester. Voltaire always calls him by mistake Bishop of Worcester.

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the King's illness, in the King's own chapel, he preached on neglected merit, and, with the same modesty that shines through his writings, drew pictures of himself and his rival under the distinctions of merit and demerit.*

The City of London petitioning the House of Commons for more money for the new bridge at Blackfriars, Lord Strange, Elliot, and Rigby, opposed, the latter saying, rudely, that he did not know what obligations the King had to the city. Grenville, with more prudence, countenanced the petition and procured a gift of 7000*l.*

Lord John Cavendish, impatient to fulfil his engagement, prevailed on Lord Rockingham to go to Hayes, and know if Mr. Pitt would come to town, or desired to have the motion on dismission of officers delayed any longer. Mr. Pitt's language was now exceedingly altered, though he still highly condemned the dismission of Conway. The question, he said, touched near upon prerogative. It ought to have been brought on early in the session; was sorry to hear it had been reported that the question had been postponed on his account: himself had never advised to agitate it. Lord Rockingham even doubted, from his inexplicit conversation, whether, if he should ap-

* This sermon is noticed by Gray in a letter written at the time.—Works, vol. iv. p. 49. Warburton did not carry his imprudence so far as to print it. He had been a candidate for the see of London in 1761, and was not a little disappointed by the preference given to Bishop Hayter, to which he thus *modestly* alludes in a letter to Hurd. "You and your poet say true, 'I will bet at any time on a fool or a knave against the field.' Though the master of the course be changed, yet the field is the same, where *the race is not to the swift.*" (Letters from a Late Eminent Prelate, &c., p. 328.) His hopes must have been rekindled by the early death of Bishop Hayter, only to be again dashed by the appointment of Bishop Osbaldiston; and his ambition received a death-blow by the elevation of Terrick. His contempt of his successful competitors appears to have been expressed in every way calculated to be most offensive to them: even at a dinner at Archbishop Secker's, about this period, he taunted the Bench with leaving the defence of the Church against its various assailants to their chaplains, and not performing the task themselves, as Ridley and Jewel had done of old; and quoted, at the same time, the saying of Jewel: "Why are we distinguished from the rest of our brethren with superior titles and riches, but that we may out-do them in the service of the public, so that when men see our great achievements, they may say these men deserve their superior titles and riches who perform them thus nobly." The prelates wisely indulged him in this freedom. He never rose beyond the see of Gloucester, which it may be remarked he owed not to his learning and theological reputation, but to Mr. Pitt's regard for Allen. Perhaps Mr. Pitt was the only statesman who would have had the courage to place him on the Bench. Notwithstanding his friendship with Mr. Yorke, he was neglected by Lord Hardwicke, who, he says, "amidst all his acquaintance, chose the most barren and sapless, on which dry plants to shower down his most *refreshing rain.*"—Letters, p. 433. The violence of his temper, his overbearing disposition, and the vagueness of his political creed, gave Ministers some excuse, yet it shows an imperfection in the system of ecclesiastical patronage, that a man of his genius and attainments, should have been so often set aside for the obscure and now long forgotten individuals whom Court or Ministerial favour continually placed in the higher offices of the Church. He resented this treatment to the last. It embittered a lot which ought to have been happy, for he had wealth, rank, reputation, and domestic prosperity; but his letters breathe an air of discontent unworthy of a great man. He died at an advanced age in 1776.—E.

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pear in the House, he might not make the same declaration there—a new reason for alarming us that were averse to the motion. Lord Temple inquired after the result of the visit. Lord Rockingham declared himself less satisfied than ever with Mr. Pitt. Lord Temple assured him they were as well disposed as ever to the Opposition; but then dropped, that if the former designed arrangement had taken place, he did not believe it would have held six months. "Why?" said Lord Rockingham. "Because," replied Lord Temple, remarkably, "I believe the Duke of Devonshire, and others of you, never liked that the Treasury should be put into *my* hands."

The Budget was opened by Grenville on the 29th of March, an occasion that generally produces applause to the Head of the Treasury, who must possess more lights on that subject than other men; and those lights strike the more forcibly, as the audience are little masters of such intricate details; and as the moneyed men, who alone feel the force or deficiency of the Minister's arguments, are rarely endowed with eloquence, or even elocution. Yet Grenville, who valued himself on his knowledge of finance, and who, of all qualifications, wanted not redundancy of words, spoke but languidly and unsatisfactorily, chiefly pointing his very long speech against a pamphlet published by Hartley, on the State of the Nation. Himself, he said, would never punish any invectives *against himself;* yet he betrayed every symptom of soreness and malice. In very few years afterwards he used the same means with Hartley against the Administration; and, previous to a session of Parliament,* published, or countenanced, an invidious State of the Nation; but met with a far more severe and able return than he himself had made to Hartley.

On the 1st of April, the King withdrew to Richmond for a week, but returned unexpectedly on the 3d and 4th to his levee and drawing-room. This sudden appearance was at that time supposed calculated to prevent any notion of his being ill; and consequently to avoid any proposal for a Bill of Regency, in case he should fail. The Favourite, in the mean time, began to give more open marks of his disgust to the Ministers. A bill for regulating the poor, drawn by one Gilbert,† a member, and steward to Lord Gower, had passed the Commons with slight animadversion, and had been sent to the Lords. The Earl of Egmont opposed it strenuously on the first and second reading, and with much applause; yet it was then carried. When it came into the committee, Lord Bute's friends exerted themselves to throw it out; though, to disguise his opposition, Lord Bute absented himself, and the Earl of Northumberland voted for it; but as the Favourite's creatures, the Earls of Denbigh and Pomfret, as well as Lord Egmont, conducted the party against the bill, the Bedford party were not the dupes of such flimsy arts. Lord Mansfield faintly supported the bill; the Dukes of York and Gloucester voted

* At the end of 1768. It was triumphantly answered by Burke.—E.

† Thomas Gilbert, Esq., M.P. for Newcastle-under-Line, and Controller of the King's Wardrobe. See Walpole's Letters, vol. v. p. 15.—E.

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for it, yet the commitment was rejected by 58 to 44, Newcastle, Lord Temple, and the Opposition uniting against the Bedfords. Lord Pomfret then moved to put off any farther consideration of the bill for two months; but that measure seeming too violent after it had passed one House, and had been twice approved in the other, it was carried by 50 to 49, to resume it after the holidays; when the Bedfords consented to drop it.*

April the 3d,—Sturt† and John Pitt‡ presented to the Commons a petition from several merchants complaining of encroachments by the French at Newfoundland—another grievance that reflected on the late peace. The Ministers had the assurance to oppose the reception of the petition, but managed as awkwardly as indecently; and, at last, moved to examine Commodore Palliser,§ who commanded on the station in question. Palliser was a vigorous officer and a sensible man, and had been so much esteemed by Lord Anson, that Admiral Saunders, desiring to have the assistance of Palliser, had offered to relinquish the use of a 74-gun ship, if the Admiralty would send Palliser with him. General Conway, Colonel Barrè, and Lord George Sackville, made severe remarks on the conduct of the Ministers. Palliser was called for, but declaring he was not prepared, the House allowed him time till the next day.

When he appeared again, he produced a letter he had sent to the French Commodore, at St. Pierre, with remonstrances on their behaviour; and proved that he had by no means connived at their innovations. They had denied the justice of most of his complaints; but to some had returned no answer. Admiral Saunders, who spoke then for the first time, and with extreme unreadiness, justified one of our captains who had burned some French boats, and said he would have done the same. Late at night a sudden dispute arising whether

* The bill proposed to divide every county into large districts, comprising a whole hundred, or at least a great number of parishes, in order to remedy the evils caused by the distresses of the poor, and the misapplication of the money raised for their relief. It has the merit of being one of the earliest efforts made in Parliament for the amendment of the Poor-laws. In 1782 Mr. Gilbert succeeded in carrying a bill containing the main features by his plan for the incorporation of parishes, so well known as the Gilbert Act. An account of these and other bills, prepared by Mr. Gilbert, of the same tendency, is given in Eden's History of the Poor, vol. i. p. 362.—E.

† Humphry Sturt, Esq., M.P. for the county of Dorset, where the family has long enjoyed considerable wealth and parliamentary influence.—E.

‡ Query whether instead of John Pitt, it ought not to be George Pitt, Mr. Sturt's colleague, and afterwards Lord Rivers, and Minister at Tunis, &c. in 1802.—E.

§ This man became much more known about a dozen years after this period. [His character has not yet ceased to be a subject of controversy; and those who wish to know all that can be said for and against him, may consult Mr. Hunt's recent biographical work, and Mr. Keppel's Life of Lord Keppel. His generous and constant patronage of Captain Cook has given more interest to his memory than belongs to his political squabbles. The King's favour, Lord Sandwich's friendship, and lastly his own merit, raised him among other distinctions to the honourable post of Governor of Greenwich Hospital. He was made a Baronet in 1778, and died unmarried in 1796.—E.]

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Palliser should be asked his opinion on an Act of Parliament relating to the fisheries, the Ministers, who sought to evade farther examination, opposed the question being put to him. Some warm men in the Opposition supporting that motion (though the wisest did not concur with them,) divided the House, to the great joy of the Ministers, who rejected the question by 161 to 44: and thence, at once, determined to stifle any farther inquiry, Rose Fuller moving to adjourn the consideration for three months; and Nugent to thank Palliser for his account of his own conduct, though there were witnesses waiting to show it had not been irreproachable. So eager were the pacific Ministers to justify France, and wink at her encroachments.

Mr. Garth, the same day, presented a petition from the agent for Virginia against the New American Mutiny Bill, which ordered the billeting of soldiers on private houses, as there were no inns in that country; but this petition, too, the Ministers refused to hear. In the debate Grenville, quoting the Scotch law, young Thomas Townshend spoke well and warmly against making the Scotch law our precedent; and the younger Onslow said, that three Scots were preferred for one Englishman. Elliot spoke finely in answer; said he thought English and Scots were the same; and that if himself had merit enough, he should pretend to any English place. That partialities were always common; had been shown to Sussex,* and ought to be to Buckinghamshire; and if the men of the latter county† were the most worthy, he would support them. The House then adjourned for the holidays, when Grenville, finding the American merchants vehemently averse to his new bill for billeting soldiers in that country, promised to drop it.

* By the Duke of Newcastle and Mr. Pelham.
† Grenville was of Buckinghamshire.

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CHAPTER XXXIII.

State of Parties.—King's Illness.—Regency Bill.

When the Houses met again after the recess, a very new scene opened to the public, though unfolded by degrees, and of which all the springs were not at first discovered. Accident, the rashness of Opposition, and the intemperance of Ministers concurred and wrought up the ensuing confusions; but the source lay in the mutual jealousy of the Favourite and Grenville, on which I have already touched, and which terminated in lasting mortification to the two rivals, and gave birth to the various and fluctuating exhibition of politics that took place and succeeded each other from this period. In truth this was the era of faction, though it did not immediately predominate. Hitherto it might be said that the two parties of Whig and Tory still subsisted; though Jacobitism, the concealed mother of the latter, was extinct. The Court had indeed admitted few Tories into place, from their total want of abilities. But though Grenville and the Duke of Bedford had always called themselves Whigs, and the *Chancellor Northington really was one*, yet Lord Bute had left the standard of prerogative in the Court, and his successors had relaxed none of those high-flown doctrines. Nothing could be more despotic than Grenville's nature. Bedford was drawn by the Duchess and Rigby to adopt any principles, however contrary to his opinion, that favoured her love of power, or Rigby's rapacity: and Lord Mansfield retained great weight in a cabinet so framed to embrace boldly any arbitrary measures that he was always ready to suggest and always afraid to execute himself. On the other hand, the Opposition, though headed by Newcastle, who had sailed with every current, and though composed of great and proud families, dated from the stand they had made, or by resentment had been forced to make, to the Favourite's plan of extending the prerogative. Lord Temple stood on no ground but popularity; and the cast of Mr. Pitt's life, contrary to his temper, had thrown him too on the affections of the people. The crisis I am going to describe, broke these ill-consolidated connexions into several factions; and though one of those factions adhered more steadily to their professions than the rest, the subsequent contests were rather a struggle for power, than the settled animosity of two parties, though the body of Opposition still called itself Whig, an appellation rather dropped than disclaimed by the Court; and though the real Tories still adhered to their old distinctions, while

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they secretly favoured, sometimes opposed, the Court, and fluctuated according as they esteemed particular chiefs not of their connexion, or had the more agreeable opportunity of distressing those who supported the cause of freedom. As their whole conduct was comprised in silent votes, and never was considerable enough to turn a single scale in the political changes,* I shall seldom mention them any more.

The King's illness had occasioned a general alarm; but, though he escaped the danger, his health was so precarious, and he had such frequent disorders on his breast, on taking the least cold, that all sober men wished to see a Regency settled by Parliament in case of his death. Yet most of those who possessed or hoped for power, dreaded such a bill: and even they, who wished best to their country, could not be without apprehension from it, as it would probably be framed on the model of the last, which contained the odious and arbitrary clause of præmunire,† and as it would undoubtedly be calculated to continue the domination of the Princess and the Favourite, or of the Ministers then in place, an alternative equally threatening to liberty. The Princess could by no means desire to hear a Regent nominated, as she could not flatter herself she should be the person in preference to the mother of the future King. Should even a minority not happen, the designation of the Queen for Regent would teach mankind whither to address their homage, and draw from the Princess that court which till now had been paid to her as all-powerful over the mind of her son. Lord Bute had brought himself into as disagreeable a predicament. By having quitted his place in the Cabinet, what pretensions could he have to one in the Regency? Should he even obtain one by the King's recommendation or nomination, could he hope for any influence under the Queen, to whom the Council would bow? Could he promise himself that the present Ministers would impart that power to him under a Queen not likely to be his friend, from which they endeavoured to exclude him

* This must be confined to the following period of fluctuations in the Administration. When it became re-settled under Lord North, *who was a Tory*, the Court's system of prerogative predominated entirely.

† The præmunire clauses of the Regency Act (24 George II. c. 24) are in the 4th and 22d sections. By the 4th section these penalties attach on any person having the custody of the King's appointment of the Council of Regency, that ventures to open the same without his Majesty's order, or to neglect or refuse to deliver up the same after his Majesty's death. The 22nd section is more important, and as it contains the clause to which the text applies, and was the subject of much discussion in the House of Commons, where it met with warm opposition, even from the Speaker, Mr. Onslow, the following transcript of it may not be without interest: "All commissions, letters patent, orders, matters, and things to be made, passed, had, or done, by the said Regent, either with or without the consent of the said Council of Regency *in order* unlawfully to set aside, change, or vary the order and method of Government, and administration of Government settled by this Act during such minorities as aforesaid, shall be absolutely null and void; and every person, *advising, concurring, promoting, or assisting therein* shall incur the penalties of a præmunire." An animated report of the debates on this clause is given by Walpole, Mem. Geo. II. vol. i. p. 191.—E.

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now, though possessing the favour of the King? The Ministers were still more jealous of any such bill. As, according to the plan of the last, the great officers in place at the time of the King's death were to remain of the council of Regency, Grenville and his adherents concluded that, to prevent such a contingency in their favour, they should immediatety be removed. Accordingly, those good men who preferred any eventual confusion to the loss of their places, set themselves roundly to work to prevent, or if they could not prevent the proposal, to stir up Opposition from every quarter against such a regulation, be it what it might.

Notwithstanding these various obstacles, the necessity of some provision surmounted all impediments; and the very opposition made by the Ministers did but serve to fix the irresolution of the Favourite. I saw that this was the favourable moment for bringing out the half-concealed, and, by consequence, for producing a total, rupture between Lord Bute and the Ministers. I early went to Lord Holland, and asked him why they did not think of a Regency-bill? He said he had pressed it on Lord Bute and Lord Mansfield, but the latter was too timid to propose it. That he himself had written twice to Lord Bute on that subject, and had given him leave to show his letters to the King, which he believed he had *not* done; himself, however, should not desist from pressing it, as he owned he believed the King in a consumption, and not likely to live a year. We then talked over all the considerable persons, and how their affections would probably lie on such a question. Among others I named Lord Granby, and said, he was wholly Grenville's. "Yes," replied Lord Holland, "and should the King die, might, if he had sense enough, be King himself: and now," said he, "you see the wisdom of not letting any of the princes of the blood be at the head of the army." I was not so dull as not to see deeper into this hint. It informed me why Mr. Conway had been removed out of the army with so much alacrity. It was a context to what Grenville himself had dropped to me on that head, "*that the King could not trust his army in such hands*:"—that is, the Court was determined to insure the army for whatever purposes they might have occasion to employ it in. Another of Lord Bute's creatures told me about the same time that Grenville was grown too powerful in the House of Commons. I own I did not think the Constitution quite ruined, when the House of Commons could make a Minister formidable to the Crown. These and such like accidental passages discover how deep the views of the Court had gone. How happy for the nation that they who had laid such plans were so unequal to the execution!

A few days afterwards, Lord Holland desired to speak with me. He did not seem to have any thing particular to say, but rather to want to sound me on the disposition of my friends in the Opposition; and to learn if, in case of a rupture between Lord Bute and Grenville, they would soften to the former. As I thought any encouragement from the Opposition would inspirit Lord Bute, and hasten his breach with the Ministers, I instilled that assurance as strongly as I could into

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Lord Holland, who said Lord Bute complained that the Duke of Cumberland and the Opposition were as acrimonious as ever. This was true but in part, for the Duke had already been gained to a certain degree by the King: and as Lord Holland was very inquisitive to know from me on what cause the Duke had been sent for to the King, and had been shut up with him for two hours on the foregoing Sunday, it was a proof that Lord Bute had not that confidence in Lord Holland which the world suspected. I did not then know of that private interview of the King with the Duke. Lord Holland said he guessed it was on the Regency-bill: that he believed the Ministers had not proposed such a bill to the King, but that his Majesty had to them,* and had ordered them to prepare one. Lord Holland rejoiced at it,—for he feared for the stocks. He repeated over and over that he believed things would remain as they were; but he dropped enough to convince me that that was by no means the intention of Lord Bute. "Things," he said, "were not ripe yet; many things were wanting: he lamented the death of the late Duke of Devonshire, whose temper was not bitter, and who could have done much: that Opposition resorted to Mr. Pitt, who would have nothing to do with them: that Grenville would be glad to be well with Mr. Pitt, but that he, poor man, was ill in bed." This tenderness to one he hated so much, was a clear indication that any assistance against the Ministers would be welcome. I soon learned how much farther these wishes had gone than I was then apprised of. I told him he knew enough of the Duke of Newcastle to be sure that the Court might have him whenever they pleased; and as Newcastle governed the Opposition, Lord Bute needed not doubt their concurrence. Still Lord Holland had the weakness to repeat that Lord Bute would be nothing, and meant no change. To facilitate my measures, I had it conveyed to the Bedfords, that the Favourite lost ground; and that Lord Holland was his instigator in promoting the bill—an idea which I soon found they eagerly adopted, and as eagerly showed their resentment of on the first opportunity.

I imparted to Lord John Cavendish the probability of Mr. Pitt coming into place. He said, "If that should be so, we could no longer oppose: his family would take nothing, but the young Duke would go to Court." This I reported to Lord Holland: he replied, To be sure, if there was any change, the Duke of Devonshire must be at Court; nor would the King scruple to say he had been in the wrong in refusing to see the late Duke.

At length it was declared that a bill of Regency was intended; but to the great dissatisfaction of mankind, it was declared, too, that the nomination of the Regent would be reserved by the bill in the King's breast. The crowd instantly conceived that this was a mode of bestowing that important trust on the Favourite; a chimera too wild and much too dangerous to enter into so dastardly a nature as Lord

* This is no doubt the truth.—E.

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Bute's. I have no doubt but there was a uniform intention of appointing the Queen Regent; though to save the dignity of the Princess, and to keep up a dubious attention towards her, she might have obtained this palliative, with the contingency too, however improbable, of her outliving, and then occupying the place of the Queen. The Ministers rejoiced at these murmurs; and to pay their court to the Queen, and to mortify the Princess and her favourite, spared no pains to heighten this disgust, which they even pretended to adopt; proceeding so far as to make representations to the King against his keeping the nomination secret. His Majesty was obdurate. At last they obtained that the Regent should be one of the Royal Family: a clear indication of their affecting to suspect that he had had thoughts of Lord Bute for that high office. When this was conceded, and yet the Queen was not named, it seemed to intimate that she was not the person designed. Grenville, and the Bedfords were not men to offend by halves, or to halt when they had gained ground. Pursuing their blow, they told his Majesty that the Queen, not being one of the Royal Family, if his Majesty had her in contemplation, it would be requisite to specify her by name. Even this point they carried at last. Yet thus had every step of the former Regency-bill furnished precedents for the most dangerous attempts. A power had been granted to the late King, of adding by his will four persons to the Regent's Council. As prerogative seldom adheres to the strict letter of a precedent, but builds new pretensions on the slightest foundation, the Crown now, from four secret nominations, had jumped at once to demand a secret nomination of the Regent. Newcastle, one of the three authors* of the former bill, was still alive to behold its copy, as was also Fox, the opposer of it; but Newcastle now dreaded, and Fox recommended the example!

The four secret nominations in the last bill of Regency had arisen from the resentment of the Dukes of Grafton† and Dorset,‡ Lord Chamberlain, and Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, that their posts were not thought of importance enough to be admitted into the Council of Regency. Yet Dorset would not have profited of the new expedient. It was thought that the four persons on whom the late King had fixed, were the Duke of Grafton, the then Duke of

* With his brother Henry Pelham, and Lord Chancellor Hardwicke.

† Charles Fitzroy, second Duke of Grafton, Lord Chamberlain, and K. G., grandson to Charles the Second, whom he appears to have resembled in some of the better parts of that monarch's character.—See the account of him in Walpole's Geo. II. vol. i. p. 157. He died May 6, 1757, aged 78.—E.

‡ Lionel Sackville, first Duke of Dorset, K. G., son of the celebrated Earl. He had gone through most of the great posts, having been successively Lord Steward, Lord President, and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, besides being employed on several foreign missions. Walpole describes him (Mem. Geo. II. vol. i. p. 244,) as a man of dignity, caution, and plausibility, who, when left to himself, as in his first Lord-Lieutenancy, had ruled Ireland to the universal satisfaction of that people. He was less successful when his son, Lord George Germaine and Primate Stone were his advisers. He died on the 10th of October, 1763, aged 75. See more of him in Wraxall's Hist. Mem. vol. 2, p. 415, and in Collins's Peerage.—E.

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Devonshire, who had retired from business, the Earl of Waldegrave, and Dr. Butler, Bishop of Durham.* On the majority of the successor, it was supposed that the late King had burned that designation; but his present Majesty told Lord Mansfield that he had found the paper, though he would not disclose who had been the persons specified.

This measure of secret nominations was now revived—no doubt with a view to the admission of Lord Bute to the Council, which the opposition of the Ministers and the tempter of the times would not openly allow at that moment. The jealousy occasioned by this step was augmented by no mention being made, in the first concoction of the bill, of his Majesty's brothers† and uncle.‡ A plan which reserved so much at the disposal of the secret junto, and which plan was not concerted *with*, but dictated by the King *to* his Ministers, could not leave the latter a moment's doubt of their having lost their influence; nor could fail to point out to them that that influence was restored in its full force to the Favourite. From that moment the Ministers assumed almost the style, entirely the conduct, of Opposition; Rigby scrupled not to say, that, if no opposition was made to the bill, Lord Bute would grow intolerably insolent: and the new Lord Waldegrave§ said artfully to an anti-courtier, "We cannot oppose this bill; but why do not you?" This conduct of the Ministers taught me my lesson. The more they laboured to instigate our party to attack the bill, the more pains I took to dissuade my friends from being warm against it. For six months I had tried to raise effectual war against Lord Bute and the Ministers. The strength of their party when united, and the weakness of ours, had baffled all my endeavours. The happy moment was now come, when discord had declared itself amongst them: and I was sure, whichever division of them should remain in possession of the closet, must court our assistance. I knew my friends too well to think they were numerous or able enough to form an Administration alone. Should the King be reduced to admit them to a participation of power, they had such good principles and such fair characters that they would be a balance to the rest, and might prevent many of the evil designs in agitation. In my opinion I inclined most to Lord Bute; for, though the mischief had sprung originally from him, he had betrayed a pusillanimity that made him far from formidable. Grenville and the Bedfords had as bad principles, better heads, and far more courage. I knew, too, that though my friends, when joined to Lord Bute, might temporize, might be

* Such a post would certainly not have suited the modest, scrupulous, and pious author of the "Analogy," and as his character was well known, it is very unlikely to have been destined for him,—though he was highly esteemed at Court. Had his friend, Dr. Clarke, filled the Archbishopric of Canterbury, which Queen Caroline is said to have so much desired, he would probably have been preferred, and with his parts and decision of character, might have become a very considerable man.—E.

† The King had then four brothers living: Edward Duke of York, and the Princes William, Henry, and Frederick.

‡ William Duke of Cumberland.

§ John, third Earl of Waldegrave, brothin-in-law of the Duchess of Bedford.

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corrupted, or might not be able to obstruct Lord Bute's views, Grenville and the Bedfords, if once fixed in Opposition, would not be tame and impotent, as we had been. No truth is more certain to me than this; *though an Administration ought to be composed of virtuous men, it is by no means desirable that an Opposition should be so.* It is so seldom that there are good measures to obstruct, that the mischief done by Opposition is small in proportion. It must be remembered, too, that Opposition obstructs rather than prevents; and the difficulty on opponents is the greater, if the measures are good; salutary councils making their own way at last, after fascination has vented its poison. But the bad measures of powerful men can only be combated with efficacy by a determined party, equally able to expose their evil tendency, and prompt to venture on any arts to defeat them. Good men weep over their country when they should defend it. Cassius killed the tyrant; Cato, himself. If Lord Bute was again to be Minister, I wished to see Grenville and Sandwich patriots.

The Ministers having struggled in vain, and being reduced at last to support what they could so ill digest, the King, on the 24th of April, went to the House of Lords, and sending for the Commons, recommended to both Houses to provide a bill of Regency* on the plan of the last, but with this singular and material difference, that his Majesty demanded to be invested with the power of appointing, from time to time, by instruments in writing under his sign manual, either the Queen, or any other person of his Royal Family residing in Great Britain, to be the guardian of his successor, and Regent of these kingdoms, until such successor should attain the age of eighteen years. Thus had the Junto flattered themselves that the transient and loose mention of the Queen's name would stifle all murmurs, on the supposition that even so vague a designation would make men presume that no other person could be preferred to her Majesty, after a specification that marked her as proper for the trust.

Flattery, more nimble in venting itself than jealousy, poured forth panegyrics on the magnanimity of so young but provident a monarch. His grandfather had dared to eye his own tomb; but could an aged Prince, in conscience, leave his kingdoms and family unprovided of a rule of government? How far more heroic his present Majesty's firmness, who, in the vigour of youth, reflected on his own mortality, and whose foresight provided against dangers which his most loyal Peers and Commons prayed to Heaven might never be *heaped on that bitterest distraction of grief*, the loss of his Royal Person!† In the Upper House the Address was moved by Lord Halifax. In the other, Grenville was *not* so wrapt in admiration and encomium, but he recollected himself enough to open more of the contents of the bill than were necessary to excite only loyal Hosannahs: and he took care to declare that the measure had flowed from his Majesty, not from the suggestion of his Ministers. The path thus early chalked

* Parliamentary History, vol. xvi. p. 52.—E.
† The Address of both Houses.

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out to cavil, Nicholson Calvert started some objections, though he would not oppose the Address. Beckford went farther, and said he would not vote for it, as it mentioned the expedience of the bill, to which he did not agree; and then talked much nonsense, of Parliament being the guardians of a minor king. Calvert, who was mad, was convinced by Beckford's nonsense, and their two were the only dissenting voices; George Onslow having checked the debate by observing that the bill was not yet before them. He, however, and T. Townshend dropped some severe sentences. Grenville and Lord North, who seconded him, were profuse on the moderation of the King in accepting so bounded a civil list, and in establishing the judges for life—proof of dearth of topics for panegyric! I have mentioned how trifling were the advantages which the King had foregone in his revenue. By the patents of the judges, not he, but his successor would be limited. The same measure had been proposed to the late King: he replied, he was content to have no power of displacing the judges himself, but he would not bind his heir.

The scope of the bill being now disclosed, it was incumbent on our party to fix on the measures they would pursue with regard to it. We had accordingly a meeting of the chiefs, at the Duke of Newcastle's, on the 25th. I found the young men warm against the bill, and full of the idea that it was solely calculated to re-establish the empire of the Princess and the Favourite. They neither knew, nor would listen, to the state of factions in the Court. I told them they were doing the business of the Ministers, who wished for nothing so much as a vigorous opposition to the bill. The only answer I could obtain was, they should lose their characters if they did not oppose. If they did oppose the bill, I thought nothing more likely than that the Ministers should recover the ground they had lost in the closet, by supporting the very bill they were instigating us to oppose. Nay, in the warmth of debate, the passions of the Ministers themselves might grow heated; and, as men are always most angry with those from whom they have received the latest offence, the Ministers, if roughly attacked as the agents of Lord Bute, might again become so; and he would certainly resent less from those who should carry through his bill, than from those whose enmity was inveterate and unalterable. At best, Grenville and his faction would have leisure to carry on the war against the Favourite, while they saw him and the Opposition grow daily more inveterate. My arguments were all in vain. The *listlessness* of the party was now converted into blind zeal: and a direct opportunity of reviling the Princess and Lord Bute seemed already to those warm young men a triumph over them. As we parted, I told Lord John Cavendish that I thought it much more for the interest of our country to break the Ministry, than to oppose a single bill; "but," said I, "there is not a trap the Ministers set for you, but what you fall into"—words that soon proved to be prophetic.

On the 29th the King sent a message to the Lords, desiring, instead of the four secret nominations, to have his four brothers and his

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uncle* specified in the bill; reserving only to himself the power of filling up their places if they died. This step seemed to exclude Lord Bute; but if ever he had been designed to be admitted, this measure was only a plausible evasion. Frederick, the youngest prince, was in a deep consumption. The Duke of Cumberland's life was not less precarious; and without any such contingency, a place in the Cabinet Council would entitle the Favourite to one in the Regency. The bill was then read for the first time. It was followed by another bill sent from the other House, and brought in there by Lord John Cavendish, to oblige Peers and members of Parliament to appear to suits, and to allow suits to proceed, if such privileged persons refused to appear and make answer. This was occasioned by the indecent refusal of Lord Halifax to appear to Wilkes's complaint. The Ministers had suffered the bill to pass the Commons, intending to have it rejected by the Lords. The Peers had read it twice, and were now going to commit it, when Lord Suffolk† moved to have it put off for three weeks—Lord Weymouth for two months, a method seldom used before the Committee has attempted to correct a bill. Lord Temple proposed to adjourn the consideration for a week, that their minds might not be diverted from the important consideration of the Regency-bill; but Lord Suffolk's motion was carried by 61 to 52, though Lord Mansfield and Lord Bute voted *for* the bill. This was a more explicit declaration of hostilities than the favourite had yet attempted; at least it was paying court to the Opposition, and canvassing for their support to the Regency-bill. Still so great was the confidence of the Ministers in their own strength; or their want of judgment so capital, that they lost the moment of ruining the Favourite, and of establishing themselves at his expense. Had they peremptorily refused to carry the Regency-bill through, or had they resigned their places, pleading their disapprobation of it, the whole odium had fallen on Lord Bute; and as they would have been joined by the Opposition in that clamour, the Court must have yielded to any terms they had thought fit to impose. Instead of such strenuous conduct, they heaped nothing but disgrace and mortification on their own heads. The Court obtained its bill, however modified, but was equally offended at the Ministers. The nation beheld them with contempt, while they promoted obstruction to a bill, which they confessed they disapproved, and yet submitted to support. They flattered without humouring, impeded without preventing, and offended without hurting. This timid and double conduct they changed into open treachery and provoking insolence, when the moment was come in which they ought to have studied nothing but reconciliation.

On the 30th, the bill was read for the second time. Lord Lyttel-

* Edward Duke of York, the Princes William, Henry, and Frederick; and William Duke of Cumberland, son of George the Second.

† Henry Howard, Earl of Suffolk and Berkshire, a young lord attached to Mr. Grenville, [afterwards Secretary of State. (See more of him *infra*.)—E.]

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ton made a fine speech against giving unconstitutional powers, such as that of appointing an unknown person Regent. It was asking them, he said, to put out their own eyes. He hinted a wish of having the Queen named, and was going to make a proposal tending that way, but was stopped by Lord Halifax, for no better reason than that her Majesty might not always be a proper Regent, though she was so then. The Duke of Newcastle having been so deep in the fabrication of the former bill, dared not object to any thing similar in the present, and therefore said he had no objection but to the reserve of specifying the Regent, a power that ought not to be entrusted to any King. The Chancellor,* in his rough style, treated the Duke and the former bill with contempt and acrimony. The last bill, though drawn by all-wise, all-patriotic Ministers, had been, he said, most imperfect. This would correct it. Lord Lyttelton had ascribed the last bill to the late Earl of Hardwicke,† whom the Chancellor ridiculed, and said it had been calculated for his own power, and that of Newcastle and Pelham: and he asked bluntly why they had not substituted in that bill the Duke of Cumberland in case the Princess had died? That they were guilty, if the faults of the bill had been owing to craft. The Princess had been at that time so long resident in England, that it was reasonable to appoint her Regent. The youth of the Queen and her little acquaintance with the country rendered her less proper. Would their Lordships wish to place her Majesty in so invidious a situation, and wrest her out of her subjection to the King? Who would wish to have his own wife so independent? Would they determine that the same person should be Regent for seventeen years,‡ to whom they would entrust such power for three years? The Duke of Newcastle replied, that the age of the present King had been so far advanced as had made no substitution of Regents necessary. He had never known till within a few days, that in the eye of the law the Queen is not of the Royal Family. Lord Shelburne said the Constitution was secure in itself, and knew no minority. Parliament supplied all deficiencies. His objection was not to parts, but to the whole bill. Lord Sandwich said he was informed that our laws make no provision for a minority, but that whoever got possession of the infant King's person, was King. In that case military force would be most likely to govern. The next thing he should dread would be a democracy: a popular orator,§ backed by turbulent magistrates, might seize the government. Lord Temple said he appealed from Cæsar ill-advised to Cæsar well-advised; *was himself of no party, nor connected with any party;* was, and had been, against all Regency-bills. Lord Mansfield answered, that the King had heard so much of regencies formerly, that of this

* Lord Northington.

† Sir Philip Yorke, then Lord Chancellor. His son, Lord Hardwicke, kept away from this bill; Charles Yorke, the second brother, voted for it.

‡ He might have been asked why it was more proper to establish the Council for seventeen years, than the same Regent.

§ Alluding to Lord Chatham and Alderman Beckford.

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bill he had thought himself. If their Lordships did not think a bill of Regency necessary, his Majesty was under a mistake: but he feared they were sowing the dragon's teeth. By the ancient Constitution the Parliament was dissolved at the King's death. The Queen or great men secured a majority, and then called a Parliament to confirm their power. Bills of indemnity, restitution, and regency flowed properly from the Crown itself. Regency was a trust, not power. What would be good for his Majesty's children, would be good for his people. At least there would be a foundation for Government to set out upon: unless it was thought that deliberation would be wiser, when men should be heated by the crisis, than now, when they could coolly provide against a distant period. The Parliament had not acted so negligently in Queen Anne's reign, but settled a regency, and got stability before the event happened. Last time it had been considered whether it were not wise to make a perpetual act; but it was answered that the bill, then passed, would be a precedent, and change of circumstances might not make exactly the same provisions always proper. Lord Temple shrewdly, and bitterly, with allusion to Lord Mansfield's friends, family, and supposed principles, asked him, Supposing the Parliament had left to Queen Anne the secret nomination of her successor, whom his lordship thought she would have appointed?

Between six and seven the House divided, 120 for the bill, and only 9 against it, Newcastle and his whole party retiring, either from shame of contradicting their former conduct, or not being determined to give openly the offence which they had sounded so high in private; or that Newcastle was biassed by the Duke of Cumberland, whom the King had consulted secretly, both on the bill and on the subsequent measures which he wished to pursue. Thus Lord Temple, with his small faction and one or two of Mr. Pitt's friends, was deserted, after the most sanguine expectations of a vigorous opposition. He resented this desertion with his usual *intemperance;* yet what claim had he on the concurrence of those with whom he had sedulously declined all connexion? His resentment on this occasion was, I do not doubt, a leading step to a new alliance into which he soon after hurried. His companions in the vote I have mentioned were the Dukes of Grafton and Bolton, the Earls of Shelburne, Thanet, Ferrers, and Cornwallis, the Viscount Torrington, and Lord Fortescue. The Duke of Grafton's* vote thus early pointed out that he looked more towards Lord Chatham than to Newcastle. Lord Lyttelton, more temperate than his cousin Temple, had withdrawn with Newcastle and the others to avoid voting, the Chancellor having forced a division by declaring the *non-contents had it.* Lord Lyttelton then read his motion to address the King, to name the person or persons whom his Majesty would successively recommend for Regents, as there was no precedent of *devising* regal power. The Duke of Bedford moved to adjourn the motion till the next day, for which he

* Augustus Henry Fitzroy, third Duke of Grafton.

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was grossly abused by the Chancellor, who was averse to all admission of the motion.

On the morrow Lord Lyttelton made his motion accordingly, urging that the Crown cannot devolve its power on unknown persons. Was it prudent to give the King absolute power, on the presumption that he would do nothing but for the good of his successor? Lord Mansfield replied, that giving such power was not *contrary* to precedent, though *not founded* on precedent. The usage and precedent of Parliament formerly had been to make no precedent at all. If all the persons substituted should fail, it would be necessary to frame a new bill. It was wise not to let the person designed for Regent be acquainted with that designation. The longer time the King should have to determine on the choice of the person, the better that election would be. The Duke of Richmond,* though declaring he disapproved of Lord Lyttelton's motion, said he wished to know *who the Royal Family were?* He wished to have it defined, or to learn from the judges. Was the Princess Dowager of the Royal Family? Were the Princess Amalie, and the Princess Hesse† and her children? Were the hereditary Prince‡ and the King of Prussia?§ The hereditary Prince had been naturalized: might he, if resident in England, be Regent? How long time constitutes residence? He should not like the Prince for Regent, though it was indifferent to him who was so, for he hoped the laws were sufficient. By the Act of Settlement her Majesty could not be Regent: nor could she, though naturalized; for an act of naturalization must have a disqualifying clause, or is invalid. Had her Majesty been naturalized? His Grace declared himself of no Opposition; that he hated and had always opposed Opposition. Lord Denbigh pronounced that all who are prayed for by the Common Prayer-book are of the Royal Family. Would it be prudent, he asked, to put a question to the judges before the bill was framed? By her marriage, he thought the Queen was naturalized of course. Lord Pomfret with great violence opposed the motion, but was called to order by Lord Lyttelton for having quoted the speeches and vote of the preceding day, the latter declaring that he acted from conscience, not by concert. The Duke of Grafton professed great gratitude to the King for the bill; though, when framed, it must be considered as the act of the Ministers; and that, unless it was perfect, it were better to have no bill. It could not please the people, for every thing was left in doubt. It took from the King the joy of seeing the whole nation pleased with the nomination of her Majesty. Would not this be casting a slur on her? Though built on the last bill, the present, with regard to her, widely differed. On the sixteenth of the month the Queen would be twenty-

* Charles Lennox, third Duke of Richmond.

† Mary, fourth daughter of King George II.

‡ Charles Prince of Brunswick, husband of Princess Augusta, the King's eldest sister.

§ Frederick King of Prussia, son and grandson of the daughter and sister of King George the First.

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one. The delay of a single fortnight would have seen her of age. The bill was precipitated now after it had been declared that all business was over. Lord Mansfield said, mysteriously, that he had his private opinion on who are of the Royal Family; but he should not declare it. (He and the Chancellor had both told the King that neither the Queen nor the Princess Dowager were of the Royal Family.) Lord Talbot, who had opposed the bill of the last reign, said he had liked on the preceding day to see certain Lords (Newcastle, &c.) in the majority, when they did not direct the majority. He hoped this motion would not be mentioned out of the House, lest it should get into seditious papers. He thought the present bill left too little power to the Regent: it must be the Queen. He understood the Royal Family to be the Queen, the Princess Dowager, the royal dukes, and the Princess Amalie. Lord Shelburne spoke well for decision and precision. It is urged, said he, that the King can have no views: what views could Parliament have, but the security of liberty and property? The Duke of Bedford said it was great condescension in the King to limit the Council of Regency to a certain number: but the Act ought not to be irrevocable for sixteen years together. He looked *on the Royal Family to be those who are in the order of succession one after another*, and usually resident here in England. (This definition was evidently laid down to exclude the Princess Dowager.) The Administration had no merit or demerit by this act; it was purely the deed of his Majesty. Lord Egmont* said it must be more agreeable to the Queen to be named Regent by the King than by Parliament (a poor argument, as the recommendation of the King must have been more agreeable to her than silence out of respect to his mother.) The Opposition supposed possible infirmities in his Majesty: could there be none in the Queen? More respect had been shown to her than to him. Lord Dartmouth summed up very ably all the arguments of the courtiers; and concluded with observing in answer that some few would certainly know whom the King destined for Regent, and might form their intrigues accordingly. The motion had indeed taken its rise from the Crown, but he supposed his Majesty had taken advice on the mode.

The House then divided, and Lord Lyttelton's motion was rejected by 89 to 31; Newcastle and his friends, and the Bishops attached to him, chiefly forming the minority: Lord Temple sullenly staid away.

But while the debate had been going on, an event happened which gave birth to all that followed. The Duke of Richmond had drawn up a question which he intended to put to the judges, to ascertain who were persons of the Royal Family. He had stated the Princes and Princesses in their order of succession. I happened to be standing on the steps of the throne: the Duke showed me the sketch of his motion. I observed that he had omitted the Princess Dowager; and instantly reflecting, from the behaviour of the Ministers, and from what had just dropped from the Duke of Bedford, that they wished

* Attached to the Princess Dowager.

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to exclude her from the possibility of being Regent; and concluding, too, that if she was stated as one of the Royal Family, they would be rash enough to oppose it, I said, "My Lord, your Grace is not in Opposition, and do not mean any offence by this motion: why then do not you insert the name of the Princess? By omitting her she will think you purposely intend to affront her." The Duke was struck with my advice, and inserted the Princess's name. The Ministers, more violent and insolent than even I had expected them to be, plunged headlong into the snare I had laid for them; and as will soon be seen, wantonly, cruelly, and treacherously, gave such provocation, both to the King and Princess, as scarce the most intemperate Opposition could have been guilty of.

The Duke of Richmond then read to the House his intended motion,* and proposed that the judges should be ordered to attend on the morrow. Lord Mansfield said it would be better to correct the words of the bill: the judges could not be consulted till some words were settled. He would not point out any words, lest he should pledge his opinion for the passing them. The Duke of Richmond replied, the words had been proposed by the King—and was going to proceed; but Lord Sandwich, already alarmed at the name of the Princess, suddenly moved the House to adjourn.

On the 2nd of May the Duke made his motion. The Chancellor said, he had been too much fatigued to answer his Grace the day before. The question was now, whether the Queen could be naturalized? Himself would be for rejecting the bill if her Majesty could not be Regent. He thought she was naturalized by her marriage, and incorporated one of the Royal Family, the Christian religion having been adopted into the common law. By a law of Edward III. all the King's children are naturalized wherever born. That her Majesty was not disabled by the acts of William III., or George I. If she was not effectually naturalized, she had got a bad settlement for her jointure. The clause in the Act of Settlement was futile, for one Parliament cannot bind a succeeding one. However, if any doubt remained, he hoped his opinion would not be conclusive, but that the judges would be consulted. He could not tell who were of the Royal Family; but he knew who were not—the Pretender and his sons. He desired to have the Princess understood to be of the Royal Family. The other branches, while they have an establishment abroad, were not within the present Act. If the hereditary Prince should die, and his Princess come over, she would be within the Act. The Duke of Richmond replied, that if there was nothing positive in the common law to show the Queen was *ipso facto* naturalized, there was in the statute law to prove the contrary: and therefore asked, if part of the clause in the Act of George I. must not be repealed? That clause declaring, that no person naturalized could hold land or office, and enjoining that they should not be na-

* Lord Bute told him he was in the right, and that a matter of such importance ought to be left under no *dubiety*.

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turalized without such a clause. Many doubts, he said, had already been expressed in the House, whether the Princess was of the Royal Family: without doors there were still more doubts. He had been stopped the day before by a trick of adjournment. Lord Mansfield had owned he had an opinion, but would not declare it: it was therefore the more necessary to have that uncertainty cleared away, for which end he had a motion ready drawn in his hand.

The House then resolving itself into a committee, the Duke proposed to state his amendment, unless their Lordships would consult the judges. The Chancellor said, it would be improper to ask the judges who are of the Royal Family, but not whether the Queen was naturalized. The judges could only interpret laws passed. Lord Halifax pretending to plead against delay, laboured to prevent the Duke from stating any question that might declare the Princess of the Royal Family: but Richmond, with inimitable firmness and address, maintained his ground, and moved to insert the words, *Her Royal Highness the Princess Dowager and others descended from the late King, now resident in England;* though Lord Halifax had tried to substitute a distinction between a Royal Family of *consanguinity*, and a Royal Family of affinity. After a long squabble the Duke's motion was rejected, and the Ministerial party having allowed that the judges might be consulted on the Queen's naturalization, Lord Folkestone moved to put the question to them on the morrow. Lord Mansfield, from fear of being pressed to give the answer he had given to the King, or to change it, or from some apprehension equally unworthy of his situation, absented himself. The Chancellor appeared there, as has been seen, and contradicted himself.

On the 3rd the Judges, by the mouth of the Lord Chief Justice Pratt, declared that the Queen was naturalized by her marriage, and capable of being Regent; but how great was the astonishment of mankind at what followed! Lord Halifax, hastening impetuously into the House, went up to the Duke of Richmond, and asked if his Grace was satisfied? The Duke replied, "By no means: you have rejected my motion and left my doubt in full force." "Then, my Lord," said Lord Halifax, "if you will move it again, I will satisfy you"—and standing up in his place, he delivered an intimation (not a message) that it would be agreeable to his Majesty to have the bill recommitted: which being complied with, Lord Halifax, on the same mysterious authority, proposed to insert the motion of the Duke of Richmond, rejected the day before, specifying the several persons of the Royal Family, *only omitting the Princess Dowager.** This wonderful proposal took place instantaneously; and, it being early in the day, several lords and others, whose curiosity was carrying them to see the conclusion of so interesting a scene, met the Ministers returning from the House with exultation at their success; and

* See Letter from Walpole to Lord Hertford, of 5th May, 1765, in Correspondence, vol. v. p. 23.—E.

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could scarce believe, and less comprehend, the meaning of so daring and improbable an enterprise.

Daring in truth it was, and perhaps not to be paralleled. The fact happened thus:—Lord Halifax* and Lord Sandwich (the latter of whom had probably machinated so treacherous a step) had posted to Buckingham House a little hour before the Lords assembled, and surprising the King alone, had most falsely, and contrary to all likelihood, assured him, that the House of Commons would certainly strike the name of the Princess Dowager out of the Bill; and therefore that the most decent and prudent method to save the honour of his Majesty and her Royal Highness would be, for his Majesty to permit it to be hinted to the Lords, that he himself desired their Lordships would omit his mother's name, before they transmitted the bill to the Commons. The young inexperienced monarch, taken by surprise, alarmed at the insult announced, and not having time, or not having presence of mind to demand time for consulting his mother and his Favourite, answered with good nature, *that he would consent if it would satisfy his people.* The traitors seized that assent, and, hurrying away with double rapidity to the House of Lords, procured in the very name of their master that indelible stigma on his own mother!

Intoxicated as they were with presumption, or blind with the thirst of revenge, still it is hard to conceive how the Ministers dared to venture on so provoking and desperate an insult. Could the King pardon such an insult on his understanding, or the Princess submit to such an affront to her dignity and character? Could the Crown retain a shadow of power without discarding such servants? Could the wildness of Opposition have imagined such an act of aspersion, or have found a sufficient number so destitute of hopes and of flattery, as to fix a stain on the whole royal blood? That Sandwich should have conceived a plot so base, especially when surprise and stratagem were to be the ingredients, was not marvellous: that Grenville should have embraced it, and lost all sight of ambition in the glut of his revenge, proved what dominion every bad passion had over him in its turn; that the Duke of Bedford should have closed with it, was but another instance of the empire his associates had over a mind naturally good—that none of the connexion, composed of men devoted to fortune, should have started at a proposition so big with ruin to their hopes of favour, evinced that when they had lost sight of honesty and decorum, they flattered themselves that no position could be so desperate, from which they might not re-

* I must observe that Lord Holland has since maintained to me, that Lord Halifax alone had gone to the King, which I could never hear but from him: the contrary was the universal belief at the time, and what I learned in the House of Lords, where I arrived within five minutes after the scene I am describing had passed. It is at least evident by the ready concurrence of the Ministers, and by Grenville's subsequent conduct in the House of Commons, that the measure had been concerted with him and Sandwich; and they both in their speeches afterwards gave indications that it had been so.

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cover by as bad arts as those which brought them into the dilemma. Their subsequent conduct showed that they were determined to storm the Cabinet they could not retain by address.

It is not less worthy of remark that this bill, so carefully planned to save the honour or humour of the Princess, became the instrument of loading her with disgrace; while the Duke of Cumberland and the King's brothers, who had been sedulously passed over in silence, saw themselves reinstated in the very bill from which the Princess was alone excluded: the Queen, who had been sacrificed to the jealousy of her mother-in-law, was the sole person that reaped both honour and a certain view of power from an act in which she had been so little respected. The Duke of Bedford and Lord Sandwich were overturned by this, as they had been by the last bill of Regency in the preceding reign.*

* Memoirs of George II., vol. i. p. 166.

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CHAPTER XXXIV.

Debates in the House of Commons on the Regency-bill.

The bill thus wonderfully modified was sent to the House of Commons, where it was read the first time without a word of animadversion or notice. In fact, the extraordinary step taken by the Ministers had occasioned such consternation, that no man was ready to decide what part he would take. As my views had been so fully answered by the hostilities into which I had drawn the Ministers against the Court, I wished my friends to lie by, and wait the event of that quarrel. The Duke of Cumberland, who had been secretly applied to by the King for his protection against the Ministers, and who was content with seeing the Princess thus publicly branded, and consequently divested of all hope of being Regent, was desirous, too, that the Opposition should give no farther impediment to the bill. By his direction Lord Albemarle prevailed on his brother, Admiral Keppel, on Admiral Saunders, General Honeywood, and others of the military, to declare they were satisfied and would go no farther. But there was a head so incomparably wrong and obstinate that no discretion, no address, no salutary council, could regulate or restrain its determinations. This was Lord John Cavendish, the most conceited and self-willed young man I ever knew, and whose love of rule would listen to no advice that crossed his own ideas. He insisted on making Lord Lyttelton's motion for naming the Queen Regent, and intended to move it at the first reading of the bill. Mr. Conway no sooner came into the House, than Lord John took him aside to persuade him to concur in that measure. I observed this, and followed them. Fitzroy* and Honeywood joined us, and declared against it. Mr. Conway was staggered, and advised deferring the motion till the day of the commitment. We agreed to meet at night at Sir George Saville's; but I would not go, being determined not to act with them in such ill-timed hostilities, and knowing I should have more weight with Conway in a private conversation, than in a tumultuous debate; but I prepared Fitzroy, and sent him warm to the meeting: having hinted to him that I could see no reason why the Duke of Devonshire's youngest brother should govern the Duke of Grafton's brother. Fitzroy went and repeated the

* Charles Fitzroy, afterwards Lord Southampton, younger son of Lord Augustus Fitzroy, and only brother of Augustus Henry Duke of Grafton.

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opinion of the officers against the motion. Lord John said, rudely, it was to save their commissions. Mr. Conway yielded, and the motion was resolved on. Yet, Lord John's brothers, George and Frederic, and Admiral Keppel, all repeated their opinion to me, and complained of Lord John's warmth. Lord Rockingham, though much swayed by Lord John, I shook; then went to Mr. Conway, where I found the last. He was more obstinate than ever, and said he wished the Opposition was reduced to six or seven, who could depend on one another. I smiled and said, "I was too old to wait on his Lordship to Utica."

May 7th. The bill was read a second time, and Lord John made his motion to address the King, to the name of Regent;* but it was so thinly and feebly supported, that they could not divide for it. De Grey, the Solicitor-general, was so good a courtier, that on *this emanation of the King's mind*, as he called it, he declared he would be against the bill if the regent was named. T. Townshend observed, that the nomination was to be testamentary and yet no witnesses to it. That though a living king might be complimented with the attributes of divinity, every body knew how little respect was paid to a dead king; and then, laughing at De Grey, he said, "If in these times of *no cabal, no ambition*, (the Solicitor's words,) we could settle no provision, would it be more possible in future? or would the House imitate the Parliaments of Henry VIII., which gave him power both over religion and the succession? George Grenville expressed respect to Lord John, but asked how any man who was against the whole bill, could approve of that motion? was this an unlimited power? The King could name a very small number as the bill now stood. This bill had been framed after those drawn by Lord Somers and Lord Hardwicke. The testamentary instruments were to be sealed by three great officers, and much form to be used in recalling them. Would you address the King to name all the future substitutions that he might make? There was no precedent, it was said, of such a bill —was there any of such an address? The motion went to an unrestrained nomination. Should the King name, would the House not confirm it?—and then what a precedent there would be! Lord John Cavendish replied, that he was not against the whole bill, though he disapproved many of the clauses. Yet they who disliked the whole would be consistent, as they might desire to make it as perfect as might be, though they could not obtain all they wished. At present, the King might revoke his nomination, and yet omit to substitute another person. For himself, he still disliked any secret nomination. T. Townshend, too, said, that if the address was carried, the House would not be tied down to approve any improper person. Onslow went farther, and said, that in a vacancy the throne was elective. Charles Yorke, that if the King was out of the kingdom, his power was defective. A general bill for all times could not be

* See Walpole's Letter to Lord Hertford, of May 12, 1765, in Correspondence, vol. v. p. 28.—E.

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framed. The judges thought that the grand-children of the Crown were not the children of the Crown. Yet all the King's family should look up to the King, and ought to be made independent of him. Colonel Onslow said, he would appoint the people father of the child, till the child could be the father of them. Mawbey offered to second any man who would expressly name the Queen; but that proposal and the motion for the address were almost unanimously rejected. James Grenville then objected to the commitment of the whole bill, though he was not against all Regencies, but had heard none such as he should like described. Colonel Barrè was for a Regency, but saw no precision in the proposed bill. Should there be no bill, what power could punish a bold man that should engross the government? The House would punish *him* who was as bold and daring as any man. (This seemed meant at Lord Bute, though much more true of Grenville.) He was against the King's power of naming the Regent. It was a bad measure, having so many capital figures in it. He was an enemy to adulation, but must ask, if men, who would give up their rights under a good prince, were likely to reclaim them under a bad one? If the Queen was intended for Regent, let the House meet the wishes of their Sovereign and name her. If her Majesty was ambitious, she might have availed herself of this bill. Yet he believed she had both art and ambition, but had used them for no end but to make her consort adored. Was that a reason for excluding her? This bill had no stamp of royalty in it. All the King's acts had tended to decrease his prerogative. This was a ministerial bill. Nor Somers nor Hardwicke had proposed a secret nomination. Cardinal Beaton had read a paper to his dying master, and passed it off for the King's act: such an artifice might be repeated. In the Council of Regency the Princes might out-vote the Queen. Should the Queen die in three or four years, was the King's nomination to take place of the wisdom of Parliament then sitting? He declared that in his military capacity he would serve with fidelity, but in the House would oppose what he held was not for the King's good. Norton, the Attorney-General, declared that the Parliament appointed to sit for six months after the King's death might sit or not, at the option of the Crown. Wedderburn, boasting that he dated his principles from the Revolution, said he approved the bill, because copied from those times. They had delegated power to unknown persons by establishing a Regency of such as should be in possession of the great offices at the death of Queen Ann. General Conway approved of sending the bill to the committee out of respect, and in order to try to amend it; but thought the power to be granted worse than the want of provision. It was not unconstitutional to make provision against accidents, but it was so to make bad provision. The King would now be empowered to name for the whole sixteen years that his son might be a minor. For the House of Lords, he said, they had deliberated without concluding, and then concluded without deliberating. Grenville said, that not going into the committee would be putting an end to all bills of Regency. If the difference of opi-

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nion was so great already, what would it be on the King's death, if no provision were made? It was unconstitutional to say that King, Lords, and Commons could not repeal any act. Had not they repealed two-thirds of Magna Charta, particularly in the case of wards and liveries? For himself, he dreaded some great military man (the Duke of Cumberland,) and thought he already heard the lion roar. Onslow replied, that a Secretary of State, ready with head and hand to execute General Warrants, was more formidable than a King, who was popular by deserving to be so. The bill was committed, and the House rose at nine o'clock without a division.

I went the next day to the Duke of Newcastle; he saluted me with saying how much he was against my opinion of absenting ourselves from the House (which I had proposed the day before, when I found I could not restrain our party otherwise.) It would ruin our characters, he said, to keep away;—(I could scarce refrain from laughing at hearing *him* talk of *character*)—and that if we did not oppose in the House of Commons, the Duke of Bedford would not in the House of Lords—(this was founded on the report of Morton intending to move for reinstating the name of the Princess.) "And do you think, my Lord," replied I, "that the Duke of Bedford will oppose if we do? I know he will not; and I will tell your Grace what will happen; the very reverse of what you expect. Instead of being against the Princess, you will be included in a vote for her. No mortal will speak against her: if nobody does, there will be no division, and thus you will vote for her." He was struck, and said he was sorry, but the young men would have it so. I said, "My Lord, why do not you govern your young people, and not let them govern you?" He replied: "They all say they will be governed by me sooner than by any body, except where their conscience directs;" however, he would go and talk it over with Lord Rockingham. I then went to Mr. Conway and told him what had passed. I said, "I saw we were all to be governed by a raw obstinate vain boy; that I found I had no weight; and though I would vote with them once more, if we were drawn into a division on the Princess, that they might not say I deserted them from interested views, yet it should be the last time; and I would go to the House no more. That he gave up his opinion to Lord John, though he would not to me; and that if Lord John did but whistle the words *honour and virtue*, he could turn him (Conway) which way he pleased." Mr. Conway complained of my warmth, and said Lord John had given up the question on the army at our desire, (which was true,) that for his part he desired no place, and liked very well to act with a few. "And how long," said I, "do you think they will let a few only act? What are we doing? or why? is it not for our country? If we can serve it better by silence than by speaking, is not it preferable?" He said he preferred his character and the Cavendishes' to his country. "Then," said I, "I would never have embarked with any of you, had I known you only acted for the applause of the mob." However, I made no impression on him but by one argument; and

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by that not enough. I said, "If you force a division against the Princess, you will have very few with you. Those few will hate you for it. Most of your friends will leave you, as they did last night, by which you discovered to the Ministers your weakness, and the divisions in your party. If you force most of your friends to abandon you, as most men will, by so ungentleman-like, outrageous, provoking, and unjustifiable an act, as stigmatizing the King's mother, for which you cannot give a plausible, and dare not give the true reason,—(for will any of you venture to allege what none of you can prove, her intrigue with Lord Bute?)—you demolish the party at once. Those of you who shall vote against the Princess, will abuse those who vote for her, as influenced by mercenary views; and thus when you have once made them desperate, and shall have forced them to have merit with her, they will of course adhere to her whom they have been courting. I have divided the Ministry by suggesting to the Duke of Richmond to name the Princess: you are going to give the Ministers an opportunity of recovering the ground they have lost, by defending her against you. "Why," said Mr. Conway, "if the Ministers should break, to which division would you go?" "Certainly," said I, "to Lord Bute and Mr. Pitt, rather than to the Bedfords." He declared he should prefer the latter. In short, we did not agree at all; though he said all he could to soften me, and expressed the greatest concern at differing with me: but it was so material not to suffer Lord John's inexperience and folly to govern the party, that I determined to make my stand there; for I saw that young man's rashness was capable of over-turning in an instant all I had been planning for six months. I first had tried to form a party to overthrow the Administration, Bute, Grenville, Bedfords, and all. When I found the Opposition too weak and too foolish to compass that, I turned to the next best thing, dividing Bute and the Ministers. In that I succeeded; and then saw all my schemes and labours on the point of being blasted by a silly boy, who, when all I had foreseen happened, had not a word to say for himself. Thus did I perceive *how vexatious it was to live with many fools, and not with enough!* I did not forget the lesson: it took deep root, and was the first inducement to me to form a resolution of quitting politics. Other events contributed; and I was wise enough not to throw away those fruits of my experience. Yet, before I quitted the scene, I had the pleasure of accomplishing all the views that first set me in motion, of demolishing a dangerous Administration, of humbling Grenville and the Bedfords, and of convincing Lord John Cavendish, that it had been more prudent not to provoke me by attempting to interfere with my influence with Mr. Conway. With regard to the Duke of Newcastle, whom I had always despised, and with whom a common cause had obliged me to act, I did find how well grounded my contempt of him had been, and to how little purpose it was to act with him. He was always eager, but never ready: delighted in talking over measures, but knew not how to begin or pursue them; and was as happy in seeming to lead an ineffectual

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party, as he had been in governing the nation. He thought he possessed secrets if he did but whisper, or was whispered to. Attendance on him was his supreme joy; and if two of the party came to him on the same business, he made one of them wait, to wear an air of mystery to both. There never was a man who loved power so much, and who could enjoy the shadow with the same content, when the substance was gone. Nor is it less remarkable, that though favour at Court was the object of his life, he began it with insulting the Prince of Wales (George II.,) and concluded it with affronting the Princess Dowager.

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CHAPTER XXXV.

Debates on the Regency-bill.—The Princess Dowager's name reinserted in the Bill.—Bill for altering the Duties on Italian Silks.—Riots of the Weavers on its introduction.—Projected change in the Ministry.

On May the 9th, the House went into committee on the bill. Rose Fuller said he would not opiniate the point, but declared he was against the precedent of appointing an unknown person Regent; not against any of the persons that had been named as qualified: yet surely none of them were so proper as the Queen. Should a younger brother be appointed by his Majesty's will, it would offend the elder. So had the Parliament thought in the minority of Henry VI., with regard to the Dukes of Bedford and Gloucester. It was the more necessary to name the Queen, as he had heard of another motion going to be made. Every body, therefore, would understand the reason of his motion. He moved, accordingly, to insert the name of the Queen, instead of the words *such persons;* and was seconded by Mr Onslow, and by Sir W. Meredith, who declared he had intended to make the same motion. It was objected to by Burrell,* who said, the Duke of Cumberland's name had not stood in the original bill; had been inserted on after-thought; would the House omit him now? Lord George Sackville said, he had been against even the respectful manner in which Lord John Cavendish had proposed to address the King to name the person he should wish for Regent: he was much more against the present motion. In history there was no precedent worth following. His Majesty was tied by parental affection to name the Queen, and was best qualified to know his own family, and who would be most proper for the office. If his youngest brother was best qualified, let him be named. Let the whole family be taught to pay their court to and imitate the King. Conway replied, that the power now to be given was a compliment to all future kings. Would Parliament be able to say, We trusted this power to George III. for his virtues, and refuse it to any other king, though vicious. The young Princes of the blood might prove ambitious. The bill itself would be of no force if the King should leave the nomination not filled up. No provision was made against such a contingency. When the late King went abroad, he

* Mr. Burrell, M. P. for Haslemere, made a Commissioner of Excise in 1774; became a Baronet on the death of his father-in-law, Sir Charles Raymond, and died in 1796. He was the father of Sir Charles Burrell, M. P.—E.

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always left a private letter empowering the Lords of the Regency to fill up places. In that reign though the Duke of Cumberland was so proper for Regent, yet his present Majesty's mother had been preferred—let the House therefore imitate that sole precedent. Dempster opposed the motion, yet with passing general censures. He did not approve, he said, all the Ministers had done, particularly the dismission of General Conway. He did not approve the oriental adulation heaped on the birth of this bill; he saw nothing so heroic in it. He did not approve the power entrusted to the Regency of continuing the Parliament for three years. Lord North urged that the motion was unnecessary, because every body knew there would be no person named against whom the House could have any objection. Sir George Saville said, he was astonished to hear that uncertainty was the parent of security, and certainty of uproar and confusion. He was afraid of delegating new powers; he rejected all arguments founded on personal considerations. He felt them as strongly as any body, but they were false, unlogical, and unfair. All the persons declared capable, were proper; but while there was one more proper, the rest were improper. Lord Frederic Campbell said, the motion tended to appoint a person with greater power than the King's. Dowdswell replied, that the powers given by the bill were not new powers to supply the defects of a minority, but new powers granted to the King. Should he appoint an improper person, who could stand up to object to such great persons? He wished he could see any general bill of Regency; but when such difficulties were started on these bills, he feared future kings and ministers would recommend no more bills, therefore he wished to see a general one. He did not know which he feared most, the union or the disunion of the Royal Family. George Grenville said, he had the highest authority for declaring that the powers to be granted to his Majesty would be executed immediately, and the public would know they were. "Would it be only sealing the instrument," Colonel Barrè asked, "or would the person named for Regent be known?" "I said," replied Grenville, "the powers would be executed, and that it would be known they were; not the person." "The Crown knows," said Colonel Barrè again, "that we are no Parliament of Paris, but proposes matters to us, and we ought to show what we think of them. Queen Mary asked the same power as had been granted to her father, and was refused. It shows, therefore, how ready the Crown is to take advantage of precedents. The princes of the blood might grow to court the Ministers; it was a bill to encourage faction. Whither could the power be carried where it would be less likely to do mischief than to the Queen! By not naming her, the House must suppose the Queen might not be Regent, and so her children would be torn from her by the will of her consort. Perhaps the King wished to induce the Parliament to name the Queen, that the Parliament might then be bound to support her. Mr. Dowdswell had asked, whether, on an improper person being named, the Parliament would object? Yes; even in the reign of Charles II. the Parliament had

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spoken out. Grenville, he believed, had not drawn the bill. It came from a quarter that made it wear all the marks of ministerial distraction." Whencesoever it had issued, he believed those of his profession (the military) would reap all the harvest. Averse as he was to the Ministry, the bill, he thought, would torture them more than they deserved. The motion was rejected at six o'clock by 258 to 67.

As soon as the division was over, and while the House was expecting Morton's* motion, Mr. Conway came to me and said he would go away with me, as would Sir William Meredith and others; and that they would not vote in the question on the Princess, but on the third reading of the bill, when their vote would not be personal to her. I immediately went out, but found nobody followed me. I did not like to be single, and returned, but at last carried Mr. Conway away. In the meantime, Morton and Kynaston,† a noted

* Mr. Morton, Chief Justice of Chester, had been long in the intimate confidence of the Princess. He was in extensive practice, as may be seen in Burrow, and the other reports of the day—the leader on the Oxford Circuit, and Deputy High Steward of the University. He had considerable reputation as an advocate notwithstanding the sneer of a cotemporary satire, that says—

"Bewildered Morton spits and stares,
All petulance and froth."

In the House of Commons, Mr. Morton seldom spoke except on questions connected with his profession. The following account of a singular scene in which he appears as the rash and unequal assailant of Pitt, has been preserved by Mr. Butler, the great catholic counsellor, in his interesting and not uninstructive Reminiscences of George the Third.

On one occasion, Mr. Morton happened to say King, Lords, and Commons, or (directing his eye towards Mr. Pitt) as that right honourable Member would call them, Commons, Lords, and King.—The only fault of this sentence is its nonsense. Mr. Pitt arose, as he ever did, with great deliberation, and called to order. "I have," he said, "heard frequently in this House, doctrines which have surprised me, but now my blood runs cold. I desire the words of the honourable Member may be taken down." The Clerks of the House took down the words. "Bring them to me," said Mr. Pitt," with a voice of thunder. By this time Mr. Morton was frightened out of his senses. "Sir," he said, addressing himself to the Speaker, "I am sorry to have given any offence to the right honourable Member, or to the House. I meant nothing—Kings, Lords, and Commons,—Lords, Commons, and King,—Commons, Lords, and King—*tria juncta in uno.* I meant nothing—indeed I meant nothing." "I don't wish to push the matter further," said Mr. Pitt, in a voice a little above a whisper, then in a higher tone, "the moment a man acknowledges his error he ceases to be guilty. I have a great regard for the honourable Member, and as an instance of that regard, I give him this advice." A pause of some moments ensued, then assuming a look of unspeakable decision, he said in a kind of colloquial tone, "Whenever that Member means nothing, I recommend him to say nothing." (Butler's Reminiscences, vol. i. p. 156.) Mr. Morton's last speech of any importance, was on the Indemnity Bill for sending foreign troops to Minorca, in 1775. He never rose higher than the Chief Justiceship of Chester, though he was very near succeeding Mr. Justice Wilmot, in the King's Bench; and the memoirs of the latter contain a very pleasing and well-written letter from him on the occasion. He had a house at Tackley, near Oxford, in the church of which place he is buried. He died on the 25th of July, 1780.—E.

† Lord Temple, in a letter to Lady Chatham, of the 10th of May, (Chatham

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Jacobite, moved to reinstate the Princess's name in the bill. Samuel Martin, a servant of the Princess, and known from his duel with Wilkes, spoke strongly for that measure; declared he was totally unauthorized, and believed her Royal Highness averse to be named. The bill, he found, had been altered, by what means he did not know; nor was it proper to tell, if he did. He must suppose the alteration came from nowhere but the other House. None of the Royal Family but the Princess were excluded. If the Queen should die, who would be so proper for Regent as her Royal Highness? Why did the other House stigmatize or put a brand on her? And then looking at Grenville, he said, the Princess had had occasion to see the professions made to her were not from the heart. Dr. Blakistone spoke in the same behalf, as did the younger George Onslow, who beseeched his friends to look on him with an eye of pity, for being forced to differ with them from conscience. In case of the Queen's death, the Princess, by law, was the most proper person to replace her. The more persons capable of the Regency, the worse; but when all the rest were named in the bill, he could not consent to exclude her Royal Highness. His cousin took the other side, but called God to witness that he intended no personality. He had been for the nomination of the Queen, and now thought the smaller the number the better. He had heard the Secretary of State had procured the omission of the Princess. This occasioned his being called to order. Sir John Rushout, as the ancient oracle of the House declared, that Onslow might say what he had heard from common fame, but might not say he had heard it himself. Onslow, on that authority, affirmed he had been told that the Secretary of State did not make the motion for omission of the Princess by private authority; and on that authority he desired explanation. Had the House of Commons received such a message, it would have quieted them. The present motion was cruel to the Princess: the correction in the House of Lords, he was persuaded, was not personal. Had the Duke of York been omitted, his own objection to restoring the Duke's name would have been the same. Grenville* replied, that the words moved by Lord Halifax, were inserted to prevent doubt: himself had thought they would not be disagreeable to her Royal Highness—hoped they were not—thought they would be universally acceptable—thought there had been authority for the omission, but found there was not; would concur in any compliment to the mother of his sovereign.

This cold, half-owning, half-denying speech, completed Grenville's ruin with the Princess. Martin vowed to God he did not know her

Correspondence, vol. ii. p. 308,) notices these speeches very slightingly, and says the whole debate was of the most superlative dulness. Edward Kynaston, of Hardwicke, in the county of Salop, the eldest surviving son of John Kynaston, of the same place, the claimant of the ancient Barony of Powys, was member for Montgomeryshire; he died without issue in 1772.—E.

* He said to Onslow, in private, "Whatever you say to me, is fair; but there is one man, Martin, whose words I will never forget or forgive."

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opinion on the question, and was believed as much as Grenville and Onslow had been. Morton more artfully said, that if her Highness had intended to send a message to the House, it would not have been by so insignificant a man as himself. Onslow said, he hoped it would not be interpreted as if he meant to brand the Princess. Whoever used that term, branded the House of Lords. Lord Palmerston gave a strong dissent to the motion, though he owned the situation was disagreeable. The Princess, he said, was excluded by a great and general line. The motion then passed without a division, but with several No's. Equally to the disgrace of both sides, the Ministers servilely revoking what they had insolently and unjustifiably done; the Opposition withstanding the reparation, yet not daring to avow,—nay, disavowing the very motive of the obstruction they gave.

I had thus, as I flattered myself, prevented the greater number of our friends from personally offending the Princess. My arguments and their own interest, had kept many from the House. I did not doubt but the Ministers would be dismissed, if the Court found that it had hopes of mollifying the Opposition. But the next morning I perceived the vertigo was returned with fresh force. On going to the House, Sir William Meredith told me that Onslow was determined to put it to a division on the report, encouraged by the many negatives on the Princess's question. This was judging weakly, for many would cry "No!" who would not have voted, when they would have been personally distinguished by a division. He added, that Forester, the Duke of Bedford's lawyer, had laughed at them for not dividing. I was not the dupe of that art; the less as Rigby had been the first to acquaint Mr. Conway with Morton's intended motion; and to draw in our party, the Bedford faction had given out that Forester would oppose the re-establishment of the Princess's name. Lord Rockingham confirmed this intelligence—agreed with me, but said he could prevail on the Duke of Newcastle, on whom I found the Bedfords had contrived to make the impression they wished. Sir William Meredith added that Onslow had said to him over night, "I believe you, Conway, and T. Townshend acted from conscience, but all the rest from interest." I replied, "Sir William Onslow may say what he pleases, yet he will accept a place before I shall. I had rather be taxed with self-interest, than call God to witness I mean no personality, when I am doing the most personal thing in the world." Provoked at this new absurdity, I went away, depending that Mr. Conway, who had retired with me the day before, and had promised me not to vote against the Princess, would be firm to his promise; yet when the question came on, he had the weakness, though he tried to prevent a division, to vote with the Cavendishes against her. They pretended to desire he would not, but knew how much the fear of their silent reproaches would operate on him.* Newcastle's peo-

* This was so entirely the motive of his conduct, that he wrote to his brother, Lord Hertford, at Paris, that he had voted against the Princess from the fear of being taxed with selfish views.

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ple were violent, and insisted on a division, driven on by John White,* an old republican, who governed both Newcastle and Lord John Cavendish, and who hoped this vote would divide the Opposition from Mr. Pitt, whom White hated, and who he certainly knew would never personally affront the Court. Yet after all their hopes, the result of this intemperate measure was a contemptible minority of 37. What was more unlikely, Rigby retired, and did not vote with the majority, though he had declared nothing should make him vote against the Princess. Her triumph would have been complete, if any thing could have effaced the affront she had received, and which must remain on record. What the few Whigs in that little minority could plead in their defence, was difficult to say. They had loudly condemned the motion for removing Sir Robert Walpole on public fame, and now endeavoured to stigmatize the Princess on the same ground, without daring even to assign it as a pretence. The conduct of the Ministers was still more double; and many believed that the Duke of Cumberland's hatred of the Princess had drawn him at last to concur with the Bedfords in instigating Newcastle to this measure. Grenville scarce concealed his sentiments; and Lord Burghersh telling him he would go away, rather than vote with the Tories, unless he, Grenville, desired him not; the latter bade him follow his own inclination—he staid and voted against the Princess.

After some other clauses proposed and rejected, the Bill passed at eleven at night. During the debate Onslow attacked Charles Townshend (who had spoken for the Court,) and congratulated the Treasury-bench on their acquisition. Townshend replied in one of his best speeches, but, with his usual want of judgment, boasted of his own steadiness for sixteen years; saying, "Surely in these times, with a little common sense, I might have been dependent if I had pleased." The answer was obvious—"With a little common sense you might."

Rose fuller declared that if the motion for reinstating the Princess was rejected, he, to show his impartiality, would move to omit her Royal Highness's daughters and Princess Amalie. It was said with humour, that would be like Lord Anglesey, who beating his wife,† she said, "How much happier is that wench (pointing to a housemaid) than I am!" He immediately kicked the maid down stairs, and then said, "Well! there is at least one grievance removed."

On the 13th, the bill, returned from the Commons, with the name of the Princess Dowager reinserted, was read in the House of Lords, and the Ministers were to swallow the amendment, and palliate their past conduct as well as they could. The task was allotted to Lord Sandwich. He owned Lord Halifax's amendment had met with his

* Mr. White, M.P. for East Retford, an old member, highly respected by the Whig party in the House of Commons.—E.

† She was divorced from him by act of Parliament, for his cruel usage, and then married John Sheffield, Duke of Buckingham. She was natural daughter of King James the Second.

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hearty concurrence, and he had expected it would have passed through both Houses unanimously: had thought it would be disapproved of by no person whatever. But whether that amendment or the correction of it should take place, the great point would be obtained of ascertaining who were the persons capable of the Regency. He hoped, therefore, their Lordships would agree to the correction sent up from the other House. Parliament could not mean to exclude the Princess, if it would be disagreeable to her Royal Highness, or to any other person: the sole meaning had been to remove doubts. Should he himself adhere to the former words, he should be inconsistent, for those words had no longer the same meaning; but he had thought the amendment would have been universally approved. He had meant to establish any description that would be agreeable to the King and people. It was now of consequence to be unanimous in re-establishing the name of her Royal Highness.

By Sandwich and Grenville dwelling so much upon the expectation they had conceived, that the omission of the Princess would be universally approved, it was plain they had flattered themselves with acquiring such popularity by that act, that the King would not dare to remove them. This had driven them on the outrage they had committed. The event proved just the contrary of what they had expected. Obnoxious as the Princess was, the heinousness of the insult to her, and of the treachery to the King, shocked all mankind, and seemed doubly offensive in men from whom the King had a right to expect defence, and who had plunged so deep into the most arbitrary and unpopular measures. It was not by *their* hands that the nation wished to see the Princess and Favourite humbled. The same fate attended Sandwich now, that had pursued the discovery of the "Essay on Woman." The profaneness of Wilkes, and the unpopularity of the Princess, were forgotten in the more odious means employed to disgrace them.

The Duke of Richmond took notice that the words now inserted by the House of Commons were precisely the same with those he had moved himself, and was glad they were likely to be agreed to; yet when he had proposed them, Lord Sandwich had moved to adjourn. His own wish had tended to precision; and his view, to pass the act in the manner most agreeable to the King. When Lord Halifax had brought other words, he had concluded those words were agreeable to his Majesty, for he believed *Lord Halifax* incapable of deceiving the King or the House (this was pointed at Lord Sandwich.) He had now heard that their Lordships must eat their words; and that what had happened was a stigma on her Royal Highness. Surely that was not paying court to her: such assertions had more zeal than judgment in them; and were injurious to the House. Lord Sandwich replied, that he had moved to adjourn, because the question had been too great to be determined suddenly: he had not been against the Duke's motion. He knew of nothing injurious from the other House.

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The Duke of Portland* disagreed with the new amendment, because he recollected, he said, *the authority* with which the omission of the Princess had gone down to the other House. To re-instate her now would be inconsistent and contradictory. Lord Talbot said there was no inconsistency in changing, when founded on the opinions of the other House. It was advantageous to the constitution to have the joint wisdom of both. Lord Ravensworth said he had always been for naming the Princess, yet disapproved the new amendment, because the former amendment had come from the King. The Duke of Newcastle dissented from the amendment; protested he had no views; could only serve his country by his opinion in that House. He would not say the other House had no right to make this amendment; but they had not shown their respect to the Crown, or to their Lordships, that they had meant to show. It had been usual to receive nominations or stipulations from the Crown. The House of Commons should not have taken upon themselves to nominate. He thought Lord Halifax incapable of bringing any thing but truth from the King: he wished, therefore, the former words had not been altered.

The present altercation was not warranted by precedent. Lord Halifax's motion had reduced the number of those that were capable of the Regency, and therefore was a desirable measure. Lord Denbigh expressed his astonishment at the former extraordinary motion, which had flowed from as extraordinary a quarter. He had not been present, yet should have voted for it, extraordinary as it was; should wonder if their Lordships should not agree to correct that wonderful measure. During the meridian of Newcastle's power, *now dwindled*, the Princess was named Regent. If Prince Frederic† should, by failure of the rest of the Royal Family, come to be King before he was of age, the Princess, by Newcastle's bill, must be Regent. He believed his Grace's great age had made him forget one of his favourite children. Lord Talbot said he did not believe the Duke objected to the Princess, but would have had the Commons consider the motion as the King's. He would not enter into the merits of the Princess. Though he held that stick in his hand (of Lord-Steward,) he had never known a court-secret. Should the King die, the Princess would be too afflicted to act. He then ridiculed the Opposition; and concluded with saying, "I was once a patriot, my lords, for patriotism is always in Opposition." Lord Pomfret declared strongly in favour of the Princess; and the amendment was agreed to without a negative. The bill passed.

But though the Ministers had been forced to make atonement, the sacrifice was by no means accepted. The King treated them with every mark of estrangement and aversion; and it was visible to every

* William Henry Cavendish, third Duke. He had succeeded to the title on the death of his father in 1762, and was at this time only twenty-seven years of age.—E.

† The King's youngest brother.

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eye that their fall was determined. Previous to their dismission, they tasted of the horror in which they were held by the people. The very day on which the Regency-bill passed, the Lords read another bill sent from the Commons, for imposing as high duties on Italian silks as are paid on those of France, on this foundation, that the French sent their silks to Genoa and Leghorn, and then entered them there as Italian merchandize. This bill had passed the Commons with little notice, all attention having been engrossed by the plan of the Regency. When it was read by the Lords, the Duke of Bedford alone spoke against it; nobody said a word for it, and it was thrown out.* It happened that the silk manufacture was at a low ebb, and many weavers in Spitalfields were unemployed. The next day about three or four thousand of those poor men went very quietly and unarmed to Richmond, to petition the King for redress. The Queen was walking in the paddock, and was alarmed by their numbers; but they gave no offence, and followed the King in the same peaceable manner to Wimbledon, whither he was gone to a review. The King told them, he would do all that lay in his power to relieve them, and they returned pleased and orderly.

But the next day, May 15th, whether they distinguished between the assurances given by his Majesty and the rejection of the bill by the Lords; or whether, as is more probable, they had been instigated under hand, they went to the House of Lords in great bodies, behaving in the most riotous manner, abusing the Peers, and applauding the Commons, who had passed their bill. The Chancellor's† coach they stopped, and asked him if he had been against the bill? He stoutly replied, Yes. They were abashed at his firmness, and said they hoped he would do justice. He replied, "Always, and every where; and whoever did, need fear nothing." When the Duke of Bedford appeared, they hissed and pelted him; and one of the mob taking up a large stone for the new pavement, dashed it into the chariot: the Duke broke the force of the blow by holding up his arm, but it cut his hand, and bruised him on the temple; so narrowly he escaped with his life. They then followed him to his own house, where with great temper he admitted two of the ring-leaders to a parley, and they went away seemingly appeased.‡

The next day the House of Lords issued out orders for preservation of the peace; but the weavers continued to parade the streets and the park, though without committing any violence.

On the Friday, the Lords sent for Justice Fielding, who said the weavers had done no mischief. The Chancellor, who had been trusted by the Ministers with none of their late extraordinary measures, and who probably foresaw their downfall, was sullen, and

* The object of the promoters of the bill was to obtain a total prohibition of the importation of foreign silks. This was not the only instance of the Duke of Bedford's knowledge of political economy. Horace Walpole says elsewhere, that "he spoke readily, and upon *trade* well."—E.

† Robert Henley, Earl of Northington.

‡ Annual Register for 1765, p. 42.—E.

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would take no part. Few lords attended, and every thing announced to the Ministers their approaching disgrace. About dinner-time, the Duke of Bedford received intelligence that his house would be assaulted at night, on which he sent away his jewels and papers, and demanded a party of horse; the Duchess* persisting in remaining with him in the house. His friends and dependants, and several officers garrisoned it; and as was foreseen, the rioters in prodigious numbers assaulted the house in the evening, and began to pull down the wall of the Court;† but the great gates being thrown open, the party of horse appeared, sallying out, while the riot act was read, rode round Bloomsbury-square, slashing and trampling on the mob, and dispersing them; yet not till two or three of the guards had been wounded. In the meantime a party of the rioters had passed to the back of the house, and were forcing their way through the garden, when fortunately fifty more horse arriving in the very critical instant, the house was saved, and perhaps the lives of all that were in it. The Duke, however, and his company kept watch all night; and the coffee-houses were filled with curious and idle people, who sent with great indifference every hour to learn how the siege went on. The disappointed populace vented their rage on the house of Carr, a fashionable mercer, who dealt in French silks, and demolished the windows. All Saturday they remained peaceable; and though another attack on Bedford-house was threatened, no further mischief ensued.

On Sunday evening I went to compliment the Duke and Duchess, as most of their acquaintance did, on their escape. I found the square crowded, but chiefly with persons led by curiosity. As my chariot had no coronets, I was received with huzzas; but when the horses turned to enter the court, dirt and stones were thrown at it. When the gates opened, I was surprised with the most martial appearance. The horse-guards were drawn up in the court, and many officers and gentlemen were walking about as on the platform of a regular citadel. The whole house was open, and knots of the same kind were in every room. When I came to the Duchess, and lamented the insult they had suffered, she replied, with warmth and acrimony, that the mob had been set on by Lord Bute. I was not much inclined to believe *that*, nor thought a mob a tool with which Lord Bute would choose to amuse himself. Immediately after, came in the Earl and Countess of Northumberland. Words cannot describe the disdainful manner in which they were received.‡ The Duke of Bedford left the room; the Earl was not asked to sit, nor spoken to; but was treated with such visible marks of neglect and

* Gertrude Leveson, daughter of John Lord Gower, and second wife of John Russell, Duke of Bedford.

† Bedford House stands on the north side of Bloomsbury Square. It has low walls in front, and a garden backwards, with a fossé to the fields. [It was built from a design by Inigo Jones, and has shared the fate of other great mansions in the same quarter of London.—E.]

‡ Their son was married to one of Lord Bute's daughters.

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aversion, that Lord Waldegrave said to another of the family, "Faith! this is too much." In my own opinion, the mob was blown up by Humphrey Cotes,* and the friends of Wilkes. Almond, the friend and printer of the latter, owned to me, that they were directed by four or five gentlemen in disguise, who were not suspected; and seemed willing to disclose the secret to me. I said, "Name no names to me, I will not hear them." He gave me a print published by Cotes against Lord Bute and Lord Holland; and talked of risings that would be all over England. I said, "I should be sorry to have the mob rise: it would occasion the army being quartered in London, and then we should be enslaved."

Perhaps I have dwelt too minutely on this episode; perhaps I have done so on many other points equally unimportant. But it must be remembered that I am painting a portrait of the times, rather than writing a history. The events, too, of this time were so linked together, that trifles gave birth to serious eras; and unless it be detailed with the circumstantial exactness which I shall use, and which I stood in a situation to know more thoroughly than most men, from my intimacy or connexion with many of the actors, the history of this reign will be very imperfectly understood; and posterity would see sudden and extraordinary changes, without being able to account for them from the public appearances of things. When it is known, it will be easy to compose a more compendious account; and my narrative, that may serve for the scaffolding, may be thrown by as no longer of use.

The King, on all other occasions so able and steady a dissembler, did not affect now to disguise the offence he had taken at his Ministers. He had long inwardly groaned under their insolence and disagreeable qualities: and though for some time Lord Bute a little restrained his Majesty's impatience to throw them off, both the Favourite and the mother had contributed to foment the King's aversion. The Duchess of Bedford had openly affronted the Princess, and avowed her hatred to Lord Bute. To Lord Sandwich the Favourite bore private resentment, for having courted a little too assiduously, though he was disappointed in the pursuit, rich old Wortley Montagu, Lady Bute's father.† But Grenville was the principal rock of offence. I have mentioned his jealousy and ill-treatment of the Favourite; his manners made him as distasteful to the King, as his engrossing fondness for power had made him to the Favourite. His ill-judged economy had led him to refuse twenty thousand pounds to the King, to buy the ground behind the Green-park, where the King had made a new garden, and where, by the loss of that purchase, a new row of houses was erected, that overlooked the King and Queen in their most domestic hours. And, as if non-compliance with even his innocent pleasures was not sufficiently offensive, that awkward man of ways and means, whom nature had fitted for no

* A broken wine merchant, brother of Admiral Cotes.

† Lord Sandwich was the head of Mr. Wortley Montague's family,—E.

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employment less than a courtier's, fatigued the King with such nauseous and endless harangues, that, lamenting being daily exposed to such a political pedant, the King said to Lord Bute of Grenville, "When he has wearied me for two hours, he looks at his watch to see if he may not tire me for an hour more."

The measure of these disgusts was filled up by the conduct of the Ministers on the Bill of Regency; yet, though that conduct threw down the sluice, the resolution had been taken before to discard them on the first opportunity. When the Duke of Cumberland had waited on the King, before setting out for Newmarket, his Majesty had vented himself to his uncle on the uneasiness he felt from being in their hands, and he must have felt before he chose that Prince for his confidant. At Newmarket, the Earl of Northumberland had private instructions to continue the negotiation, and the Duke had listened with no unwilling ear, as I have hinted before; yet he had been so over-prudent as not to trust the secret to the chiefs of the Opposition, who, driven on by Lord John Cavendish, had intemperately displayed their aversion to the Princess and Favourite, while they had not the least suspicion that the Duke was secretly paving the way for their return to Court. Yet even that intemperate behaviour of the Cavendishes and their friends could not deter the Court from the resolution of removing the Ministers, whose crime appeared, as indeed it was, of a much blacker dye. Indeed, those of the Opposition who had gone the greatest lengths, were not of importance enough to make the Court lay aside its design. The royal junto depended on the support of the Duke of Cumberland, and could not doubt but they might have Newcastle, whenever they called for him: the rest of course must follow their leaders. But the Court intended to avail itself of a still firmer support, and that was Mr. Pitt's, on whose easy compliance they depended too inconsiderately—and with still greater inconsideration, they began to take the machine to pieces, before they had made the common preparations for refitting it. This rash conduct was probably inspired by the riot of the weavers, which the Court regarded as the sense of the nation expressed against the Administration. Had the King temporized, he might have dealt to advantage with any faction he chose. By beginning with the dismission of the Ministers, he exposed himself to the extravagant demands of all who saw the dilemma to which he had reduced himself, and the necessity he was under of submitting to some disagreeable set of men or other, who were sure to make him purchase dearly a support that they knew he wished not to accept at all.*

* Yet the same indiscreet step did the King take again in 1783, when he dismissed the Duke of Portland and Lord North, and what was called *the Coalition*, before he had made sure of another Administration; and he was for a few days in danger of being obliged to recall those he had just removed; Lord Temple, son of George Grenville, not daring to undertake the Administration after he had consented; and Mr. Pitt, son of Lord Chatham, being almost as timid, and fluctuating backwards and forwards for three or four days, before he at last determined to accept.

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CHAPTER XXXVI.

The King's differences with his Ministers.—Negotiations with Mr. Pitt to form a new Administration.—Contemplated appointment of a Captain General.—Reconciliation of Lord Temple and Mr. Grenville.—Ministers recalled.—Dismissal of Mr. Mackenzie.—Parliament Prorogued.

On May the 18th, Grenville went to receive the King's orders for the speech at the close of the session, which was to end the next week. The King said, coldly, there was no hurry; he would have the Parliament adjourned, not prorogued. Grenville thunderstruck, said, "There was so much mystery in that speech, that he must beg leave to ask if his Majesty had any thoughts of making a change in his Administration?"—"Certainly," replied the King; "I cannot bear it as it is. I will have the Parliament only adjourned." "I hope," replied Grenville, "your Majesty will not order me to cut my own throat."—"Then," said the King, "who must adjourn the Parliament?"—"Whoever your Majesty shall appoint my successor," said Grenville.

The Ministers, on the communication of this notice, took the only sensible step that remained in their situation, which was by dissolving the Administration themselves, to involve the King in such a labyrinth of negotiations and demands, as might end in nothing, and reduce him to apply again to them. Accordingly, Bedford, Grenville, and the two Secretaries of State, acquainted his Majesty they should resign on the following Tuesday, if no Administration was formed by that time.*

Hostilities thus commenced, other secrets came out. It was known that the design of the Court was to place the Earl of Northumberland at the head of the Treasury. The Duke of Cumberland had come into the plan, and Lord Albemarle had been sent very privately to Hayes, to ask Mr. Pitt's assistance and junction in that scheme. Pitt's behaviour was neither promising nor condescending. Yet, both the King and the Duke were so bent on union with him, that Lord Albemarle had been despatched again to Hayes with re-

* In a letter to the Duke of Marlborough, of the 19th of May, the Duke of Bedford states, that he plainly charged the King on this occasion with having "very unfaithfully kept" the conditions on which he (the Duke) had accepted office, and urged on him the necessity of forming an efficient Administration. The only result was that "I left him," says the Duke, "as did all the rest, without being able to get an explicit answer." Mem. of the House of Russel, vol. ii. p. 560.—E.

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peated offers. Pitt talked in general terms of a total alteration of measures; of a strict alliance against France; and of condemnation of General Warrants, though to be turned in some shape that might save his Majesty's honour. Still, however, he kept great reserve, and to draw the fuller *éclat* from the negotiation, let Lord Albemarle perceive that he would not deign to negotiate with a substitute, but expected a personal interview with the Duke of Cumberland himself. Even this was granted, and (it was thought) wisely, as, if Pitt could be awed, it must be by so able and respectable a Prince. On the other hand, some men feared that Pitt's haughtiness was more likely to augment than stoop to any dignity below the throne.

On the 20th, his Royal Highness went to Hayes. With much elevation, Pitt did not seem untractable. He made three principal demands: Regulation of General Warrants; Restitution of Officers; Alliances with Protestant Powers. The first article the Duke told him would be accorded; the King himself had named the second; the third would be most subject to difficulty. Of domestic regulations, Pitt only named the Chief Justice Pratt for Chancellor which the Court endeavoured to elude by the offer of a peerage instead of the seals. The Duke at last said that, though not authorized, he would venture to offer him *carte blanche*. Lord Temple should have the Treasury, Lord Northumberland would take any other post. Mr. Pitt said, Lord Temple would not take the Treasury, but some other place—if any: nor would he promise that himself would take any part in the new system.

The Duke of Cumberland, before he went to Hayes, had sent for Lord Temple to town; and it was observed, that from the time *that* lord saw Mr. Pitt, the difficulties and reluctance of the latter were visibly augmented.

One of my most earnest wishes was to see Mr. Pitt restored to the head of the Administration. Nobody knew his faults better, but nobody admired his genius more; no man had felt greater pride than I had felt, from the glorious position in which he had placed my country. The moment I learned the negotiation, I laboured to my utmost to draw my friends to support him, if he should become Minister. Nor had I previously neglected to excuse their late behaviour, of which I persuaded Lord Holland they repented. He wished them to notify their sorrow in form; but though I was willing to have that signified, yet I could not expect the Cavendishes would recant: nor was I in haste to press it, as I waited for what I soon heard—the treaty with Pitt. Lord Holland said he was convinced the King would never forgive Lord Halifax and the Duke of Bedford, and would dismiss them if he could; but Grenville, he thought, would be saved, as he had had no hand in the transaction. "No hand!" said I, "he was as deep as any of them." "Against the Princess, I allow he was," said Lord Holland; "but did not contribute to draw the King into that cruel step." This exception appeared so strange to me, that I almost thought there was truth in a saying of that time—that Grenville must remain Minister, because

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there was no other man in a tye-wig fit to preside at the Board of Treasury. I found from Lord Holland, that he had been denied access to Lord Bute, who had sent him word he could not see him, as so great a crisis was at hand, in which he himself had no share. The very message proved the contrary. If the message was true, and not concerted between them, it must have been a silly evasion prepared by Bute, that he might assure Pitt he had not seen Lord Holland; or to disguise to the latter the treaty with the former. It is not even improbable that Lord Bute had tasted so much vexation from the Regency-bill, which Lord Holland had earnestly pressed upon him, that he might not be inclined to have recourse to the same councils again. Lord Holland, however, let me discover how anxiously he wished to overturn the Ministers, be the means what they would. He dropped to me these remarkable words—"What an artful man might do with these mobs!" But I was not a man to dip my hand in such resources.*

On the day that the Duke of Cumberland went to Hayes, a committee of the House of Lords sat on the Riots. Lord Sandwich said, he hoped their Lordships would adjourn till the Duke of Bedford could come in safety to the House. Lord Halifax said, there were rumours of a change of Ministers; but it was impossible the King could give up so faithful a servant as the Duke of Bedford to the mob; and threw out many insinuations of the mob being stirred up by Lord Bute. Lord Pomfret took this up with great warmth; but during the altercation the Lords were informed that the sheriffs of London (probably by concert with the Ministers,) attended with material information. Lord Halifax went out to them; and returning, said, there was a diabolical plot. Being called in, the Sheriffs said they had received certain information that the weavers were to rise in arms at five in the morning, were to be joined by the butchers and watermen, and destroy Bedford House. The Chancellor said the notice ought to be laid before both Houses; but the Lords contented themselves with voting an address to the King for a proclamation against the rioters, with giving directions to the civil magistrates to secure the peace, and with granting an additional guard of one hundred men for Bedford House, as the Duke had desired.

The next day Mr. Conway brought me intelligence that gave me inexpressible concern, and struck me with more alarm than any public measure I ever knew. It was, that Lord Halifax had written to the King that his Ministers advised his Majesty to employ Lord Granby as the most popular man in England, and the Duke of Richmond and Lord Waldegrave as generals under him, to suppress the riot—advice that breathed the desperate ambition of the ministerial faction, and showed their intention of usurping the government by force:

* In setting no bounds to his hostilities, Lord Holland's fear operated as much as his resentment. He said to me with great earnestness, "If Mr. Pitt should not be content with taking away my place, but should say, I will have a mark set on him!"

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Lord Granby having assured them at a council of their friends, that he would firmly adhere to them. But this was not the part of the intelligence that most alarmed me: it was the consequence of this letter, the King on the receipt of it having written to his uncle that he would immediately name his Royal Highness Captain-General. This was at once firing the signal of civil war: the generals were named on either side. I implored Mr. Conway to hasten to the Duke, and prevent, if possible, before it was too late, so rash and fatal a step: it would be sufficient for the King to refuse delegating Lord Granby. The Duke begged the King to suspend his resolution, and told him, that if he accepted the nomination, it should only be for the present, and he would appoint Lord Albemarle to act under him. And he sent to Lord Granby, that he should accept the charge but for the purpose of suppressing the riots, and that he should not in any other point interfere with his Lordship. This, though it showed temper, discovered but too great alacrity to undertake the commission. To Hayes, too, his Royal Highness despatched Lord Frederic Cavendish, to acquaint Mr. Pitt with the intended measure. Mr. Pitt with his wonted elevation treated the matter lightly, and said the riots were of no consequence. The dismission of the Ministers he approved of, in consequence of their actions: if only as enemies of Lord Bute, the case was different. He had no objection to Lord Bute as Favourite, but as he disagreed with him on measures.

The Ministers, determined to push their blow, prevailed on the Duke of York, who they meant should balance his uncle, to go to Richmond, and in their names to advise his Majesty to come and stay in town. Many of the Tories, dreading the power of the Duke of Cumberland, declared they would abandon Bute and adhere to Grenville. Fortunately the Duke himself told the King that the riots were not of consequence enough for him to be appointed Captain-General. The Favourite, too, had taken alarm, and apprehending a parliamentary motion against himself, had summoned all the Scotch to attend the House. Thus blew over a cloud that might have been productive of such fatal events!

The negotiation in the mean time with Mr. Pitt continued, but made no advance. The Duke of Cumberland understood that he refused to come into place, and proposed to the King to form an Administration without him. The Duke of Newcastle, though he would not venture to take any responsible place himself, was eager for the same measure; and the Cavendishes were not less ready to join such a system. It was proposed to place Lord Lyttelton at the head of the Treasury, with Charles Townshend as Chancellor of the Exchequer, and General Conway Secretary at War. The latter and I saw the inefficacy of this expedient, and protested against it. Such an Administration, we agreed, could not last six months. The Opposition would be said to join Lord Bute, and would suffer in their reputation. Finding so few facilities, the Duke determined to make one more essay, and desired Lord Lyttleton to go to Hayes, and know the last resolution of Mr. Pitt. What words can paint the astonishment of

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Lord Lyttelton, or indeed of mankind, when that lord, who was to carry Lord Temple to Hayes with him, was informed at Lord Temples's door, that Mr. George Grenville was alone with his brother? Lord Lyttelton waited two hours with Lady Temple. It was by that time too late to go to Hayes till after dinner. Lord Temple vouchsafed to make no explanation to Lord Lyttelton, but said it was only a private reconciliation. He said the same the next day when, with Lord Lyttelton, he waited on the Duke of Cumberland; adding, that their reconciliation did not extend to political connexion. "But that, I suppose, my Lord," said that sensible Prince, "will soon follow." Lord Lyttelton had previously waited on his Royal Highness at his return from Hayes, and owned that he could not say Mr. Pitt and Lord Temple were agreed, though still they were open to treat. Lord Temple complained to the Duke that the King had been advised to take his old Ministers again; and wondered who had advised it. "I did, my Lord," said the Duke firmly, "thinking Mr. Pitt's a flat refusal, and finding nobody else would engage without him." Before they parted, the Duke made Lord Temple own, that *carte blanche* had been offered to Mr. Pitt; yet that point Mr. Pitt and his friends never allowed.*

What the Duke had said, was true. He no sooner heard of the reconciliation in the family of Grenville, than he advised the King to submit, and take up with his old Ministers. The reconciliation explained Mr. Pitt's conduct, and the seeming variations in it; for though in terms he never consented to accept, the Duke owned to Mr. Conway, that he had talked as if actually in place. He had said, "Pratt will be at the head of the law."—"I said no such thing," said the Duke; "the King may be engaged to Mr. Yorke; I know nothing of it." Pitt replied, if he did come in, he could not depend on the faith of the Court, and on influence in the Cabinet; "I do not know, sir," continued he, "if I can even depend on your Royal Highness's influence." "No, indeed," replied the Duke, "for I shall have no influence there myself. The King called me to this business, and the moment it is over, I shall retire to Windsor." But these irregularities had all flowed from the conduct of Lord Temple, who had thrown every obstruction in the way of the negotiation, and had affected even to complain of the Duke of Newcastle, for proposing Lord Lyttelton for the head of the Treasury, though he himself could not be persuaded by Mr. Pitt to accept it. It may be remembered, that in my visit to Stowe, I had discovered how little cordiality subsisted between Lord Temple and Mr. Pitt. From that time, the former had certainly leaned towards his brother George; and, as if the love of confusion predominated even over his ambition, he had selected this important moment to clog Mr. Pitt's measures by openly rushing into connexion with his brother George.

* This negotiation is not noticed in Lord Chatham's published Correspondence. —E.

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Lord Bristol,* and Augustus Hervey,† had, at Lord Temple's desire, negotiated the reconciliation; and besides the very lucrative interest that Grenville had in accepting the offer, it was doubly sweetened now by the defeat it gave to Mr. Pitt, who in honour would not, or in prudence could not, enter upon Administration by a breach with his brother-in-law, his benefactor, and popular associate, Temple, and only for being reconciled to their common brother, George Grenville.‡ The reversion of Lord Temple's estate,§ could make even the inflexible Grenville stoop; and if his acrimonious heart was obliged to pardon his brother, it was indemnified by revenge on his sister's husband. Mr. Pitt, when Lord Temple and he parted, said pathetically,

> Extinxti me teque, soror; populumque Patresque
> Sidonios, urbemque tuam!

The Ministers, who no doubt had learned from Lord Temple the King's distress, went to his Majesty on the 22d, and being acquainted that it was his purpose to retain them in his service, insolently told him that they must ask three things. First: Would his Majesty promise, on his royal word, not to consult Lord Bute any more, nor suffer him to interfere in business? Secondly, Would he dismiss Mr. Mackinsy‖ from the direction of Scottish affairs? Thirdly, Would he immediately declare Lord Granby Captain-General? The King said the last would be the greatest affront imaginable to his uncle, after he had been thought of for Captain-General. Grenville replied insolently, he did not understand why his Royal Highness was so often at Court. "But," continued the King, "are these questions, or terms?" They said, "Questions." "But do you mean," said the King, "to adhere to them as *sine quâ non*?"—"We do," replied they. The King said, he would give them an answer at night.

In the evening, the King, instead of seeing them, sent for the Chancellor, and ordered him to carry his answer to the Ministers. It was: that there was no longer any question about Lord Bute; but his Majesty would give his word not to see him. He would dismiss Mr. Mackinsy,¶ but would by no means yield to make Lord Granby

* George William Hervey, second Earl of Bristol.

† Admiral Augustus John Hervey, brother of the Earl of Bristol, on whose death he succeeded to the title. He was a gallant and able officer, and had distinguished himself at the Havanna; but he was not without some of the peculiarities of disposition that seemed to belong to his family, and his memory subsequently suffered from the trial of his widow, the Duchess of Kingston (the soi-disant Miss Chudleigh.) He died without issue in 1779.—E.

‡ George Grenville was brother of Lady Hester, Mr. Pitt's wife, lately created Baroness.

§ It has been said, that Lord Temple's estate, by a flaw, was in his own power.

‖ James Stuart Mackinsy, only brother of Lord Bute.

¶ Mr. Mackinsy resigned immediately upon learning that his exclusion was an object with the Government and would accommodate the King. He was a very amiable man, and no objection was ever raised to him beyond his relationship to

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Captain-General. But though the stand-out of prudence was made on the last article, the indignity offered personally to the King on the second, was the most crying. Mr. Mackinsy had possessed a place of 2000*l.* a-year for life. To accommodate some arrangement in Scotland, he had given it up, and the King had given him another 3000*l.* a-year; but it not being a patent place for life, the King had promised him, upon his honour, that it should never be taken away during his reign. This severe sacrifice the insolent faction now extorted; the Court in its present distress, not daring to venture a rupture, of which any part of Lord Bute's family should be the cause.

The Ministers did not hesitate long; though Rigby tried to enforce* their adherence to all the three demands. They waited on the King the next day, declaring their acceptance of the two conditions, but annexing a third, the dismission of Lord Holland from the Pay-office, which was granted without a murmur; though, when Lord Holland had undertaken to carry through the Peace, the King said to his wife, he should never forget the obligation.† The King ordered Lord Sandwich to write the letter of his dismission, but Sandwich had the decency to excuse himself, having lived even till now on friendly terms with Lord Holland, and then actually inhabiting the Pay-office, which Lord Holland had lent him the two last years. Charles Townshend succeeded Lord Holland, though he had been designed Chancellor of the Exchequer by the Opposition, and acted with them when they came into power; and to complete the disgrace of Lord Bute's family, and as if wantonly to mark their disregard to all propriety, the Ministers removed Lord Northumberland from the government of Ireland, and named for his successor the Viscount Weymouth,‡ an inconsiderable, debauched young man attached to the Bedfords, but so ruined by gaming, that the moment before his exaltation, he was setting out for France, to avoid his creditors. The Duke of Cumberland retired to Windsor, declaring he had done

Lord Bute. Letter of Mr. Mackinsy, Mitchell MSS., note to vol. ii. p. 312, of Lord Chatham's Correspondence.—E.

* Rigby swore a great oath that the King should not have power to appoint one of his own footmen.

† Yet Lord Holland could never obtain any indemnification, nor attain an earldom, though he often solicited it in the most earnest manner, and by every interest he could employ.

‡ Thomas Thynne, third Viscount Weymouth. His mother had been one of the daughters and co-heiresses of the famous John Earl Granville. He had married a sister of the Duke of Portland, and was at this time about thirty-one years old. He was a man of talents, and of very lively conversation; though it is said that to profit by the latter it was necessary to follow him to White's, to drink deep of claret, and remain at table to a very late hour of the night, or rather of the morning. His dissipated habits, indeed, were notorious. Junius has alluded to them with bitterness, and indulged in a profane jest at his expense. (Letter xxiii.) His straitened circumstances made his nomination very unpopular in Ireland, and he never went over, (Mr. Croker's note in Walpole's Letters, vol. v. p. 42,) which, however, did not prevent, if we are to believe Junius, his obtaining an outfit of £3,000. His subsequent career was very prosperous. See Wraxall's Historical Memoirs.—E.

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with Opposition. His whole conduct, indeed, in this transaction, had been noble, and becoming the relation in which he stood to the Crown. He had forgiven all the slights he had experienced from the Court, had handsomely taken up the cause of his nephew, and had even submitted to act as messenger to Mr. Pitt. The Dukes of Richmond and Manchester* had offered his Royal Highness their assistance against the Ministers. The former, enraged at the disgrace of his brother-in-law Lord Holland, wished to reconcile him to the Duke, but the Prince would lend no ear to it. Nor, unsuccessful and baffled as our party had been, did they grow at all more reasonable. Lord Frederic Cavendish, probably from knowing the inclinations of the Duke of Cumberland, was desirous his brothers should soften towards Lord Bute. I, too, saw the necessity of that step; as, added to our own numbers, we should have the favour of the Crown, and the support of Lord Bute, Lord Northumberland, Lord Holland, and their friends. "It is true, we should," said Lord Frederic, when I mentioned this; "but then, we should have Mr. Pitt against us." "I doubt it: Mr. Pitt was not disposed to offend the King: he never was heartily a friend to *us*;" and his subsequent conduct proved how much he preferred any connexion to union with George Grenville.

The privy seal of Scotland thus wrenched from Mackenzie, was offered to Lord Lorn:† he declining it, it was bestowed, on his brother Lord Frederic Campbell, who, with unparalleled ingratitude and indecency, accepted it. He was nearly related to Mackenzie, had lived in the strictest intimacy with him, and had received from Lord Bute a place in Scotland of above 400*l.* a year for life, by a preference that had made two considerable chiefs in that country the mortal enemies of the Favourite. Thurlow,‡ an able lawyer, was named secretary to Lord Weymouth; and Lord Warkworth, the Earl of Northumberland's son, was set aside from being Master of the Horse to the Queen, to which he was destined by the Court, in the room of Lord Weymouth.

To complete their vengeance even on inferior offenders, the Ministers caused the House of Lords to inflict severe penalties on several printers, and to reprimand Justice Fielding, the blind, but only useful magistrate, for having been negligent during the late riots. Yet as so much persecution and arrogance could not but excite much ill-will and mutual hostilities, it now came out that, before the loss of their bill, the weavers, suspecting that Lord Hilsborough was against them, had waited on him to implore his protection. To convince them he was not their enemy, he showed them a letter from Lord Halifax, in which the latter had begged him not to oppose the bill, Lord Halfiax having an estate in Spitalfields, which would be greatly benefited by

* George Montague, Duke of Manchester.

† John Campbell, Marquis of Lorn, eldest son of John Duke of Argyle.

‡ Mr. Thurlow's nomination to this post has been denied. He had been only seven years at the bar, and was already rising rapidly in the estimation of the profession; within five years he became Solicitor-General.—E.

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the success of the bill. To this the weavers had trusted; and the disappointment had blown up their fury. How Lord Halifax came not to support his own interest, or how it was compensated to him, did not appear. But with this triumph over all foes, the Ministers put an end to the session by proroguing the parliament, May 25th. Ten days more crowded with events scarce ever passed; for the Regency-bill was finished on the 14th, and between that and the 25th, had happened the riot, the King's declaration of his intention to dismiss the Ministers, the several journeys to Hayes, the reconciliation of Lord Temple and Grenville, the various attempts to form another Administration, the recall of the Ministers, and the several instances of their revenge and insolence. The King was left a prisoner to the Cabal, Lord Bute punished by the very instruments of all his bad acts, and Lord Holland disgraced by his once dear allies, the Bedfords and Rigby. The only joy the nation could feel was in seeing such poetic justice, for if they pitied not the sufferers, they could but abhor the executioners. If Lord Bute had advised the peace, the Duke of Bedford had negotiated it. If General Warrants were employed for his service, Lord Halifax had issued them. If he had had any hand in the dismission of officers, Grenville had executed it. And if he had authorized the severe proscription of opponents, Lord Holland had marked the victims. Ampler atonement was still due; and it was not long delayed.

Defeated as the King's attempts had been to deliver himself from the thrall of his Ministers, he could not sit patiently under so many indignities. The insult offered to his Mother, and the breach of his own royal promise imposed on him, were injuries not to be pardoned. His resentment broke out on every occasion, and the Parliament was no sooner prorogued than he took all opportunities of frowning on his tyrants and thwarting their desires. The Ministers proposed to make Lord Waldegrave or Lord Suffolk Master of the Horse to the Queen. Her Majesty said no Minister should interfere in *her* family, and named the Duke of Ancaster.* The first regiment that became vacant, the King bestowed on Lord Albemarle's brother, General Keppel. The young Duke of Devonshire, by the King's desire, was carried to Court by his uncles; and the Duke of Cumberland was still ready, as the King knew, to protect him against the Cabal. His Royal Highness said to Lord John Cavendish, "I can oppose the Crown when Ministers do wrong, but will now support it when it is insulted.

* He was lord-lieutenant of Lincolnshire, where he had a great estate. He died in 1778.—E.

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CHAPTER XXXVII.

Differences between the King and his Ministers.—Further Negotiations with Mr. Pitt.—Attempts to form a Whig Administration.—Summary of the Negotiations.—New Ministry formed.—Mr. Dowdeswell.—Marquis of Rockingham.—Mysterious Behaviour of Mr. Pitt.—Arrival of the Prince and Princess of Brunswick.

PRESUMING on their superiority in Parliament, and hurt at the marks of the King's aversion, the Ministers determined once more to subdue him totally, or reduce him to new distresses. On the 12th of June* the Duke of Bedford, accompanied by Grenville, Sandwich, and Halifax, waited on his Majesty with a remonstrance, which the Duke had drawn up, which took an hour in reading, and which, though it had been much softened by Grenville in their private meeting, the King had the greatest difficulty to command himself enough to hear it read to the end. It tended to give him a month to consider whether he would take a new ministry or retain the old. In the latter case he was told that he must smile on his Ministers, and frown on their adversaries, whom he was reproached in no light terms with having countenanced contrary to his promise. Invectives against the Princess were not spared: nor threats of bringing Lord Bute to the block. The King made no answer, but made a bow as a signal for them to retire. When they were gone, he said that if he had not broken out into the most profuse sweat, he should have been suffocated with indignation.†

* The original MS. states the interview to have been on the 20th of June, obviously by a clerical error, for that date would make the narrative unintelligible. In a letter to Sir Horace Mann, of the 26th (Letters, i. p. 237,) the day is correctly stated to be the 12th, which is confirmed by a letter of the Duke of Bedford to the Duke of Marlborough, of the 13th, giving the details of the interview. —[Wiffin's Memoirs of the House of Russell, p. 70.]—I have ventured to correct the text accordingly.—E.

† If this narrative be true, Junius is not the libeller that the world has supposed, and the King was unquestionably treated by his Ministers in a manner to which a parallel is only to be found in the reign of Charles the First. George the Third, however, was not, as Lord Brougham justly observes, (Historical Sketches, &c., vol. iii. p. 144,) the monarch to submit to such treatment,—neither was Sandwich or Halifax likely to have sanctioned it. Indeed Walpole must be mistaken in making them parties to the transaction. In a letter written at the time, he intimates that the Duke of Bedford alone waited upon the King, (i. 238;) he takes no notice of any written paper, nor is there any trace of such a document among the archives at Woburn. The only authentic account of the interview is given in the letter of the Duke to his nephew the Duke of Marlbo-

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No redress was left but to apply once more to Mr. Pitt; and should he again decline, to form some desperate Administration of Lord Bute's friends, and any detached persons that would join in so unpromising a system. To prevent the former—at least, to detach Lord Temple from Mr. Pitt—the Dukes of Bedford and Marlborough offered to resign either of their places in favour of the former. Temple, though expressing his good wishes, declared he would take nothing with the Administration as it then stood, but should like to see a new one formed out of all parties. Yet the Court did not despair of Mr. Pitt's concurrence. James Grenville told Colonel Fitzroy that Mr. Pitt wished to see his brother, the Duke of Grafton, who had particularly distinguished himself by attachment to Pitt. The Duke, however, was so cautious that he would not go unless Mr. Pitt would directly request it; but sent Fitzroy to Hayes to know if Mr. Pitt desired to see him. Fitzroy staid three hours and a half, while Pitt, in his vague inconclusive manner, was profuse of words, which did not tend to any definite meaning. It was rather a complaint of the late application. He said, that in August, two years before, he had been promised the King's countenance; now no such thing had been mentioned, but that bubble Lord Northumberland had been pressed upon him, and the Duke of Cumberland had even urged it to him for an hour and a half. That he had not wanted the Treasury for Lord Temple, nor would have filled the *carte blanche* if it had been given to him. After much desultory conversation of the like sort, Fitzroy said, "Then, sir, the result of all is, that you are resolved not to treat any more." "Resolved! that is a strong word," replied Pitt; "but this is my answer; "Mr. Pitt's determinations are fixed: all negotiation is at an end."

rough, cited in the preceding note, the general tenor of which proves beyond dispute the writer to have been innocent of any design to insult the King, as well as ignorant that he had done so. His Grace says that he reminded the King of the terms on which the Ministers had consented to resume their functions, and asked whether the promise made to them on that occasion had been kept. He complained of the favour shown to the opponents of the Administration, and the very different treatment received by their friends, dwelling especially on the influence of Lord Bute; and finally, he besought his Majesty "to permit his authority and his favour to go together, and if the last could not be given to his present Ministers to transfer to others that authority which must be useless in their hands unless so strengthened." Strong words, these, no doubt, and an offensive interpretation may have been put upon them by a youthful sovereign with the notions of prerogative inculcated by Lord Bute—a political opponent (like Burke) might not unfairly insinuate them to be "indecent." They furnish also a colourable foundation for the statement in the text which is not unlikely to have been derived partially from the King himself. On the other hand, a dispassionate observer must take into consideration the general truth of the Duke's charges; the feelings of the Ministers at their dismissal on grounds which appeared to them utterly inadequate; and, above all, their sense of the public danger resulting from the unsatisfactory relations of the King with his government. The limits prescribed by the constitution to a remonstrance of this nature are very indistinct, and the Duke will be held to have outstepped them only by the opponent of the political opinions with which the House of Russell have been so long and so honourably identified.—E.

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The Duke of Grafton soon followed his brother. Mr. Pitt told him that Mr. Grenville had been there, and had begun to talk politics, but he had stopped him, and said, "Sir, a truce to your politics, for I never will talk politics with *you* again as long as I live." In this visit the Duke thought he did not perceive a total unwillingness in Mr. Pitt still to listen to accommodation. On that report, and urged by the necessity of making one more attempt,

On the 17th the Duke of Grafton was again despatched to Hayes to tell Mr. Pitt that the King was convinced he could not do without him, and to invite him to Court. Mr. Pitt replied he was ready to come, if his Majesty would graciously condescend, in consideration of his lameness, to see him on the ground-floor. Accordingly,

On the 19th he was three hours and a quarter with the King at the Queen's house, and as long on the 22nd again, professing his readiness to undertake the direction of affairs. Every thing he asked was accorded; particularly a close alliance with Prussia, if possible. He named Lord Temple for the Treasury; the Duke of Grafton for Secretary of State, with himself; Sir George Saville for Secretary at War; Keppel and Saunders for Commissioners of the Admiralty, he did not care in whose room, nor should he be violent in turning out; though, as so many had suffered, there must be a large sweep.

During this transaction Pitt would not deign to make any communication to the Duke of Cumberland, who, notwithstanding, behaved nobly, said he would do all the good he could, and would take nothing ill.

Two days after these conferences, arrived Lord Temple from Stowe and went to Hayes. The next day he waited on the King, and refused to accept the Treasury, saying he had a delicacy which must always remain a secret. This was generally supposed to be levelled at Lord Bute. Some thought of the Duke of Cumberland, and others that it regarded his own brother, George Grenville. But surely Lord Temple was not so overrun with delicacy that he could afford to make a secret of the only delicacy he seemed ever to have felt, the turning out of his own brother to take his place himself!

The next day Pitt waited on the King again, and declared he was still ready to accept, if Lord Temple would; and, in the presence of the latter, told his Majesty that for himself he was satisfied, and trusted his royal declarations. And to the Duke of Grafton he said, that he lamented with tears in his eyes Lord Temple's refusal to accept. That Duke urged Lord Temple warmly, and told him he would forfeit all character if he remained obstinate; but when power could not influence him, what could reproaches do? He persisted, and Mr. Pitt would not take his part without him. Pitt had certainly made nearer advances to Lord Bute in this negotiation than the King either asked or expected; and Lord Temple, who never failed to take any credit to himself at the expense of his friends, openly calumniated Mr. Pitt for leaning towards Lord Bute, whom, he said, he himself had not ventured to trust. Pitt, it was true, told the King that his Majesty

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ought in conscience to restore Mackenzie—and in truth both sense and honour dictated that advice to any man who entered into his Majesty's service. In the city, Lord Temple's emissaries abused Mr. Pitt for too much *Butism*, as Lord Sandwich did for his eagerness to promote a new war on the continent. But what could excuse the conduct of Lord Temple, who, having an opportunity of redressing all the breaches of the Constitution, against which he had been so clamorous, now not only waived that duty, but leagued with the very men whom their own guilt and his voice and pen had pointed out as the criminals?*

The Duke of Cumberland now fearing that the King's desperate position would drive him to form an Administration, with Lord Egmont at the head of the Favourite's faction, which the court had thought of, pressed the Whigs to undertake the Administration, and proposed Lord Rockingham for head of the Treasury. In consequence of this desire, a meeting of the chiefs of the Opposition in town was held at Claremont June the 30th. There were present, Newcastle himself, Lord Rockingham, the Duke of Portland and his brother, the three Cavendishes, Lord Grantham, General Conway, Thomas Walpole, George Onslow, Lord Ashburnham, two of the Townshends, and Lord Villiers.† The question of acceptance was debated; Newcastle answered for the Duke of Grafton's readiness. Portland was warm on the same side, but proposed to turn out Lord Bute's people. The rest were very doubtful. Newcastle declared his willingness to accept, but as he could not answer for all his friends, he desired each would deliver his opinion separately. Charles Townshend,‡ Lord Ashburnham,§ T. Walpole, Onslow, and Lord Villiers disapproved of coming in without Mr. Pitt. Onslow pressed them to wait, as he said he hoped there would soon be a coalition of all parties against Lord Bute. T. Walpole‖ would not even promise to

* The most plausible explanation of Lord Temple's conduct on this occasion is, that he had acted on grounds purely personal. It appears from Lady Hervey's Letters—an excellent authority—that as far back as March his connexion with Mr. Pitt had in a great measure ceased. His pride may have been gratified by the advances made to him by the leading members of the Government, as unquestionably it was deeply wounded by the proofs he had lately received of his diminished influence over the Opposition. That gratification of his vengeance cost him dear, for the Liberal party never forgave him, and the event showed how entirely his importance with the country had arisen from his relation to Mr. Pitt. The engagements into which he immediately after entered with Mr. Grenville, only served to obstruct his return to power, and, as will be seen hereafter, to involve him in embarrassments still more prejudicial to his reputation.—E.

† Lord Villiers was the intimate friend of the Duke of Grafton, whose attachment was to Mr. Pitt.

‡ Charles (not the famous one, but his first-cousin) was the only son of Colonel W. Townshend, third son of Charles Viscount Townshend Secretary of State. This Charles Townshend was, for distinction, called *the Spanish Charles*, from having been secretary to Sir Benjamin Keene, Ambassador at Madrid, and was afterwards a Commissioner of the Treasury.

§ John Earl of Ashburnham, the chief favourite of the Duke of Newcastle, whom he afterwards abandoned, being a very prudent and interested man.

‖ T. Walpole was attached to Mr. Pitt.

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support so unpromising an Administration. Conway thought it perilous, but would not decline the danger. The rest agreed with Newcastle.

I was ill in bed and could not be present at the meeting; but when Conway reported the particulars to me, I thought I never heard a more wild proposal, nor one fraught with greater improbability of success. The nomination of Lord Rockingham for Minister at any season would have sounded preposterous; in the present, sufficient alone to defeat the system. Nor had I a more advantageous opinion of the rest that were to compose it; all young and inexperienced men, unknown to the nation, and great by nothing but their rank and fortunes. Conway agreed with me, but professed that if the Duke of Cumberland laid his commands on him to accept, he would not flinch from the enterprise.

The next day Newcastle reported to his Royal Highness the indifferent success of the assembly, yet with such eagerness to come again into power, that he answered for Lord Ashburnham, and gave hopes of prevailing with the rest. The Duke, not apt to be daunted, encouraged the trial; and thus, without any new consultation, his Royal Highness acquainted the King that he was ready to form an Administration for him. To disgust those who still adhered to Mr. Pitt, the Duke said he would now disclose what he had not told before, that Mr. Pitt, when he parted with the King, had told his Majesty that, though he thought Mr. Grenville the meanest and weakest of Ministers, yet there was no man he should advise his Majesty to employ so soon. This anecdote was confirmed by Mr. Pitt's conduct in the next year. Censured, however, as Mr. Pitt was, his conduct was both prudent and honourable. Nothing had barred his acceptance but Lord Temple's refusal of co-operating with him. Himself told the elder T. Townshend that, had he been younger, or had had one friend to whom he could have entrusted the Treasury, he would have undertaken the Administration without Lord Temple; but this was not the sole occasion in which he found the disadvantage of having kept all connexions at a distance. Lord Temple's defection he termed an amputation.

The King did not hesitate a moment to receive the new arrangement proposed by his uncle, nor clogged it with either terms or objections. Whatever was asked was instantly granted; and if no such courtly overtures were made, as Mr. Pitt had dropped to ingratiate himself with the favourite star, the Duke had, however, the address to ward off any unwelcome conditions from being imposed upon the King. Indeed, no conditions at all were proposed. The Whigs, content with the power of doing right, as their subsequent actions proved had been their intention, forbore to stipulate for redress of grievances: and though the King might expect more complaisance on certain points than he afterwards experienced, he was too glad to be revenged on his old Ministers, and too content with finding no unwelcome sacrifices demanded, to boggle at a treaty which was restricted solely to the disposition of places. Many of the new placemen were not

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less rejoiced to find themselves exalted above their most sanguine expectations; though that precipitate rise ought to have admonished them of the weakness and instability of their party. But the rage of the fallen Ministers exceeded, out of all proportion, the joy both of their master and successors. And as defeated insolence soon turns to despondency, they were abject enough to deny that they had driven the King a second time to take his part. It was too late now to repent, and the new Ministers kissed hands on July the 8th.*

The Marquis of Rockingham was appointed First Lord of the Treasury; the Duke of Grafton and General Conway, Secretaries of State; the Duke of Newcastle, Lord Privy Seal; and the old Earl of Winchelsea, likewise coupled with this juvenile troop, was made President of the Council; and Mr. Dowdswell,† Chancellor of the Exchequer. The Duke of Portland succeeded Earl Gower as Lord Chamberlain. Thomas Townshend,‡ the younger, Lord John Cavendish, and George Onslow, were appointed Commissioners of the Treasury. Lord George Cavendish and Sir George Saville, though firm friends to the new system, handsomely declined accepting places. The Earl of Egmont, the only friend of Lord Bute that was advanced, was made First Lord of the Admiralty, with the Admirals Keppel and Saunders, Sir William Meredith, and the Spanish Charles Townshend. Thomas Pitt, in compliment to his uncle, was offered to remain at that board, but chose to follow Mr. Grenville. The Earl of Ashburnham was made Keeper of the Great Wardrobe; Lord Barrington, Secretary at War instead of Treasurer of the Navy; the Earl of Besborough and Lord Grantham, joint Postmasters. Lord

* It certainly was time that they should enter upon the business of their respective offices, for the country had now been more than seven weeks virtually without a government. The following chronological summary of the negotiations that passed daily at this period will bring them more distinctly before the reader.

18th May. The King announced to Mr. Grenville his intention of changing his Ministers.

19th. The Ministers acquaint the King that they would resign on the following Tuesday.

20th. The Duke of Cumberland applies to Mr. Pitt, at Hayes.

,, The King, having failed to form a new government, recalls his Ministers.

12th June. The Duke of Bedford remonstrates with the King.

17th. The Duke of Cumberland conveys to Mr. Pitt, at Hayes, fresh overtures from the King.

19th. Mr. Pitt has an audience with the King.

21st. Lord Temple refuses to join Mr. Pitt.

22d. Mr. Pitt waits on the King and declines office.

23d. Mr. Pitt has another audience, with the same result.

30th. Meeting of the Opposition at Claremont, under the auspices of the Duke of Cumberland.

1st July. The Duke of Newcastle notifies to the Duke of Cumberland the result of the meeting.

8th. New Ministers sworn in.—E.

† William Dowdswell, formerly a Tory.

‡ Thomas, eldest son of Thomas Townshend, Teller of the Exchequer, and member for the University of Cambridge, and second son of Charles Viscount Townshend, Secretary of State.

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Powis* was turned out of Treasurer of the Household to make room for Lord Edgcumbe;† and the Earl of Scarborough‡ succeeded Lord Thomond, who resigned with his brother Grenville, as Cofferer. Thomas Pelham§ replaced Lord Charles Spencer as Controller; Lord Villiers was made Vice-Chamberlain in the room of William Finch,‖ who retired with a pension; and Lord Gage,¶ Paymaster of the Pensions, in the room of Mr. Neville. Inferior promotions it is not necessary to recapitulate: let it suffice to say, that the new Ministers dismissed but two of Lord Bute's friends, Lord Despencer and one who will be mentioned hereafter.** On the other hand, the Duke of Cumberland had wished to detach the Duke of Bedford from Grenville, (an object only desirable for the breach it would have made in their party,) and sent General Fitzwilliam with *carte blanche* to Rigby. The latter rejected it with scorn, and with ample abuse on his Royal Highness as a politician.

I have specified the new plan as it took place, but must take notice now of some steps leading to it. Grenville, on his reconciliation with his brother, had notified it to the King in a long declamation. The King answered, He did not trouble himself with the friendships of others, and wished nobody would with his. When the change was determined, the Chancellor received the King's orders to write to Grenville and the two Secretaries of State to bring their seals the next day. The Duke of Marlborough, Earl Gower, and Rigby resigned.

In the first draft of the new settlement it was proposed that Mr. Conway should be Chancellor of the Exchequer; and for some time Lord Rockingham refused to accept without that assistance. Conway's inclination was to be Secretary at War; his resolution not to quit the military line. I, who knew his unacquaintance with the business of the Treasury, the disgusting coldness of his manner, which would revolt those he ought to court, and who foresaw (though not to the degree I found afterwards) how little he was made to ingratiate himself with strangers, and consequently to conduct the House of Commons, earnestly dissuaded him from undertaking that post. My opinion concurring with his own sentiments, though at first he had been staggered, he set himself to refuse that employment with a vehemence much beyond his natural temper. For Secretary of State he was excellently fitted, and no man ever applied himself to the business of his office with such unrelaxed industry. Unluckily, the department he refused was bestowed on Dowdswell, who was so

* Henry Arthur Herbert, Earl of Powis. He died in 1772.

† George, third Lord Edgcumbe. an admiral.

‡ Richard Lumley Saunderson, Earl of Scarborough; he had married the sister of Sir George Saville.

§ Thomas, afterwards Lord Pelham.

‖ Next brother to Daniel Earl of Winchelsea, father of the succeeding earl.

¶ Thomas Viscount Gage, attached to the Duke of Newcastle, whom he afterwards abandoned as Lord Ashburnham did, to keep their places.

** Sir Fletcher Norton.

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suited to the drudgery of the office, as far as it depends on arithmetic, that he was fit for nothing else. Heavy, slow, methodical without clearness, a butt for ridicule, unversed in every graceful art, and a stranger to men and courts, he was only esteemed by the few to whom he was personally known.*

The Marquis of Rockingham was almost the reverse. More childish in his deportment than in his age, he was totally void of all information. Ambitious, with excessive indolence; fond of talking of business, but dilatory in the execution; his single talent lay in attracting dependants: yet, though proud and self-sufficient, he had almost as many governors as dependants. To this unpromising disposition he had so weak a frame of person and nerves, that no exigence could surmount his timidity of speaking in public; and having been only known to that public by his passion for horse-races, men could not be cured of their surprise at seeing him First Minister, as he never could give them an opportunity of knowing whether he had any other talents. A silent First Minister was a phenomenon unknown since Parliaments had borne so great a share in the revolutions of government. His personal character was blameless—unfortunately, the times required something more than negative qualities!†

* Little is now known of Mr. Dowdswell, beyond the high estimation in which he was held by the Whig party. His epitaph is by no means the happiest of Burke's composition; but amidst the cloud of panegyric the rays of truth exhibit a character of genuine English mould which it is very agreeable to contemplate. In a private letter, Burke says, "there never was a soul so remote as his from fraud, duplicity, or fear, so perfectly free from any of that rapacious unevenness of temper which embitters friendship and perplexes business. Of all the men I ever knew, he was the best to act with in public and to live with in private, from the manly decision and firmness of his judgment, and the extreme mildness and pleasantness of his temper." His speeches, imperfectly as they are reported, prove him to have been a man of plain, sound, vigorous understanding, and not without respectable powers of debate. Burke exalts his knowledge of the revenue. He certainly was one of the leading members of the House, previous to his appointment, and the distinction conferred upon him was generally approved, Charles Townshend being forward to claim the merit of having suggested it. See the interesting Memoirs of Mr. Dowdswell, in Cavendish's Parliamentary Debates, i. 575.—E.

† The opinion entertained of Lord Rockingham by many of the most eminent men of his time, is alone sufficient to prove him not to have been the feeble-minded and insignificant character described in the text. He had the disadvantage of coming early into the possession of a princely fortune. His youth was wasted in the pursuits too common with his rank, and the only official employment he had as yet filled was that of a Lord of the Bed-chamber. From the time, however, that he applied himself seriously to politics, he gradually obtained an ascendancy over his associates such as was possessed by no cotemporary statesman,—even the opinions of Lord Chatham having less weight with the more reflecting and intelligent members of the Liberal party than those of Lord Rockingham. A singular instance of this ascendancy used to be related by the late Lord Spencer, who happened to witness it. At a meeting of the Whigs, in 1782, preparatory to Lord Rockingham's last Administration, his lordship read a list of the appointments which he proposed to submit to the King. As soon as he uttered the name of Mr. Sheridan as Under-Secretary of State, the latter, then a young man, justly conscious of great abilities, and expecting a much higher post, exclaimed, in an indignant tone, "I will not accept!" Lord Rockingham,

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The most sensible step taken by the new Ministers at their outset, was endeavouring to gain the countenance of Mr. Pitt—at least, affecting to wear the marks of enjoying it. One of the Vice Treasurerships of Ireland, vacant by Rigby's resignation, was offered to James Grenville, who expressed, and I believe sincerely, his concern at not being able to accept it. The Cofferer's place was also tendered to Lord Lyttelton, who had much occasion for it, and who no less sincerely lamented that his having been included in the family reconciliation of the Grenvilles forbad his joining in a system founded on the disgrace of Mr. Grenville. But a step more material and more likely to impose on the world, met with better success. This was an offer of the peerage to Lord Chief Justice Pratt. Lord Rockingham, whose aunt* was married to Lord Mansfield, and who hoped for the assistance of the latter, was averse to this measure, on the evident probability that Pratt would be a troublesome rival of Mansfield in the House of Lords. In truth, that probability made Pratt's peerage infinitely more important to the nation than the court paid to Mr. Pitt by it could be; and had the new arrangement produced no other benefit to the country, that single step had made the change desirable. Nothing could be more dangerous than the influence of so arbitrary a man as Lord Mansfield over the House of Lords, where a lawyer of such eminent abilities was sure to preponderate; for the Chancellor† was too profligate in every light to carry any authority. Pratt, with great thankfulness, took the title of Lord Camden.

Still, more weight was wanted. Charles Townshend and Charles Yorke were applied to. Each fluctuated according to their various degrees of timidity and irresolution. The first seemed transported

fixing his eye on him, calmly but emphatically exclaimed, "You shall." Sheridan seemed perfectly daunted, bowed his head, and made no further remonstrance. It was very rare, said Lord Spencer, that Lord Rockingham's decisions did not meet the immediate acquiescence of the party. Nor was this purchased by the arts that exhausted the revenues and lowered the character of the Duke of Newcastle. Lord Rockingham stood clear of any charge of parliamentary corruption. His mode of living, though noble as suited his rank, was simple and unostentatious, and the disinterestedness of his political supporters may be inferred from the honourable boast of one of the most needy of them, that they had derived no permanent provision from his acceptance of office.* The same friendly pen has recorded, in the noble monumental inscription at Wentworth, "that his virtues were his arts," and no doubt he was a virtuous, high-minded amiable man; but he owed his success mainly to "a clear, sound, unadulterated sense," which showed itself in great discretion, sagacity, and tact. His views were generally correct, and his firmness and perseverance never yielded in the most adverse and discouraging crisis, as was strongly evinced in the great American contest; and thus without eloquence, or any large share of the qualifications which usually confer eminence on popular leaders, he retained his political supremacy to the close of his life.—E.

* Lady Elizabeth Finch, youngest sister of Daniel Earl of Winchelsea, and of the Marchioness-dowager of Rockingham.

† Lord Northington.

* "A Short History of a Late Short Administration."

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with the change—then refused to engage—and then would not lose his place. Thus he neither pleased the fallen Ministers, nor satisfied his successors. His brother,* whom he feared, went to the King, declaimed against the change, yet at last promised to support it. Charles seemed to support it only because he had *not* promised. Yorke's scruples had deeper root. His ambition pointed immediately at the Chancellor's Seals; and finding no hopes of them, he dreaded offending the other party, who might recover their power and that of making a Chancellor. These perplexities he did not express; but at first pleaded reluctance to come in when his friend Dr. Hay was turned out. He next had qualms about Norton, who was not his friend, and who now, to the universal joy of the nation, was turned out by the new Ministers, with no slight dissatisfaction of Lord Bute. Charles Yorke then consented to take the place of Attorney-General in Norton's room, and as quickly repented of and recalled his consent. However, as he too was one who had great sway with Lord Rockingham, and as his family inclined to the new system, Yorke remained of their connexion, and sometime after was again made Attorney-General.† His youngest brother‡ was preferred to the Admiralty, and the Earl of Breadalbane, whose eldest daughter§ Lord Hardwicke had married, was appointed Privy Seal of Scotland, Lord Frederic Campbell being turned out; a half oblation to the King;—the real reparation not being made by the restoration of Mackinsy. Lord Lorn, who had given up his brother-in-law Conway, was as little delicate on the disgrace of his own brother Lord Frederic. No sooner had the change taken place, than not resenting the latter, and trusting that the former was not resented, Lord Lorn wrote to Mr. Conway from Scotland to say, that as he was so connected with the Duke of Bedford, he could ask nothing from the new Administration; but if the King should offer him a regiment, he could not refuse it from his Majesty, though he could not violate his connexion with the Bedfords. Mr. Conway could not mistake the drift of this casuistry. The regiment was offered, and accepted.

Mr. Pitt's behaviour was various and full of mystery. When Norton was turned out, Pitt sent him word that it was not done by his advice, and that were he Minister, he should be glad of the assistance of such abilities. As nobody supposed that Mr. Pitt directed the new Administration, however good his intentions to them might be; as he and Norton had ever acted in an opposite line, and on

* George Lord Townshend.

† "The vacillation of this eminent person was so decided as materially to lessen his influence and general consideration." (See Charles Townshend's singular Letter to Mr. Dowdeswell. Cavendish's Debates, i. p. 576.) It eventually drew him to that fatal step which ruined his peace of mind and hurried him to the grave.—E.

‡ John Yorke. He died in 1769.—E.

§ The Marchioness of Grey, wife of Philip Yorke, second Earl of Hardwicke, was the eldest daughter of the Earl of Breadalbane by his first wife, eldest daughter and coheiress of the last Duke of Kent.

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opposite principles; and as Norton had by no means been gentle in his attacks, the message seemed uncalled for and mean-spirited: nor was it to be accounted for, unless in scorn of Yorke, or as an innuendo to Lord Bute, that his friends would have received better quarter, had the treaty with Pitt succeeded or should succeed another time. The Duke of Grafton and Admiral Saunders had been advised and pressed by Pitt to promote the formation of the new Ministry. The latter asked if he might mention that advice? Pitt replied, "Tell it every where." Pitt then went to Stowe for a few days, returned to town, visited Grenville, and was with him for some time. The Duke of Grafton hearing that in consequence of that visit Grenville had affirmed that Mr. Pitt had to him expressed disapprobation of the new system, the Duke wrote to Mr. Pitt, who declared he had seen Mr. Grenville but once since the new Administration had taken place, and then not in private, and had not to him, or to any one else, disapproved of the present arrangement.*

There still remained some persons to be satisfied, and more were necessary to be acquired. Lord Shelburne was offered his old place at the head of the Board of Trade. He declined it in a pompous letter, in which he said he regarded measures, not men; he would wait to see what their measures (he should have said what their *success*) would be. The post was conferred on the Earl of Dartmouth. Stanley was dissatisfied with not being allowed to keep the Admiralty with the government of the Isle of Wight. Lord Howe, on the contrary, though promoted by Grenville, accepted the Treasurership of the Navy. Lord Digby,† to compensate to Lord Holland for the loss of his place, was created an English peer; but the latter had rendered himself so obnoxious to the new Ministers by his character, by his connexion with the Favourite, and by the persecution he had carried on against the Whigs, that they who consulted their own characters, and indulged their resentments beyond what prudence dictated, totally neglected him. Nor could the Duke of Cumberland or House of Cavendish forgive him. Lord Strange chose to preserve his employment, and pleaded having bargained with the late Ministers that his place should not affect his conduct in Parliament. There was another man who was early in the most humble application to the Duke of Cumberland to be received into the new establishment; this was Lord George Sackville. He did not ask, he said, for any thing in the military line. The Duke was disposed to give him hopes only; but, by more judicious addresses

* Mr. Pitt's reply, however, was cold and ungracious, and the Ministers must have been men of a very sanguine temperament to derive any comfort from it. His repudiation of the charge is clogged by such a distinct avowal of want of confidence in the Government, as must have defeated the object for which the letter was most wanted. It could hardly have been shown, except to friends.—Chatham Correspondence, ii. 319. It does more credit to the Duke than to Mr. Pitt.—E.

† Henry Lord Digby, an Irish baron, nephew of Lord Holland.

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to Lord Rockingham, Lord George was not long before he obtained one of the lucrative Vice-Treasurerships of Ireland.

There was much more difficulty about the Duke of Richmond. He had entirely broken with the late Ministers, and attached himself to the Duke of Cumberland. The arrangement, however, had been made without any suitable provision for his Grace. At last he was offered the place of Cofferer. He said modestly that he knew he had not the same pretensions to the first posts as the other young noblemen of his own rank, since he had not suffered like them, had not engaged with them in Opposition, and consequently had not the same merit with the party. He owned, however, that he wished for an active place in business. I persuaded him not to accept Cofferer, and assured him I would not rest till I saw him placed in a situation suitable to his rank and talents. I kept my word; and as the Duke of Cumberland had dropped a hint of making Lord Hertford Lord-lieutenant of Ireland, and of sending the Duke Ambassador to Paris, I pursued that idea, though the Duke wished rather to be employed at home; till, on Lord Hertford's nomination to Ireland, I pushed Mr. Conway so warmly that he obtained the embassy for the Duke of Richmond. Mr. Conway had had more difficulty in succeeding for Lord Hertford, whose conduct, in not taking part with his brother and his wife's nephew, the Duke of Grafton, had given universal disgust to the party. Richmond was indeed the only steady acquisition the Ministers made. Yet the intemperance of the disgraced Cabal threw another important convert into their hands. Grenville told Lord Granby that the new Ministers had wished to turn out his father, the Duke of Rutland, in order to save the Duke of Marlborough. Lord Granby was advised to ask the King if this was true. The King denied it; and in that conversation made such impression on that light man that, with the addition of the first vacant regiment for his uncle, Lord Robert Manners, Lord Granby was entirely gained over from his late allies. This blow was sensibly felt by Grenville, who was not endowed with the spirit of patience. His behaviour on his fall was abject and full of lamentation; and, as disgraced Ministers are seldom pitied, so the occasion generally calls forth even those spots that flattery had concealed from the prying eyes of Opposition. The vaunted economy of this Minister had not been restrained to the public service. It now came out that he had obtained the reversion of one of the light-houses* for himself under

* The fact was this: Grenville, afraid of publishing his rapaciousness before he was sure of success, had forborne to mention the business to his brethren, the Commissioners of the Treasury, and even to inquire if the reversion was not already granted; but, going directly to the King, asked for the reversion. The King was very loth to bestow it on him; and, on being much pressed, said, "Mr. Grenville, I thought you were a severe enemy to all reversions!" Instead of being abashed, he had the confidence to reply: "Sir, if your Majesty will grant me this, I will take care you shall never give away another." The King yielded. When Grenville notified the boon at the Treasury, he learned, to his inexpressible mortification, that the reversion was already engaged. Yet in the year 1770 he had the front, in Parliament, to censure a lucrative grant for life to Dyson!

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another name; and that, having bestowed an inferior office in the Treasury on his cook, he had bid the man expect no wages for five years. Lord Halifax had been guilty of worse corruption: he and his mistress had sold every employment in his gift.

But if the integrity of the new Ministers shone by the comparison with their predecessors, in want of prudence they seemed to have taken the example of those very predecessors for the rule of their own conduct. Nothing could induce them to take the smallest step that might secure favour in the closet, by even civility to the Favourite. Perhaps the disguise used by the King deceived them into an idea of that attention not being necessary. He told them early that he understood their bargain, and that Lord Bute should not meddle; and that if Elliot and Oswald would not work (support them by speaking in Parliament) he gave them power to turn out both. The conduct of the Ministers, as individuals, was honourable —but in not restoring Mackinsy, unjust both to the King and the sufferer, and too great a sacrifice to popularity. I pressed the restitution of Mackinsy to Mr. Conway, and urged that, as public men and friends to their country, it behoved them to bend a little in order to secure their power in exclusion to men of worse designs. But to talk to Conway against public opinion was preaching to the winds. Even Lord Northumberland, from his relation to the Favourite, was neglected in the new system, though he had been deprived of the government of Ireland by the late Cabal on the same foundation.

The Princess of Wales was the first offended on finding she could promise herself as little influence over the new Ministers as of late she had experienced from the last. A conversation was much talked of, in which it was said warm words were overheard between her and her son, who was distinctly heard (according to the report) tell her, that *he had ventured his crown to obey her.* The disgusts of Lord Bute's friends, and of the late Ministers, whose rupture had its origin in the animosities between the Princess and the Duchess of Bedford, gave occasion to an excellent *bon mot* of George Selwyn, who said of the two factions, *that, like thieves going to execution, they laid their ruin to lewd women.*

Notwithstanding their sacrifices to popularity, and with self-created omens that promised them little stability, the first public notice taken of the new Ministers gave them no reason to think that there was a general approbation of their advancement. In the address of the City of London on the birth of a Prince, the King was told that when his measures should be established, that great body would be ready to support them. The Ex-ministers took this as a compliment to themselves; but it more probably had reference to Mr. Pitt, the idol of the citizens.

Abroad the change was no sooner known, than Prince Ferdinand wrote to Mr. Conway to propose coming over with the Hereditary Prince, or afterwards, and begged Mr. Conway to tell him in confidence whether the King would like it. The King said he should like it much, but that Prince Ferdinand had better wait till his

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nephew was gone back again to Germany, because the latter, having married a Princess of England, must be distinguished by ceremonial. Whoever remembered how little distinction had been paid to the Prince, even on his marriage, could believe this to be the true reason of the King's waiving the visit. It was more natural to think his Majesty was not eager to be witness of Prince Ferdinand's popularity, when his own was at so low an ebb; nor could he wish that his new Ministers should enjoy the triumph and advantages of a visit that seemed paid to them rather than to himself. Whatever hindered it, Prince Ferdinand never came. The Prince and Princess of Brunswick did arrive by particular invitation. Some thought Lord Bute hoped to engage Mr. Pitt by the intervention of the Hereditary Prince; but the court paid of late, both by the Prince and his wife, to the Princess Dowager, had entirely won her affections, and removed her antipathy to the House of Brunswick.

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CHAPTER XXXVIII.

Walpole's Separation from his party.—His Character of Mr. Conway.—Commencement of the Troubles with North America.—Death of the Duke of Cumberland.—His Character.—Negotiations with the Courts of Versailles and Madrid respecting the Fortifications at Dunkirk and the Ransom of the Manillas.

THE dissolution of our Opposition now afforded me that opportunity of retreating from those who had composed it, for which I had so eagerly longed; nor was I dilatory in executing my resolution. Many new reasons concurred to make me adhere to the plan I had formed. It was against my opinion that my friends had accepted the Administration; and though I would not peremptorily advise Mr. Conway to decline taking part, when he told me he thought himself obliged in honour to obey the King's and Duke's commands, still I saw so much weakness both in the leaders and the numbers, that I entertained no hopes of the permanence of their power. Chiefs who could not conduct a party with sense, seemed little qualified to govern a nation. I had given notice, that if ever they attained power, I would have nothing farther to do with them. They had attained it now, but with so little prospect of maintaining their ground, that nothing was so probable as their being soon driven to Opposition again. In that I was determined to engage with them no more. If I quitted them triumphant, they would have no right to call on me should they again be defeated by their own want of skill. I had fully satisfied my honour and my engagements, and had any body cause to complain, it was myself—but I chose to part with them on good terms; nor would I, when I was really hurt, condescend to utter a reproach. This topic truth demands that I should explain. I had entered into Opposition on the view of the violent measures, and still more violent designs of the Court. Personal dislike to the Bedford faction had inflamed my natural warmth, and the oppression exercised on Mr. Conway had fixed in me an unalterable desire of overturning that Administration. Not the smallest view of self-interest had entered into my imagination. On the contrary, I risked an easy ample fortune with which I was thoroughly contented. When I found unjust power exerted to wrong me, I am not ashamed to say I flattered myself that, if ever our party was successful, I should obtain to have the payments of my place settled on some foundation that should not expose me to the caprice or wanton tyranny of every succeeding Minister; for court I was resolved to make to none, whether friend

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or foe,—a haughtiness I maintained throughout my life, never once condescending to go to the levee of any first Minister. My wish of making this independence perfectly easy I had hinted to Mr. Conway during our Opposition. He received it with silence. It was not in my nature to repeat such a hint. As disinterestedness was my ruling passion, I did hope that on the change some considerable employment would be offered to me, which my vanity would have been gratified in refusing. It was mortifying enough to me, when Mr. Conway (for I have said that during the last negotiation I was confined in bed with the gout) reported to me the proposed arrangement of places, to find that my name had not been so much as mentioned. That I would take no place was well known,—I had frequently declared it. From the Duke of Cumberland, to whom I had never paid court; from the Duke of Newcastle, whom I had constantly ridiculed; from Lord Rockingham and the Cavendishes, whom I had treated with a very moderate share of regard; I had no reason to expect much attention: and though some notice is due to all men who are respected in a party, *they* were excusable in proposing nothing for me, when they found nothing demanded for me by my own intimate friend and near relation. He must be supposed to know my mind best: if he was silent, what called on them to be more solicitous for my interest? But what could excuse this neglect in Mr. Conway? For him I had sacrificed every thing; for him I had been injured, oppressed, calumniated. The foundation of his own fortune, and almost every step of his fortune, he owed solely to me. How thoroughly soever he knew my sentiments, was a compliment at least not due to me? Whatever was due to me, much or little, he totally forgot it; and so far from once endeavouring to secure my independence, in his whole life after he never onee mentioned it. I had too much spirit to remind him of it, though he has since frequently vaunted to me his own independence. Such failure of friendship, or to call it by its truer name, such insensibility, could not but shock a heart at once so tender and so proud as mine. His ensuing conduct completely opened my eyes. When I saw him eager and anxious to exalt his brother Hertford to the Vice-royalty of Ireland, and his brother-in-law Lorn to a regiment; and when he omitted no occasion of serving them and the Duke of Argyle* and Lord Frederic Campbell,—all four, men who had abandoned him to persecution without a pang, I saw clearly into his nature. He thought it noble, he thought it would be fame, to pardon the neglect he had met with; and that the world would applaud his generous return of their ungenerous and interested behaviour. No glory would have accrued from his serving me, as it would have been natural, and no more than was expected. His heart was so cold that it wanted all the beams of popular applause to kindle it into action. I had command enough of myself not to drop a word of reproach on a friendship so

* John Duke of Argyle, father of the Marquess, of Lord Lorn, of Lord Frederic Campbell, and of the Countess of Ailesbury, wife of Mr. Conway.

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frozen; but, without murmur, and with my wonted cheerfulness, as soon as my strength was tolerably recruited, I declared my intention of making a visit to Lord Hertford, at Paris, before he quitted his embassy. I acted with the same unconcern to the whole party, for I would neither suffer them nor my enemies to know that I had any cause to be dissatisfied with Mr. Conway. When I scorned to open myself, even to him, it was not likely I should be more communicative to others. As disgust with my friends did not, as most commonly happens, reconcile me to my enemies, I foresaw that I might still have occasion to make use of my power with Mr. Conway to the annoyance of the latter; for though Mr. Conway had none of the warmth of friendship, yet he had more confidence in me, and knew he might have, than in any man living; and, notwithstanding the indifference I have described, he frequently trusted me afterwards with secrets that he reserved from his wife and his brother.

He no sooner discovered that my intention was to remain in France much longer than he expected, than he broke out into complaints, entreaties, and reproaches: and, as if he had satisfied all the duties of friendship, and I had violated them, he tried with angry words to divert me from my purpose; urged the occasion he should have for my advice, and called my retreat desertion of my friends. Satisfied with making him feel the want of me, and now hardened against the calls of friendship, I treated the matter lightly, civilly, and desultorily. I reminded him of the declaration I had often made of quitting the party as soon as they should be successful, which he could not deny; and, with a little mixture of conscious scorn, I said I knew the obligations the party had had to me; I knew none I had to them. Vexed, and his pride hurt, he employed Lady Ailesbury to tell me in his presence that he looked upon my behaviour as deserting him; and himself dropped many peevish accents. Fixed in the plan I had laid down to myself, nothing could provoke me to be serious; I carried off all with good humour; and, above owing to a retort of reproaches what I ought to have owed to his sentiments, I parted with him with such inflexible, and consequently mysterious, cheerfulness, that he knew not what interpretation to put on my behaviour—if he did guess, he was more blameable than I suspected. His insensibility had made me insensible; his ingratitude would have given me stronger sensations. But it is justice to him to say, that I think he was incapable of ingratitude: his soul was good, virtuous, sincere; but his temper was chill, his mind absent; and he was so accustomed to my suggesting to him whatever I thought it was right for him to do, that he had no notion of my concealing a thought from him; and as I had too much delicacy to mention even my own security, I am persuaded it never came into his conception. His temper hurt me, but I forgave his virtue, of which I am confident, and know it was superior to my own. We have continued to this day on an easy and confidential footing; but conscious that I would not again devote myself for him, I have taken strict care never to give him decisive advice, when it might lead him to a precipice. Before

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I set out, and as a mark that I meant no breach with him, at the same time to serve another friend, and to wear an air of interest with the Administration, which might disguise my dissatisfaction, I desired Mr. Conway to raise Sir Horace Mann, the resident at Florence, to the rank of envoy; which was immediately done. The Bedfords, however, knew me enough to surmise that my retreat was the effect of some dislike I had conceived to the new system; and at my return to England, near eight months afterwards, officiously threw out civilities that might draw me to their connexion. I soon let them see that whatever my dislikes were, nothing had happened to soften my conduct, or change my opinion of them and their principles. Nor was it much longer before they found that I had lost neither inclination nor power to bar their return to Court by the weight I retained with Mr. Conway.

I left England in August, and did not return till the April following. A very interesting scene passed in the interval, on which, as I was not an eye-witness, I shall be more brief than ordinary; but as I corresponded with Mr. Conway, was consulted by him, and received other information from very good authority, I shall set down nothing but what I know to be truth; and that will be sufficient not to leave any material break in the thread of my narration.

The new Ministers had scarce taken possession of their places, before they were alarmed with accounts of the mutinous behaviour of the Colonies, on the attempt to carry into execution the new Stamp Act. The Americans were determined not to submit to it; and great pains had been taken in order to bring about a general union of all the provinces, in order to oppose the admission of the tax. To all it was disagreeable: yet some colonies accepted it. Virginia and New England were the most refractory, and precipitated themselves into great violences. In some parts, the ships that brought over the stamps were seized and the stamps burned. The officers of the new revenue were not suffered to land, or were cruelly treated, their houses forced and pillaged, and their persons menaced. The governors themselves were not secure, and trembled lest their few strong-holds should be seized by the hand of rebellion. In the most mutinous towns there was no possibility of executing the Act. But the weapon with which the Colonies armed themselves to most advantage, was the refusal of paying the debts they owed to our merchants at home, for goods and wares exported to the American provinces. These debts involved the merchants of London, Liverpool, Manchester, and other great trading towns, in a common cause with the Americans, who forswore all traffic with us, unless the obnoxious Stamp Act was repealed. Nothing could be more delicate to the new Ministers than such a crisis. They themselves had opposed the Act. Should they enforce the execution, which could only be done by the sword, it would be tyrannizing against their consciences, and supporting a bad or weak act of their antagonists. They would risk lighting up a rebellion in the Colonies, would ruin the mutual intercourse and trade between the mother-country and the

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outlying provinces; would endanger those distant dominions flinging themselves into the arms of France or Spain, at least receiving succours thence; while they were threatened at the same time with insurrections in the trading towns at home, who loudly demanded a repeal of the bill, on which depended the payment of what was due to them, and the hopes of re-establishing so beneficial a commerce.

On the other hand, to repeal a revenue-bill, because it was distasted by those obnoxious to it, was setting a precedent of the most fatal complexion. What country, what town, what profession, what order of men, would submit to the most legal impositions, if Government once showed itself afraid, and recoiled, as soon as force was used to reject the duty? In the present case the insult was unparalleled and accompanied with every kind of aggravating circumstance. Not only payment of the duty was refused, but the very authority called in question by which it was enjoined. The Parliament of Great Britain, said the Colonists, had no right to impose internal taxes on them: they were not represented there; they would tax themselves. This was striking at the very vitals of the Constitution, for, however the Colonies affected to distinguish between the King and the Parliament, the Act had been the act of the whole Legislature, and the Constitution knows not the King in a legislative capacity distinct from the two other branches of the Legislature. Here was disobedience to the law, and rebellion against the principle of all our laws. Nor was this speculative view the sole object to weigh in the decision the Ministers were to make. Should they embrace the measure of repeal, were they sure they could carry it? The Act had passed by a great majority in both Houses, and with the royal assent. Was it probable that such majorities could be induced to revoke their opinion in compliment to mutinous associations that flew in the face of their ordinance, and denied their authority? Was it likely that the King would approve of, or consent to, such diminution of his Majesty, before an attempt had been made to enforce it? When do princes bend but after a defeat? There could be no doubt but force would easily reduce the Colonies to obedience. They had no strong-holds, were ill-armed, a disjointed body, not yet engaged in a common cause, nor so compact a corps as easily to be put in motion together; and from being distinct governments, habituated to different usages, and actuated by different interests, easily to be separated from a joint plan, and more likely to obstruct than to promote one general system of operations. To temporize in favour of resisting subjects would be speaking that language of Whiggism so distasteful to the Court, so dissonant from the tone of the present reign, and so much objected to the new Ministers during the late Opposition. It would be opening a door to the flattery of their antagonists, who, instead of setting out by obstructing the measures of the Crown, would have an opportunity of paying their court at the expense of the Ministers themselves.

These were deep and weighty considerations, and, with this precipice on either hand, were young, artless, inexperienced men to date

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their career. Grenville, the parent of the Bill, and even fond of it beyond the love of a politician, was not a man to overlook so sudden a prospect of recovering the ground he had lost. Though he would have revelled in an opportunity of glutting his vengeance and enforcing obedience to his law, he could not but enjoy the distress to which the crisis reduced his adversaries. It suited his proud spirit to call for assertion of the Crown's and Parliament's dignity; and his revengeful spirit, to drive the Ministers on measures so repugnant to their principles and opinions, and, rather than not see the Colonies punished, he wished to have the punishment inflicted even by his adversaries. He toiled to obtain the most circumstantial evidence of the mutiny; he exaggerated every instance, and called aloud on the hand of power to vindicate the honour of the Legislature.

As the accounts from America grew every day worse, the Ministers, who at first were inclined to repeal the Act, were borne down by the flagrancy of the provocation. But being temperate men in themselves, fixed in their principles, foreseeing not only more extensive but more immediate evils from violence, (for the danger from the clamours of the merchants and trading towns increased in proportion,) and possibly indignant at the attempts made by their antagonists to drive them to extremities, they coolly and firmly resolved to remove the grievance, rather than involve their country and outlying brethren in a series of calamities more destructive of the common good than the wound given to the authority of Government. Whoever will reflect on the state of the dangers they were to encounter, and which I have specified above, must own that their conduct was virtuous, honest, prudent, humane, and brave: it will be difficult, I believe, to discover that it could be interested.

This determination of the Ministers to attempt the repeal of the Stamp Act was putting their power to the test at once; and was the more adventurous, as they certainly had not taken any steps to secure the previous favour of the Crown. If on one hand they increased by this measure the animosity of Grenville and his party, and held out to him the means of making his cause common with that of the Legislature; on the other, they afforded an opportunity to Lord Bute and his faction of returning their hostilities, and of veiling his grievances under the mantle of the King's and Parliament's dignity. The Colonies, however, pleased, could lend no support to their protectors, who, in truth, could stand on no ground at home, but on the popularity they had already acquired with the people, and should acquire with the mercantile part of the kingdom. In this exigence they lost the only real pillar of their Administration at Court.

Notwithstanding the services he had rendered, it is not probable that the Duke of Cumberland had made any progress in his Majesty's or the Princess's affections. He had driven out obnoxious Ministers, it is true, and furnished the King with a new set when no others would venture to enlist. But were not these new men more attached to his Royal Highness than to the person of the King? and had not

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the Duke promoted his own views in forming an Administration for his nephew? Had his Royal Highness interested himself to obtain any terms for the Favourite? Was not the latter in a manner proscribed by the friends of his Royal Highness? Had not the most select of those friends been as offensive to the Princess as the late Ministers themselves? Undoubtedly; and yet the personal character of his Royal Highness was in such estimation, his behaviour was so full of dignity, he was so attached to the Crown, and understood the Court so much better than the Ministers, and could dare to hazard language in the closet which their want of authority forbad them to use, that he could have interposed in their behalf, or could have bent them to necessary submission to the Crown, which no other man in England was capable of doing. But of this mediator the Ministers were soon deprived.

On the 30th of October his Royal Highness was playing at picquet with General Hodgson.* He grew confused, and mistook the cards. The next day he was recovered enough to appear at Court; but after dinner was seized with a suffocation, and ordered the window to be opened. One of his *valets-de-chambre*, who was accustomed to bleed him, was called, and prepared to tie up his arm, but the Duke said, "It is too late!—it is all over!"—and expired.

I have spoken so much of his Royal Highness's character in the beginning and in various parts of these Memoirs,† that little addition is necessary. His haughtiness and severity had made him most obnoxious in the early parts of his life. His profound understanding had taught him to profit of his mortifications; and though he never condescended to make himself amiable but to very few, he became as much respected, though deprived of power, as if his heroism had been victorious. Whether his good sense would have resisted prosperity with equal temper, I much doubt. He would have made a great King, but probably too great a King for so corrupt a Country. His indifference to death, which he had so long and so frequently had in prospect in the last years of his life, and which he seemed to invite, was, I believe, less owing to the solidity of his courage, which was intrepid, than to the unhappiness of his situation. His bodily infir-

* Groom of the Bed-chamber to the Duke, and conqueror of Belleisle. [He had been aide-camp to the second Earl of Albemarle at Dettingen and Fontenoy, and all the principal actions in Flanders. He was subsequently transferred to the family of the Duke, whom he attended at Culloden.—(Life of Lord Keppel, i. 298.) Several of his letters during the expedition to Belleisle are published in Mr. Keppel's work. They are very well written, and their frankness, vivacity, and good feeling, make it a subject of regret that more is not known of the writer. He died a field-marshal.—E.]

† A severe character of the Duke is given in the Memoirs of George the Second, vol. i. p. 85; nor has his memory found more favour from posterity. A love of truth, a dutiful consideration for his parents, and a decided preference of active employment, either civil or military, to the intrigues or frivolities of a Court, honourably distinguished him from his elder brother. In other respects he was not much to be esteemed.—E.

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mities,* though borne without complaint or impatience, were grievous. His mind had been more sensibly afflicted. Born with a martial spirit, and fond of command, he had not only been unsuccessful in every battle, except that of Culloden; but had been forced by cruel circumstances from the favourite profession of his soul; in civil life he was kept, by the temper of his father and the aversion of the Princess Dowager, in a state of neglect and disgrace. Fox, who he had a right to expect should stickle for his power, had betrayed and abandoned him; Pitt had made it a point to bar him from all influence; and the two Pelhams, after leaning on him for a while, had sacrificed him to the Princess and to their own ambition or jealousy of credit. His mind had not been formed for idleness, and could ill digest an exclusion from all military and all civil councils; and was too lofty and too unpliant to feed on trifling amusements. It had the great but none of the little, powers of philosophy; could bear misfortune, but could not compensate to itself for the want of its object. He used books rather than liked or valued them, and cared for none of the arts. His principles restrained him from going any considerable lengths against the crown; nor could he stoop to bestow those caresses that are necessary to form extensive connexions. He dealt his smiles to those who followed him, like a King that rewards, not like the head of a party, who has farther to go. The dignity of his conduct and behaviour gave his Court the air of a dethroned monarch's, but had nothing of a Prince whom his nephew's Court had suspected of having views on the Crown.

The King, at his Royal Highness's request, had promised the first vacant garter to the Earl of Albemarle,† and now with great propriety bestowed on him that of his master. The Ministers, too, were assured by his Majesty that the Duke's death should make no alteration in the present system.

In London, the Duke's death was deeply felt; and when the orders for mourning were issued, which, according to usage, were as for an uncle, and regulated by the late shorter ceremonial, the middling and lower people almost universally went into the closet mourning with weepers, and wore it for the whole time that had been customary before the contraction enjoined in the late reign. An attempt was made for a subscription to raise a statue to his memory, but without success:‡ and the new area in Berkeley-square being

* He was enormously fat, had lost one eye and saw but ill with the other, was asthmatic, and had had a stroke of the palsy, besides the wound in his leg, that had not healed.

† George Keppel, third Earl of Albemarle, Lord of the Bed-chamber to the Duke, and his favourite. The promise was not only renewed, but fulfilled at the end of the year, when the vacant garters were given to the Prince of Wales, the Hereditary Prince, and Lord Albemarle. [The latter was also intrusted by the King with the examination of the Duke's papers and the administration of his property.—(Keppel's Life, vol. iv. p. 384.)—E.]

‡ A statue of the Duke was afterwards erected in Cavendish Square by General Strode, at his own expense.

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destined for the place, Adam,* a Scotch architect, defeated the project, from the hatred which his nation bore to their conqueror, by proposing to erect a statue† of his Majesty on that very spot, a compliment his Majesty too willingly accepted, and which became ridiculous by the King himself being at the expense. The Duchess of Bedford, then at Bath, distinguished her animosity as absurdly, by wearing slighter mourning for the Duke than that prescribed by the Court.

The Administration was not without difficulties with regard to the Courts of Versailles and Madrid, who delayed to demolish the fortifications of Dunkirk, to liquidate the payment on the Canada Bills, and to settle the ransom of the Manillas. But though the new Ministers were more in earnest in their attempts to obtain all these ends than their predecessors had been, the ignominy of not obtaining them lay heavier on the latter. They it was who had sacrificed so much glory and advantage to the two Courts—at least all of them had concurred with Lord Bute in that paltry Peace; and when they had retained so small a portion of our conquests, and stipulated for such slight indemnifications, on them it lay to have secured at least the accomplishment of such poor terms. Indeed they had not dared to use a vigorous tone to either Court; for could the Ministers of Louis or Charles believe that those men would seriously undertake a war for trifles, who had sacrificed so much to purchase a Peace that they might have dictated? They accordingly had hoped that they should wheedle the two Courts to save them from the reproach of having accepted fallacious conditions, rather than attempted to call loudly for execution of the Treaty. The new Ministers had less to fear in speaking out. They had nothing to manage for their own sakes; and if the nation was not in a situation or a temper to go to war for the violation of the Peace, they were not answerable for the measures that had reduced us to such a state of timidity. It would be glorious to them to extort what the peace-makers had not dared to insist on; or baffled, the shame would lie at the door of their predecessors. Our Ministers, therefore, at Versailles and Madrid were ordered to make the demands with spirit. The Duke of Richmond, though he had concurred in the Peace, wanted no alacrity to enforce the terms of it. He had had little or no connexion with the late Administration, had never been favourably looked on at Court, had no predilection for Lord Bute, and now entered with warmth into alliance with the Ministers. Though possessed of the Dukedom of Aubigné, he was far from having any partiality to France; and having naturally a high and national spirit, he was ready to hold as firm a language as the Administration could choose to authorize. In truth, his friends apprehended that he would be more likely to em-

* Robert Adam, projector of the Adelphi buildings and other known works; [an interesting life of him is given in the Biographical Dictionary of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge.—E.]

† This statue was not finished and set up till 1772. A bitter inscription was affixed to it in the night, supposed to be written by Wilkes.

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broil the Courts than to relax in following his instructions. Yet young, inexperienced, and high-souled as he was, no man could conduct himself with more prudence and temper. Though he negotiated with obstinacy, he bore the flippancy and evasions of the Duc de Choiseul with admirable patience, neither betraying the honour of the Crown, nor exposing it to any unwarrantable contestations. In the short period of his embassy he performed an essential service by his resolution, quickness, industry, and perseverance. It is almost sufficient to say, that he settled one point of his negotiation, and was unwelcome to that Court: a proof that he neither temporized too far, nor was over-reached by men of larger experience. On his way to Paris he passed purposely by Dunkirk. The Duke of Cumberland had disapproved of that visit. "My Lord," said the Prince, "Dunkirk is not worth going to war for: if you do not visit it, you may say it is destroyed; you cannot after seeing it with your own eyes." This implied that his Royal Highness was convinced France did not mean to destroy it. As I had arrived at Paris before the Duke of Richmond, I had learned the desperate situation of their finances, and was witness to the disturbances occasioned to their Government by the active spirit of their Parliaments. I had written to Mr. Conway on these grounds, to advise their authorizing the Duke to talk big to the French Court, who, from the causes I have mentioned, were less in a situation than we were to recommence war. Mr. Conway heartily approved my views. The Duke had more doubts, but yielded to my reasons when he came over and found the soundness of my intelligence. The measure succeeded to my expectation. The Duc de Choiseul consented at last to settle the affair of the Canada Bills. Our merchants at home had blundered in their calculation, and asked less for themselves than they were entituled to. Sir John Lambert,* an English banker at Paris, pointed out the error to the Duke, who, with amazing quickness, himself discovered a method of obtaining, within twelve thousand pounds, a full indemnification for them. The French Court yielded to this new demand.† I persuaded the Duke to conclude the negotiation without any new transaction with our merchants at home, lest the readiness of the French should cool; and I urged him to ratify the agreement on the authority of three letters from Mr. Conway, who pressed to finish the bargain, and enjoined him to threaten the French Ministers that he (Conway) would represent it to Parliament, if they did not do us justice. The Duke doubted whether, having put the business into a new train, he could justify concluding it with-

* Sir John Lambert was of a Huguenot family. He was born in 1728; he died in 1799.—E.

† The concession was made too late to be of much benefit to the original holders of the bills. It had been confidentially intimated to the friends of the late Government, before the latter left office, that the point would not be pressed on the French Court, and the bills, in consequence, were sold at a very great depreciation. Sir George Colebrooke, who was one of the sufferers, mentions the circumstance in his MS. Memoirs.—E.

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out again consulting the merchants. I persuaded him to despatch a courier to Mr. Conway to say he would conclude, but not to specify in his public letter the error of the merchants, lest the Court of France should get intelligence, and repent of their facility.

With regard to Dunkirk, nothing was to be obtained. Choiseul told the Duke of Richmond that the late Ministers had not been so difficult. "But," said the Duke, "before I came away, I saw in the Secretary's office a strong letter to your Court on the subject of Dunkirk." "True," said Choiseul, "but it was not written till after Lord Halifax knew he was to be turned out." This indiscretion flowed from Choiseul's natural levity, not from any intention of hurting our late Ministers, whose fall he regretted, and on whose complaisance* he could better build than on men who had loudly condemned the Peace. Still was France not alarmed while Mr. Pitt remained without power. Their dread of him existed in all its force. To judge of it, one should have seen, as I did, the efficacy of his name to change their countenances and language. One day at dinner with the Duc de Praslin, when Mr. Pitt was accidentally mentioned, the Duc, with visible marks of alarm, asked if Mr. Pitt was coming into place again? And it is true that when any Frenchman gave a loose to their natural presumption before me, I had no occasion but to drop a careless hint that he was likely to be again employed, to strike silence through a whole company.†

One other point obtained by the new Ministers was a mutual exchange of envoys between England and Prussia, their first intercourse of communication since the war. Mitchell, destined for that embassy, was created a Knight of the Bath.‡ Count Malzahn came hither from Prussia.

November the 5th, Lord Camden, Chief Justice of the Common

* When the Duc de Nivernois came to England to conclude the Peace, he would never take his remittances in bank bills, lest they should be traced. My cousin, Thomas Walpole, told me that he had paid to that Duke four thousand guineas in specie at a time. I do not charge the Ministers with the guilt of this corruption. They were paid by Lord Bute in places, honours, and power; but that French money had a share in that infamous transaction I do not doubt. The Duc de Nivernois, a man of economy, spent above thirty-thousand pounds here in half a year. He kept a table for the tradesmen of London, that they might harangue for the Peace.

† What the French thought of our glorious successes and of our shameful Peace, appeared from what the famous Madame Geoffrin said to me one day at Paris,—"Vous avez eu un beau moment, mais il est bien passé!"

‡ His long and able services deserved a less tardy reward. He had been minister at Berlin from 1753, and was a constant companion of Frederic the Great during the Seven years' war. Few understood that monarch better, and few, it is supposed, were loved by him so well. He died at an advanced age in 1771. His correspondence during his embassy, extending to 68 folio volumes, is preserved in the British Museum, and furnishes many valuable illustrations of cotemporary history—especially the letters addressed to him by his correspondents in England. It proves, also, his sagacity in perceiving that the minister of a representative Government requires an intimate knowledge of the state of affairs at home, in order to discharge his duties abroad most to the advantage of his country.—E.

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Pleas, decided in that court the great cause between Wilkes and the Secretaries of State, in favour of the former.*

Terrick, Bishop of London, set himself to prosecute mass-houses, with what view I know not; for though noways blameable in his morals, zeal for religion by no means entered into the composition of the man. Ambition, creeping upwards by little intrigues, formed his whole character. Perhaps he thought this activity might be one step to the primacy. He had not much chance under the new dispensation.† The Duke of Newcastle, whose fears had surmounted his passion for the first rank in power, had told the King that he would content himself with making bishops in concert with the archbishop. Content or not, he had waived the Treasury, and Lord Rockingham, become First Minister by accepting it, was too fond of power not to engross all he could. It was a proof how old Newcastle was grown, when he bore this pre-eminence without jealousy or treachery.

Lord Rockingham had been advised, seeing the present Parliament had been chosen by Lord Bute, and recruited by Grenville, not to trust to it, but to dissolve, and call a new one; and that measure was for some time in deliberation. For his own interest he would have acted wisely, no doubt, in taking the advice; but he at last rejected the proposal, saying, that in so factious a time it would produce unheard of corruption. The sentiment was laudable, but neither faction nor corruption has decreased since that time.‡

* Reported under the name of Entick v. Carrington and others, 2 Wilson, 275. The outlawry against Wilkes being unreversed, he could not sue.—E.

† An account of Terrick has been given in a former page.—E.

‡ A better reason for dissolving the Parliament was furnished by the great measures in the contemplation of the new Government. No doubt the character of the House fell in the public estimation by the readiness with which the same individuals concurred in the repeal of Acts passed after due deliberation only in the preceding year. It is true that circumstances had altered in the interval, but the only alteration which the country regarded as influential upon the Parliament, was that which had taken place in the Government. Some politicians of later date have however pronounced it a blunder in any Minister to dissolve Parliament until it has rejected a Government measure.—E.

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CHAPTER XXXIX.

Meeting of Parliament.—Debates on the Stamp Act and the state of North America.—Death of Prince Frederic, the King's youngest brother.—Walpole's Observations upon the state of France at this period.—Death of the Dauphin.

On the 17th of December the Parliament met. Grenville, apprised of the intention to repeal the Stamp Act, had laboured to form a strong Opposition, giving out that the Ministers were going to rescind all his acts, because his. The very first day of the session he proposed to address the Crown, to know how the Stamp Act had been enforced; and in amendment of the address, proposed to insert the word *rebellious* in speaking of the Colonies.* He professed great readiness to congratulate his Majesty on the birth of a young Prince. With regard to the Duke of Cumberland's death, he would not, he said, flatter dead whom he had never flattered living. He was answered by Elliot, Lord George Sackville, and Norton, who, though dismissed, showed he had not imputed his disgrace to the Crown; and whatever the intentions of the Crown might be, it was thought proper that a Majority should first be secured, lest the Cabinet should again be taken by storm. Charles Townshend spoke for the Ministry,† with great encomiums on Conway. Grenville finding so little countenance, withdrew his motion.

In the other House, Lord Suffolk moved for an assurance to the King that the Lords would support his Majesty and the Parliament against the Colonies. He was supported by the Duke of Bedford, the Lords Gower, Halifax, Sandwich, and Temple. The last declared there was no truth in the reports spread of differences between him and Mr. Pitt; they agreed on every point. The first assertion was false; the latter soon proved to be so. Lord Shelburne spoke for the Ministers, though his friend Colonel Barrè had declined their

* The following are the words of his amendment:—

"To express our just resentment and indignation at the outrageous tumults and insurrections which have been excited and carried on in North America, and at the resistance given by open and rebellious force to the execution of the laws in that part of his Majesty's dominions."—E.

† "He asserted with vehemence his approbation of the Stamp Act, and was for enforcing it: he leant much to Mr. George Grenville's opinion, soothed him, and sat down determined to vote *against* his amendment! Mr. Elliot the same; thereby insuring a double protection."—Mr. Cooke to Mr. Pitt. Chatham Correspondence, vol. ii. p. 351.—E.

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offers.* But the concurrence of Shelburne and the retiring of Lord Camden spoke sufficiently, that they knew or suspected Mr. Pitt would take part for the repeal.† The Chancellor, Lord Pomfret, and the Duke of Grafton opposed the motion. Lord Mansfield, in a timid trimming speech, besought the Ministers to agree to the motion, and retired. The question was rejected by 80 to 24, though the new Opposition had flattered themselves that in the House of Lords lay their greatest strength. But they were sorely disappointed of Lord Bute's support, which they expected on all the questions relative to America.

Two days after the former motion, the Duke of Bedford moved for all papers that had been sent to America relating to the Stamp Act, and since the passing of it. The Duke of Grafton quashed that proposal, by promising *all* the papers should be produced. Rigby moved the same question in the Commons, and was severely treated by Beckford, and the motion was rejected, the Duke of Grafton forgetting to acquaint the Ministers in that House that he had granted the demand to the Lords. This obliged the King to send the papers to the House of Commons likewise.

Grenville, the next day, by surprise, proposed that the House should adjourn, but to the 9th instead of the 14th as the Ministers intended, in consideration of the urgent affairs of America—as if five days could make any difference. But the motion was rejected by 77 to 35: so ductile and subservient to present power was that assembly! Alderman Baker called Grenville's an insolent motion: being called to order, he was silent for some minutes; and then said, he had been trying to find another word—if the House could, he desired them to supply it. Then treating Grenville as the author of all the troubles in America, the latter threw the blame from himself on the Parliament.

Lord Temple, disheartened at so unpromising an outset of the session, had the confidence and meanness to hurry to Mr. Pitt at Bath; and now stooped to solicit the assistance of him whom he had so lately traversed, and whose offers he had so haughtily rejected. Mr. Pitt in his turn was inflexible.

On the 29th of December, died the King's youngest brother, Prince Frederic, an amiable youth, and the most promising, it was thought, of the family. The hereditary disorder in his blood had fallen on his lungs and turned to a consumption.

* Lord Shelburne appears to have spoken rather against the amendment than for the Ministers. He regarded the language applied to the Americans by the Opposition both in their speeches and the amendment as dangerous, and perhaps imprudent and unjust, and he deprecated a motion which seemed to preclude a repeal before it was considered thoroughly how far it might be necessary. His speech met with Mr. Pitt's entire approbation.—(Lord Shelburne's Letter to Mr. Pitt and the reply in the Chatham Correspondence, vol. ii. p. 353.)—E.

† Lord Shelburne had attached himself to Mr. Pitt, and would not enter the Government without him.—(Chatham Correspondence, vol. ii. p. 357.)—E.

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I will close the account of this remarkable year with a few observations I made in France.

Louis the Fifteenth did not want sense, and had as much humanity as was consistent with insensibility and indolence. The first prevented him from suspecting evils that did not immediately fall under his eye; and the latter from inquiring what oppressions his people suffered. He was more shy than reserved, and all these qualities tended to make him the slave of habit. He hated new faces rather than loved old servants. Being free from ambition, having no appetite for glory of any kind, and impressed with sentiments of devotion, he preferred peace, and listened to any overtures of treaty, whether victorious or vanquished. To the Queen he had been for many years strictly constant; was always a civil husband, and, in her last illness, a tender one. To his children he was most affectionate.* To his mistresses profuse, but capable of harshness whenever he quitted them. Cardinal Fleury governed him with unbounded authority. Madame de Pompadour, by art, and at last by complaisance in procuring other women for him, engrossed him entirely, but with no hold on his affections, for her death made not the slightest impression on him.† The Duc de Choiseul having been placed by her, succeeded to the ascendant that habit gives, and thence excluded other favourites, rather than became one himself. The King's life was regulated by the most mechanic sameness. An hour or two he could not deny to his Ministers; hunting took up the rest of daylight. Women amused his private hours: cards and a supper, with a select company, concluded the evening. All the flattery of that vain and obsequious nation, who love themselves in their kings, gave him no pleasure. It was a negative kind of nature that could neither be totally spoiled nor amended. But the true picture of him was an anecdote, that I learned from good authority. A sensible confidant of Cardinal Fleury reproached him with not making the King apply to business. This was the answer of that wise Minister: "I have often endeavoured what you recommend; and one day went so far as to tell the King that there had been kings dethroned in France for their *fainéantise*." It seemed to strike him deeply. He made no reply: but two days afterwards said to me, "I have been reflecting on what you told me of some of my predecessors being deposed—pray resolve me: when the nation deposed them, were they allotted large pensions?" "From that moment," said the Cardinal, "I saw it was in vain to labour at making him a great King."

The Queen was not only a pious but a good woman. Indifferent to the gallantries of her husband, and free from ambition, she lived well with him, his mistresses, and ministers. Fond of talking and

* He was affectionate to his daughters, but surely not to the Dauphin, whose life he made unhappy by excluding him from active employment, and whose death he bore with feelings of very slight regret.—E.

† He even stood at a window to see her coffin carried out of the palace.

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universally obliging, the nation thought her void of any particular attachment; yet she showed an unalterable friendship to the Duchess de Luynes: and her affection to her father, King Stanislas, and the loss of her son the Dauphin undoubtedly hastened her death. Though she could not prevent the expulsion of the Jesuits, the King's esteem for her mitigated their fall. It was to the honour of both that, though the daughters of Stanislas and Augustus, the Queen and the Dauphiness lived in uninterrupted harmony.

The Dauphin, who died while I was in France, was totally unknown till his death. His great caution of not giving jealousy to his father, and his respectable fear of not alarming the bigotry of his mother and wife, had made him conceal both his good sense and the freedom of his sentiments with such care that the former was not suspected; and the latter was so unknown, that the nation, now running with their usual vehemence into any new opinion, and, consequently, growing Freethinkers, believed and hated him as an enthusiast. Yet he had a good understanding, had carefully, though secretly, cultivated it, and was a modern philosopher in the largest sense of that term. During his illness, which continued many weeks, he seemed neither to regret his youth nor hopes; was patient, complaisant, and indulgent; and a few days before his death gave proof of his good sense and good nature. A man of quality that attended him had the brutal absurdity to solicit him to ask some favour, on his behalf, of the King, "who," said the person, "can refuse your Royal Highness nothing in your present condition." The Dauphin laughed at the indelicacy, but would not divulge the name of the man. To please his family the Prince went through all the ceremonies of the Church, but showed to his attendants, after they were over, how vain and ridiculous he thought them. Many expressions he dropped in his last hours that spoke the freedom of his opinions; and to the Duc de Nivernois he said, he was glad to leave behind him such a book as Mr. Hume's Essays.*

The Dauphiness, with whom he lived on the best terms, he had, however, no fondness for: his first wife had been far more dear to

* If the French were thus ignorant of the real character of the Dauphin, the ignorance has been of long continuance. All the French historians regard him as a fanatic. According to Sismondi (Histoire des Français, vol. xxix. p. 328) the Archbishop of Paris and the Molinist clergy formed around him a cabal which at first inspired alarm, next disdain, and at last pity. The story of his skepticism came, probably, to Walpole from the Duc de Choiseul, who had always been on the worst terms with him, nor is the Duc de Nivernois, the partisan of Choiseul, a courtier of pursuits and feelings utterly dissimilar to those of the prince, a much better authority. The only vice which the irreproachable conduct of the Dauphin admitted of being imputed to him, was hypocrisy. Whether he had sufficient energy of character to have averted the destruction which afterwards overwhelmed his unfortunate son is more doubtful. He was personally brave, and is said to have shown spirit and readiness at Fontenoy, and it was with difficulty that the jealousy of the Duc de Choiseul could prevent his serving in the seven years' war; but the qualities requisite for the successor of Louis the Fifteenth, were hardly compatible with his gentle, yielding, and amiable disposition. He died on the 20th of December, 1765, in his thirty-seventh year.—E.

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him. The second was morose and ungracious; and, dying in a year after her husband, was not at all regretted. In her last moments, having sharply reprimanded the Duchesse de Lauragais, the latter, turning to another lady, said, "Cette Princesse est si bonne qu'elle veut que personne ne la regrette."*

The Duc de Choiseul, the Prime Minister, was a man of excellent parts, but of a levity and indiscretion, which most of that nation divest themselves of before his age, or when they enter into business. Except the hours which he spent with the King, the rest of his life was dissipation, pleasure, profuseness, and bons mots. Rash, daring, and presumptuous; good-humoured, but neither good nor ill-natured; frank, gay, and thoughtless, he seemed the Sovereign more than the Minister of a mighty kingdom. Scorning, rather than fearing, his enemies, he seldom undermined and seldom punished them. He dissipated the nation's wealth and his own; but did not repair the latter by plunder of the former. Mr. Pitt's superiority he could never digest nor forgive; and though he was incapable of little mischief in his own country, great crimes had rather a charm for him. He excited the war between the Russians and Turks to be revenged on the Czarina; and I saw him exult childishly in his own house on her first defeats. At last he descended to the mean and cruel oppression of Corsica, for the sake of gathering a diminutive laurel, after being baffled in the large war. Gallantry without delicacy was his constant pursuit. His wife, the most perfect character of her sex, loved him to idolatry;† but, though a civil husband, he spared her no mortification that his carelessness could inflict. His sister, the Duchesse de Grammont, too openly connected with him by more ties than of blood, had absolute influence over him, and exerted it cruelly and grossly to insult the Duchesse de Choiseul, who, more than once, was on the point of retiring into a convent, though without the least belief of the doctrines held there.

* The Dauphin certainly preserved a tender attachment for the memory of his first wife, the Infanta Maria Therese. She died in child-bed in July, 1746. This did not, however, prevent his appreciating the merit of the second Dauphiness. Observing him in tears just before their marriage, she bade him indulge his grief, for it assured her of what she too might expect from his regard if she had the happiness to deserve it. She was by no means popular in the coteries frequented by Walpole, but by the nation at large she was held in high estimation. Her death was ascribed to a disorder she had contracted in nursing her husband. The Duchesse de Lauragais might have treated the expressions of a person in the agonies of death with more indulgence. Judging from this speech, she must have been as heartless as her lover the Maréchal de Richelieu, than whom, allowing for the difference of sex, she was not much more respectable.—E.

† The Duchesse was a niece of the financier Croisat, and brought to the Duc the great fortune of four millions of livres. After her husband's death she retired into a convent, and submitted to severe privations in order to obtain the means of paying not only his debts, but even his legacies, for he had the assurance to make large testamentary bequests, though he must have known himself to be worse than insolvent. She was the Duc's second wife. His first, also a considerable heiress, died within a year of their marriage, and he generously restored her fortune to her relations, though he was at that time poor.—E.

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Madame de Grammont, who had none of the accomplishments that graced the small but harmonious figure of the Duchesse de Choiseul, had masculine sense, and almost masculine manners. She was wonderfully agreeable when she pleased, a vehement friend, a rude and insolent enemy. The nation revered and neglected the wife; detested and bowed to the sister. The Minister had crushed the Jesuits, for he loved sudden strokes of *éclat;* and, to carry that measure, had countenanced the Parliaments till they grew almost too ungovernable. But as he seldom acted on deep system, he sometimes took up a tone of authority, and as quickly relaxed it—a conduct that confounded the nation and a little the Parliaments; but that war from thoughtlessness, or to ruin a rival the Duc D'Aiguillon, he chiefly left to the latter; and he could not have left it to worse hands. Proud, ambitious, vindictive, and void of honour or principle, the Duc D'Aiguillon, with very moderate parts, aimed at power with the Crown, by being the Minister of its tyranny.* The infamous oppression, exercised on that undaunted man, M. de la Chalotais,† flowed from the revenge of this Duc, who, to carry his point, lent himself even to the exploded Jesuits: and though that connexion could be no secret to the Duc de Choiseul, he suffered rather than encouraged a plan that clashed so much with the service he had ren-

* His mal-administration of Brittany was an appropriate prelude to his career as President of the Council. In both offices he incurred almost universal hatred and contempt. It was at the Court alone that he shone. There his brilliant success was undeniable; and indeed it is not to be wondered at, for he was eminently adroit and specious; and, with a noble deportment, he possessed the art of expressing himself nobly. The English officers taken at St. Cas returned home fascinated by his urbanity and generous sayings. Though an undisguised profligate, he was the acknowledged leader of the religious party to which the Dauphin belonged, and the confidant of that exemplary Prince; and this did not prevent his subsequently becoming the minister of Louis the Fifteenth. The Duc was the great-nephew of Cardinal de Richelieu, and had inherited Aiguillon from the Cardinal's favourite niece, Madame de Combalet. He died in 1783, leaving an only son.—E.

† The persecution to which M. de Chalotais was subjected has been detailed in a work extending to three volumes quarto, intitled "Procès Extraordinaire contre MM. Caradeuc de la Chalotais, &c.," with this singular motto: "Ad perpetuam sceleris memoriam." He appears to have narrowly escaped with his life. The most important witness against him was a young Maitre de Requêtes, M. de Calonne, twenty years later unhappily celebrated as the minister of Louis the Sixteenth. The trial gives a frightful picture of the state of criminal justice in France in those days. M. de Chalotais had pure motives, and was an able man; but his indiscretion, the irascibility of his temper, and the bitterness with which he treated all who differed from him in opinion, no doubt greatly aggravated his difficulties. His first work, "Compte rendu des Constitutions des Jesuites," appeared in 1762, he being then sixty-one years of age; from that time until his death, in 1785, he maintained a hot and incessant warfare against the Court and religious parties who regarded him as the representative of principles fraught with ruin to them both. This struggle no doubt materially hastened the Revolution. An interesting account of the proceedings against Chalotais is given in Anquetil (Hist. de France, vol. viii. p. 106—116) one of the best parts of a book of slender merit, and also in Sismondi (Hist. des Français, vol. xxix. p. 321) and in the able article on Chalotais in the Biographie Universelle.—E.

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dered to his country by abolishing the Order. Nor was it to his honour that shame and the outcry of mankind rescued M. de Chalotais, rather than the justice of the Prime Minister.*

The Parliaments of France were filled with many great, able, and steady magistrates. The philosophy and studies of the age had opened their eyes on the rights of mankind; and they attempted with heroic firmness to shake off the chains that galled their country. Yet a distinction should be made between the magistrates and the men called or calling themselves philosophers. The latter were really a set of authors and beaux esprits, who, aping the sentiments of Montesquieu, Rousseau, and Voltaire, especially of the latter, endeavoured to raise themselves to an independent rank, to a kind of legislation in the community. After attacking and throwing off Christianity, they ran wildly into the fondest and most absurd doctrines of the old Greek philosophers; and, with the lightness of their own nation, and, prompted by arrogance and love of pre-eminent singularity, they wrote atheism with little reserve, and talked it without any. The chief of these vain and loquacious witlings were D'Alembert,† Diderot, and that puny writer Marmontel. I am sorry to add to the list the name of a far more amiable and more profound man, M. Buffon, though, except in their indecent petulance, he too much resembled the rest of his cotemporaries in his sentiments. The women, who hurry into any new fashion, and then lead it, talked of matter and metaphysics with as little caution and as much ignorance as their directors. The magistrates of the Parliaments were very different men. Sober on the religion of their country, they meddled with it no farther than as it interfered with liberty; and few of them were so audacious in their most private conversation as to adopt the abominable licentiousness of the men I have been describing. But if they were decent on religion, they had not the same prudence in the conduct of their civil views. Heated by the term *Parliament*, they chose to believe, at least to inculcate the belief, that they were possessed of the rights of a British senate. Nothing could be more meritorious than a struggle for such a system. But the Parliaments of France were not only nothing but courts of judicature, but the pretension was too early and too untimely to be yet pushed. As I had some friends in the Parliament of Paris, I remonstrated to them on the danger they ran of overturning an excellent cause by their precipitation. To obtain solidly and step by step some material concessions, was the conduct they should have pursued. Whatever little they should so attain would be a benefit to the nation; time

* It would be difficult to find, in the various histories of the period, a more ably drawn character of the Duc de Choiseul than this. The Duc was born in 1719. His administration lasted from 1757 to 1770, and he died in 1785.—E.

† It should be recollected that D'Alembert's intimacy with Mademoiselle Espinasse had caused him to quarrel with Walpole's old friend, Madame du Deffand. He wrote much that has long ceased to be read, but his Introduction to the Encyclopedie is a very able work, and as a mathematician he was one of the most eminent of his day. He died in 1783, aged sixty-six.—E.

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and precedent might add more. A minority or national distress would have opened a wider door; but by setting out with unbounded pretensions, unfounded in their Constitution, they warned the Crown to be on its guard; and, what was worse, they could depend on no support but in their own courage and in that uncertain resource, patriotic martyrdom. The Crown, popular in France whenever it pleases, and almost in any country, and powerful without popularity in that country, could not but regard their pretensions with the eye of jealousy. The nobility, ignorant, haughty, and willing to be tyrannized over by one that they might be authorized to tyrannize over *thousands*, were, and must be, disinclined to the extension of subordinate jurisdictions. The clergy were the natural and now the provoked enemies of Parliaments. The military are seldom captivated by any franchises but their own; are devoted to the Crown, and led by, and composed of, the nobility: nor did the Parliaments take any pains to make a schism in the soldiery. Even the people who would taste most benefit from acquisitions to liberty, were disinclined to the Parliaments. The Presidents purchase their charges, and enjoy them with a* state and haughtiness that is ill-relished by the commonalty. Able manifestos were slight arms against such a combination of prejudices. While I staid in France, I had an opportunity of seeing with what a momentary breath the Crown could puff away a cloud and tempest of remonstrances. Being pushed too home, the King, suddenly and very early in the morning, appeared in the Chamber of Parliament. The Magistrates were in bed, were summoned, and found the King surrounded with his guards, and with all the apparatus of majesty. He commanded four of his Ministers to take their seats at his feet in a place where they had no right. He called for the registers, tore out their remonstrances, enjoined silence to the Parliament, and departed. In the street he met the Sacrament, alighted from his coach, knelt in the dirt, and received the blessings of all the old beggar-women. By night the consternation was universal: no man dropped a word, unless in commendation of the King's firmness. The Magistrates sighed, but respectfully. The philosophers were frightened out of their senses. In a few months the Parliaments recovered their spirit, and the Court again temporized. Yet when their memorials had been read, and had their vogue in common with the poems and operas of the week, the sensation ceased, and lettres de cachet lost nothing of their vigour.

There was scarce a man of quality in France above the rank of president that countenanced the cause. There was one of the blood royal that affected to be their protector; but too much despised by the Court, too inconsiderable and too half-witted to hurt any body but himself. This was the Prince of Conti. Handsome and royal

* Nor could they be respected as judges are in England, as solicitation is practised in France in all causes. Where there is solicitation, there must be partiality. Where partiality is, there must be injustice; and injustice will never be popular.

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in his figure, gracious at times, but arrogant and over-bearing, luxurious and expensive, he had gathered together a sort of Court of those who had no hopes at the King's, but without the power of giving or receiving any support. Confused in his ideas, yet clear in his opinion of superior intelligence, he was at once diffuse and incomprehensible. The little tyrant of a puny circle, he gave himself for the patron of liberty. No man would have carried his own privileges farther. The Court took no umbrage at such a foe.*

It could not but be a singular satisfaction to me to find in so adverse a nation so few men whose abilities were formidable. One or two of the subordinate Ministers were men of domestic and civil address. The Prince de Soubise, a sensible man of fair character, who enjoyed the most personal favour with the King, and, it was thought, might be Minister if he pleased; had no ambition.† The Maréchal d'Estrées was a good-humoured old nurse;‡ the Maréchal de Broglie§ as empty a man, except in the theory of discipline, as ever I knew. The Comte, his brother, who had more parts, had not enough to make them useful;‖ and both brothers were in disgrace. The Marquis de Castries,¶ a good officer, was not on any terms with Choiseul, and was no deep genius. The Duc de Praslin, the Minister's cousin, was ill-tempered and disagreeable, and far from possessing superior abilities.** The clergy were at a low ebb.

* In his youth he had served with some distinction in Italy, where, in conjunction with the Infant Don Philip, he commanded the allied army of France and Spain. He possessed the personal courage, the cleverness, the turn for political intrigue, and the wrong-headedness which seemed hereditary in his family. The part he took in the affairs of the Parliament gained him the sobriquet, from the King, of "Mon Cousin l'Avocat." He died in 1776, aged fifty-nine.—E.

† A dissolute courtier of illustrious family, who had the poor merit of being sincerely attached to an unworthy master. Unhappily for his country he was trusted with high commands, even after the battle of Rosbach, where he had shared all the dishonour of that signal defeat. The assistance of Marshal d'Estrées enabled him for once to be successful at Johannisburgh. He died in 1787, aged seventy-two. The ex-Jesuit, Georgel, who was attached to the family, has painted him in flattering colours. See Mémoires de Georgel, vol. i. p. 278.—E.

‡ The Maréchal d'Estrées, Louis César le Tellier, grandson of the celebrated Louvois. He was at this time seventy years old, and probably exhausted by long service. He had greatly distinguished himself at Fontenoy; but his chief exploit was the victory he gained at Hastenbeck, over the Duke of Cumberland. This did not prevent his being harshly treated by the Court, and through the intrigues of the Maréchal de Richelieu he was for a time deprived of his rank and employment, and imprisoned in the Castle of Doulens on an unfounded charge of having left his victory incomplete. He was afterwards recalled and employed, but his last campaign against Prince Ferdinand was not a successful one. He died in 1771, aged seventy-six.—E.

§ See p. 90. ‖ Ibid.

¶ He had defeated Prince Ferdinand at Clostercamp, in the battle which made the name of the Chevalier d'Assas so illustrious in the French annals. In the reign of Louis the Sixteenth he became minister of Marine and was much respected. He died in 1801, aged seventy-four.—E.

** The Duc had none of the brilliancy of his cousin. His manners were cold and reserved, which his enemies ascribed to pride, and his friends to modesty. He never was popular. As Minister of Marine he appears to have discharged

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The Archbishop of Toulouse, reckoned the most rising of the order, was aspiring and artful, but absorbed in his own attention to intrigue, which gave him an air of absence. He was only considerable by comparison.* He and many of his order did not disguise their contempt for their own religion. As the women who had most sway were Freethinkers, a fashionable clergyman was by consequence an infidel. The ablest man I knew, and he as indiscreet as the Duc de Choiseul, was the old Comte de Maurepas. Lively, gay, and agreeable, he seemed to feel no regret for his disgrace, though he ought to have blushed at the imprudence that occasioned it. He had not only caused to be written, but himself, at his own table at Versailles, before a large company, had sung, a severe ballad on Madame de Pompadour. His fall and a long exile were the consequence. To make his ruin irrecoverable, she persuaded the King that he had poisoned a former mistress, the Duchesse de Chateauroux. From the same animosity, Madame de Pompadour had diverted a large sum that Maurepas had destined to re-establish their marine. Knowing his enmity to this country, I told him, and the compliment was true, that it was fortunate for England that he had been so long divested of power.†

his duties efficiently, and the French fleet under his administration recovered the losses it had suffered in the war. His splendid seat near Melun, still in the possession of his descendants, and formerly the delight of the Intendant Fouquet, shows that his public services were not unrewarded. He died in 1795, aged seventy-three.—E.

* Madame de Staël paints him to the life: "C'étoit un homme d'esprit dans l'acceptation commune de ce mot. . . . Sa dignité de Prêtre, jointe au désir constant d'arriver au Ministère, lui avoit donné l'extérieur réfléchi d'un homme d'état, et il en avoit la réputation avant d'avoir été mis a portée de la dementir. . . Il n'étoit ni assez éclairé pour être philosophe, ni assez ferme pour être despote; il admiroit tour a tour la conduite du Cardinal de Richelieu, et les principes des encyclopédistes."—Considérations sur la Révolution Française.—His brief administrations made the Revolution inevitable, and he was among its early victims. The manner of his death is uncertain, the Abbe Morellet, his friend and dependant, insinuating that he poisoned himself. According to an article in the Biographie Universelle, which is very carefully written, he died in consequence of the brutal treatment he received from some soldiers at Sens. The Abbé makes a feeble effort to defend his memory.—(Mémoires de Morellet, vol. i. p. 17; vol. ii. p. 16—467.)—E.

† He also became at a great age Chief Minister, in the next reign, and died so. Walpole must have written his eulogy on Maurepas before the latter was restored to office. Agreeable as he might be in society, he proved a most inefficient minister, and altogether unequal to the times. He died in 1781, eighty years old, regretted only by the King and the courtiers, who enjoyed his wit and profited by his patronage. One of his last acts was the disgrace of Necker, a minister who perhaps could then have saved the monarchy, though he afterwards hastened its downfall.—E.

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CHAPTER XL.

Death of the Pretender.—Intrigues against the Ministry.—Debates on the Stamp Act, and the Petition from America.—First Speech of Mr. Edmund Burke.—Character of his Oratory.—Mr. William Burke.

On the first day of the year died at Albano that sport of fortune, the Chevalier de St. George, better known by the appellation of the Old Pretender. He had not only outlived his hopes, but almost all those who had given him any hopes. His party was dwindled to scarce any but Catholics; and though he left two sons, his line was verging to extinction. The second son was actually a Cardinal; the elder, sunk in drunkenness, despair, and neglect at Bouillon.* His father's death seemed a little to reanimate him: but that revival was but waking to new mortifications. The Court of France did not even put on mourning for the father; and when Prince Charles determined to set out for Rome, the Pope despatched a courier to prevent him. The Roman nobility were not fond of being preceded even by a phantom of royalty; and both they and the College of Cardinals were apprehensive of the sottishness and rashness of the young man. The Pope dreaded the resentment of England, and feared an order to prohibit English travellers from visiting Rome; a mighty source of wealth to that city. And he,† who had so obstinately protected the Jesuits against the threats of France and Spain, and who at last sacrificed part of his dominions‡ to his zeal for the Order, had the timidity to renounce the most meritorious martyr of the Church, rather than expose himself to the very uncertain vengeance of a heretic Court. The young Pretender persisted in his journey: the Pope as pertinaciously refused to acknowledge him for King of England; yet with the additional absurdity of continuing to style him Prince of Wales—though he could not be the latter without becoming the former. To such complete humiliation was reduced that ever unfortunate House of Stuart, now at last denied that empty sound of royalty by that Church and Court for which they had sacrificed three kingdoms! Pathetically might the Prince have exclaimed,

* He was related to the Duc de Bouillon by his mother, the Princess Clementina Sobieski.—[Lord Mahon's Hist. of England, vol. iii. p. 523.]—E.

† Clement XIII. His name was Charles Rezzonico, a Venetian.

‡ Avignon.

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"Hic pietatis honos! sic nos in sceptra reponis!"

The Cardinal of York ceded to his brother the annuity he received from the Pope, whose only bounty, whose only grace, was restricted to the allowance of that exchange.

About the same time died Frederic the Fifth, King of Denmark, in the forty-second year of his age:* a good prince and beloved, and void of any capital fault but that northern vice, drunkenness. If we may believe the history of that kingdom, no nation has been blessed with so many humane sovereigns. It is more remarkable that they have not grown worse since they became absolute.

Before, and during the adjournment of the Parliament, the Ministers perceived how little they could flatter themselves with the stability of their situation. From being persecuted by both factions of the old and new Administration, Lord Bute began to assume the style of holding the balance between both. He meant at least to show the new Ministers, that while they disdained to humble themselves before him, the success of their measures would be precarious. The Crown itself seemed inclined to consign its numbers to him against its own measures—a wise equilibrium, that either way produced confusion to its interests. Before Christmas, the Favourite had held a council of his creatures at the Earl of Northumberland's; the meeting consisted of eighteen Lords and Commoners, and in the latter number was Charles Townshend. Dinners were afterwards given to twenty-five Lords by Bute himself, and others to the Commons by Lord Litchfield. And lest mankind should misapprehend the part the Favourite intended to take on the Stamp Act, Lord Denbigh, his standard-bearer, and Augustus Hervey, asked audiences of the King, and leave to resign their places, as they purposed to vote against the repeal. The farce was carried on by the King, and to prevent any panic in those who might have a mind to act the same part, his Majesty told them that they *were at liberty to vote against him and keep their places.* This was, in effect, ordering his servants to oppose his Ministers. The latter on this exigence, consulted Mr. Pitt, desired his advice for their conduct on the Stamp Act, and invited him to take the lead in their Administration. He replied, with his usual haughtiness, that he would give no advice but to his Majesty or the Parliament; that he would never sit at Council with Newcastle;† and

* After a reign of twenty years. He had governed his small kingdom with prudence and ability; and had shown spirit and firmness in the manner in which he met the preparations made by Peter III. for invading Denmark, in 1762. He has the honour of having employed the celebrated Niebuhr, on that scientific expedition to the East, of which the latter has left so interesting a description. —E.

† The Duke of Newcastle, besides having joined Lord Bute against Mr. Pitt at the beginning of the reign, had personally offended the latter, by contriving to have his American pension paid at the Treasury, which subjected it to great deductions.

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should think himself obliged to offer the Treasury to Lord Temple; and that there must be *other* arrangements. Those arrangements, he intimated, were, not that whether Lord Temple accepted the Treasury or not, Lord Rockingham must not expect to continue there.

This answer being reported to the Council, who had obtained the King's permission to make the overture, gave great offence, particularly to Newcastle, who found himself proscribed; and to Rockingham, who cared not whether he were proscribed or not, if he was to be divested of the Treasury. It was warmly decided that it would wound the King's honour to send any more messages to a man who had thus often rejected his Majesty's condescension. But though this message had been suffered, it had by no means had the King's approbation, who now no longer wished that Mr. Pitt should unite with the present Ministers; and it was as little his intention to bind himself by the rules they prescribed to his honour. He did not despair of gaining Mr. Pitt alone and unconnected, who, the King and the Favourite flattered themselves, would be more complaisant than either of the factions. If indulged in his foreign plans, he was less likely than any man to interfere in the scheme of domestic power. Any thing was to be sacrificed to accommodate the Favourite, to save his creatures, and to preserve his influence. Could that be maintained, the crown would be rewarded with new extension of the prerogative. This reciprocal view was the key to all the secrets of the closet, was the source of all the indignities past, of the disgraceful fluctuation that ensued, and of all the humiliations that fell on the King himself, who unfortunately had been taught to prefer a forced authority to that which flows, and was so disposed to flow, from the love of his subjects.

On the 14th of January the Houses met. Lord Villiers* and Mr. Thomas Townshend moved the Addresses. Seymour and Bamber Gascoyne, Nugent and Stanley, attacked the Ministers for their want of spirit against the Americans, and for suffering the authority of Parliament to be called in question by the rebellious Colonies. "The tax," said Stanley, "was not a twentieth part of what they could afford to pay; but that was not the point: he had rather have a peppercorn to acknowledge our sovereignty, than millions paid into the Treasury without it." As he was speaking, Mr. Pitt appeared in the House, and took the first opportunity of opening his mind, not only on the Stamp Act, but on the general situation of affairs. Though he had on other occasions, perhaps, exerted more powers of eloquence (though he was much admired now even in that light,) yet the novelty and boldness of his doctrines, the offence he gave by them at home, and the delirium which they excited in America, made his speech rank in celebrity with his most famous orations. For these reasons, and as the repeal of the Stamp Act was the last great question on which he figured in the House of Commons, I shall be

* George Bussy Villiers, only son of William Earl of Jersey.

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more particular in the detail of it, having received authentic notes from one that was present at the delivery, and therefore more to be depended on than the printed copy.*

He had come to town that morning, he said, *unconcerted* and unconnected, and not having arrived early enough, desired to hear the proposed Address read, which being done, he thought it, he said, a very proper one, though he should wish to separate from it the unhappy measure of the Stamp Act. No day had been so important since the time, a little above a century ago, when it had been debated whether we should be bond or free. More than ordinary circumspection was requisite on that nice, difficult, and hardly debateable question. Truth did extort from him that the compliment of *early* applied to the present meeting of Parliament did *not* belong to the American part of the question. *He* would have called the Parliament sooner. He then pronounced that *the House of Commons did not represent North America.* It had, as the Legislature, not as representatives, taxed North America. For him, the question was too hard; but popular, or unpopular, he would do as he thought right. Was there a set of men in this country by whom he had not been sacrificed? He saw before him a set of gentlemen whom he respected—some of them his old acquaintance; these were part of the Administration: but were there not other parts? One day one man was uppermost, another day, another man. Was there not an invisible influence from more quarters than one? No matter whence they came, if they did mischief—God knew whither this country was going! Had we not seen one Ministry changed after another, and passing away like shadows? All that could be done for this country was to place it in a safe situation. When he served his Majesty, he had mentioned it as his advice that he wished to have that part of the Act of Settlement enforced, which directs that every Minister should sign his opinion. Liberty formerly was not made use of as a horse to ride into employment upon; they rode into the field upon it, and left their bones there. As he might be deprived by ill health from attending his duty in the House when this question should come on, he begged leave to deliver his opinion then. He would repeal the Stamp Act immediately, and accompany it with a bill declaratory of their own high rights and privileges over that country, which should be done upon the most extensive plan. But he would repeat it, *That House had no right to lay an internal tax upon America, that country not being represented.*

General Conway said, he had the honour of agreeing with almost every word that had fallen from Mr. Pitt; but if there was any blame to be cast for not meeting the Parliament sooner, he must bear it in common with the rest of his Majesty's servants who advised it. For

* An interesting account of the debate, and especially of Mr. Pitt's speech, is given in a note to a letter of Mr. Pitt to Lady Chatham.—Chatham Correspondence, vol. ii. p. 363. It agrees generally with the text; indeed, many of the expressions are identical.—E.

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himself he had been unworthily and accidentally called to the high employment he then bore; he had not studiously thrust himself into it, and could assure the right honourable gentleman that he should think himself happy to resign it to him whenever he should please to take it. Himself had not made use of liberty to ride into employment; it was indifferent to him, and he should be equally happy to turn his horse's head and ride out again.

Mr. Pitt assured him that he had not glanced at him in any word he had uttered, he had too high an opinion of him. The only piece of advice he would give Mr. Conway was not to be ridden, and he dared to say he never would.*

Mr. Grenville said, the Stamp Act had been thoroughly considered, not hurried at the end of a Session. It had passed through the different stages in full Houses with, he thought, only one division on it. "Look," said he "into Magna Charta; you will see we have a right to tax America; and that all laws are enacted by Commune Consilium Regni: and will the honourable gentleman then say we have not a right—" He was interrupted by Pitt; and, after some squabbling and explanation, Grenville continued: "Why then I understand the gentleman's opinion to be, that you have a right, on every other occasion except to lay an internal tax—" Being again interrupted, Mr. Pitt begged to be indulged in a few words by way of reply, and then, as was common with him, launched out into a new harangue: "Though the gentleman," said he, "is armed at all points with Acts of Parliament, yet I will venture to say that if he was to take the three first words that he might find in a dictionary, they would be full as much to the purpose as his Commune Consilium Regni. Does he consider that, at the time he speaks of, the barons had all the land—though indeed the Church, God bless it! had then a third, when the bishops, mitred abbots, and such things, had influence? I laugh, sir, I laugh, when it is said this country cannot coerce America; but will you do it upon a point that is intricate, and in a matter of right that is disputed? Will you, after the Peace you have made, and the small pittance of the fishery that is left you, will you sheathe your sword in the bowels of your brothers, the Americans? You may coerce and conquer, but when they fall, they will fall like the strong man embracing the pillars of this Constitution, and bury it in ruin with them. Gentlemen may double down Acts of Parliament till they are dogs-eared, it will have no effect upon me; I am past the time of life to be turning to books to know whether I love liberty or not. There are two or three lines of Prior applicable to the present question, supposing America in the situation of a wife: they are these, where he says:—

* Mr. Pitt, however, with less kindness, said, in reply to Conway's defence (on the ground of defective information) against the charge of having given such tardy notice to the House of the disturbances in America, that, "The excuse, to be a valid one, must be a just one. This must appear from the papers now before the House."—(Parliamentary History, vol. xvi. p. 101.)—E.

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"'Be to her faults a little blind,
Be to her virtues very kind,
And clap the padlock on her mind.'

"I don't know how it is," continued he, "when I had something to do in advising, there were always three hundred gentlemen ready to be of my opinion—I don't know how it came about—perhaps it was their modesty—I wish they would not be quite so modest. Indeed there was one person, who is now gone to the House of Lords, and sits there by an old barony,* who was honest enough to disagree with me, and called it *my* German war; I have loved him ever since for being so honest to speak his mind; I see his employment is taken from him; had I been employed, he is one of the first persons I should have endeavoured to keep in, for no other reason but because he had differed with me. When I was in power, I do not doubt but I had friends who would have advised me to burn my fingers, and would have recommended such a tax as this. Look at past Ministers, and see what they thought of it. Lord Halifax,† educated in this House, Lord Oxford,‡ Lord Orford,§ a great revenue minister, never thought of THIS. If you had the right, it would be a fatal policy; for will not that people, if they share your taxes, claim the right of manufactures, of free trade, of every other privilege of the mother country? An honourable gentleman talked of a barley-corn; I say this tax is but a barley-corn—fifty thousand pounds are but a barley-corn. Will you have your Treasury look big at the expense of two millions? My ideas and knowledge of America have been chiefly learnt from gentlemen of the army. There is not the captain of a company of foot that is not fit to be a Governor of North America. How can you depend upon Spain after the treatment she has shown to that brave and gallant officer,‖ who has suffered for his lenity towards them at the Manillas, and now feels their perfidy? It were to be wished that the heart of every grandee in Spain beat as high as his! In the situation things are, nobody can trade in North America but a lawyer. I hate distinc-

* Sir Francis Dashwood, Lord Despencer.

† Charles Montagu, Earl of Halifax, First Commissioner of the Treasury under George I.

‡ Robert Harley, Earl of Oxford, Lord Treasurer to Queen Anne.

§ Robert Walpole, Earl of Orford, Prime Minister to George I. and George II.

‖ Sir William Draper, created Knight of the Bath for the conquest of the Manillas.—[The credit he had gained by his conduct there, and at the capture of Fort St. George, he lost by various weaknesses, and especially by his gross flattery of Mr. Pitt and Lord Granby. In 1779 he was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Minorca, and held that office at the time of its capture in 1782, when he exhibited twenty-nine charges against General Murray, his superior in command; the only result of which was, a reprimand to himself. He died at Bath, in 1787. Sir William Draper had been a Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, in whose noble chapel the standards taken at the Manillas are still preserved. See more of him in Wraxall's Posthumous Memoirs, vol. ii. pp. 186-7. Chatham Correspondence, vol. iii. p. 326. Walpole's Letters to Mann, vol. iii. p. 386.—E.]

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tions; I do not consider the soil or the cradle where a man is nursed; I look for sense and wisdom, if he has it. I have done all in my power to show I hate distinctions. Before this war it was a measure not to trust the sword in the hands of the northern part of his Majesty's subjects; but the late war convinced every body what just praise they deserved for their conduct." Here he was called to order by Mr. Grenville, who said, "This is not the first, second, third, fourth, fifth, or sixth time that the honourable gentleman has mistaken or misrepresented. I have also been misrepresented upon other subjects, particularly with regard to the Spanish trade. I call upon gentlemen now in power to prove I gave any orders to prevent that trade, or any other, but at the request of the merchants themselves." Here Mr. Grenville himself was called to order by Lord Strange, who observed, how much Pitt and Grenville had led the House astray from the debate; which Onslow excused by saying, that the first day of a Session, when the King's speech is debated, is always understood to be a day of free conversation. Still much confusion ensued; and at last the Chancellor of the Exchequer* said, in answer to Grenville, that when accounts relative to trade should be produced, they would prove to be in a melancholy state. Mr. Conway said, that the explanation which Mr. Pitt had been pleased to give, had relieved his mind; he considered from how high a drop fell, that fell from him, and what an effect it had upon the rest of the world. He assured Mr. Pitt how ready he was, he would not say, to act with him, but under him, and declared he knew at present of no hidden influence. The Address passed without a negative.

Mr. Conway, then, by order of his Majesty, presented at the bar the letters and different intelligence to and from America, and moved to have them taken into consideration on the Thursday sevennight following.† Mr. Rigby proposed to have them printed. Mr. Conway observed, that those papers mentioned particular names of men and their transactions, and therefore objected to the printing. Mr. Nugent said, Too much had been done now to leave any room for secrecy; and Mr. Conway gave it up. Huske‡ told the House very properly, that, if they printed the names, they would never have any more intelligence: on which the Attorney-General proposed, as was done on the inquiry into the loss of Minorca, to print the papers, but omit names. It passed, however, for printing all. The next day Sir George Saville, who had been absent, and the Speaker,§ who had been uneasy at the order for printing the names, prevailed to have the order for the names revoked, and the Speaker was entrusted with the supervisal.

Mr. Pitt's speech, as I have said, gave great offence, and even to

* Dowdswell.

† These papers are printed in the Parliamentary History, vol. xvi. p. 112.—E.

‡ Mr. Huske was M.P. for Malden. He died in 1773.—E.

§ Sir John Cust.

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the Scotch, though he had endeavoured to distinguish them from Lord Bute. It was a greater disappointment to the late Ministers, who had not expected that he would prove so favourable to their successors. Lord Sandwich, so recently a persecutor of Wilkes and the press, had now set up a most virulent and scurrilous paper, called Anti-Sejanus,* written by one Scott, a hireling parson, and chiefly levelled at Lord Bute. Concluding that Mr. Pitt did not approve of any men who enjoyed the power at which he himself aimed, the new daily libel set out with profuse encomiums on him. It now took a short turn, and involved Mr. Pitt, too, in a medley of scurrility; but what with want of talents, what with want of decency, this paper was one of those few vehicles of ribaldry which was forced to put itself to death before the object of its patron was answered.

On the 27th of January, Mr. Cooke, of Middlesex, presented a petition from some of the North-American provinces assembled in Congress, against the Stamp Act. Jenkinson and Dyson, placemen, but creatures of Lord Bute, opposed receiving it; as did Nugent and Ellis, who called it a dangerous federal union. Dowdswell, the new Chancellor of the Exchequer, agreed with them, as there was nothing, he said, in the petition, but what had been already received in others from the separate provinces, and therefore he wished Cooke to withdraw what he had offered. Mr. Pitt warmly undertook the protection of the petition, which he affirmed was innocent, dutiful, and respectful. He did not know the time, he said, when he had been counsellor to timid councils; but on this occasion should have thought it happy to have made this the first act of harmony. He painted the Americans as people who, in an ill-fated hour, had left this country to fly from the Star-chamber and High Commission Courts. The desert smiled upon them in comparison of this country. It was the evil genius of this country that had riveted amongst them this union, now called *dangerous and federal*. He did not see but honest Wildman's† or Newmarket might be talked of in the same strain. This country upon occasion has its meetings, and nobody objects to them; but the names of six or eight Americans are to be big with danger. He could not guess by the turn of the debate, whether the Administration intended lenity or not. To him lenity was recommended by every argument. He would emphatically hear the Colonies upon this their petition. The right of representation and taxation always went together, and should never be separated. Except for the principles of Government, records were out of the question. "*You have broken*," continued he, "*the*

* It was not strictly a new paper, but a series of occasional letters in the daily papers. Lord Sandwich will again be found a persecutor of the press in 1773; for printers were alternately, as they served his purposes, his tools or his prey.—[Mr. Scott afterwards received from Lord Sandwich the lucrative appointment of chaplain to Greenwich Hospital. He was more respectable in his profession than might have been expected from his having such a patron, and an accomplished scholar. See an anecdote to his honour, in Twiss's Life of Lord Eldon.—E.]

† The club in Albemarle Street, erected by the late Opposition, now Ministers.

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original compact if you have not a right of taxation." The repeal of the Stamp Act was an inferior consideration to receiving this petition.

Sir Fletcher Norton rose with great heat, and said, He could hardly keep his temper at some words that had fallen from the right honourable gentleman. He had said, that the original compact had been broken between us and America, if the House had not the right of taxation. Pitt rose to explain—Norton continued; "The gentleman now says, I mistook his words; I do not now understand them." Pitt interrupted him angrily, and said, "I did say the Colony-compact would be broken—and what then?" Norton replied, "The gentleman speaks out now, and I understand him; and if the House go along with me, the gentleman will go to another place."* Pitt at this looked with the utmost contempt, tossed up his chin, and cried, "Oh! oh!—oh! oh!" "I will bear that from no man," said Norton: "changing their place, did not make Englishmen change their allegiance. I say the gentleman sounds the trumpet to rebellion; or would he have the strangers in the gallery go away with these his opinions? He has chilled my blood at the idea." "The gentleman," rejoined Pitt, "says I have chilled his blood: I shall be glad to meet him in any place with the same opinions when his blood is warmer."

Hussey, Colonel Barrè, Thurlow, and, of the Ministerial people, Lord Howe and Onslow only were for hearing the petition; but Conway objected, as it came from the Congress, and said, if the separate petitions had been heard last year, this would not have happened now. He wished to have the petition withdrawn, as he should be sorry to have a negative put upon it. George Grenville insisted on the House deciding as the question had been proposed. Burke, who maintained that the very presentation of the petition was an acknowledgment of the right of the House, declared for receiving it; but Lord John Cavendish and Alderman Baker declaring they thought it of little importance; and the former moving for the orders of the day, that motion was carried without a division.

There appeared in this debate a new speaker, whose fame for eloquence soon rose high above the ordinary pitch. His name was Edmund Burke, (whom I have just mentioned,) an Irishman, of a Roman Catholic family, and actually married to one of that persuasion.† He had been known to the public for a few years by his "Essay on the Sublime and Beautiful," and other ingenious works; but the narrowness of his fortune had kept him down, and his best revenue had arisen from writing for booksellers. Lord Rockingham, on being raised to the head of the Treasury, had taken Burke for his private Secretary, as Mr. Conway had his cousin William. Edmund immediately proved a bitter scourge to George Grenville, whose te-

* To the bar of the House, whither members are ordered when they violate the rules or privileges of Parliament.

† Mrs. Burke was a Presbyterian; the belief, however, of her being a Papist was very general.—E.

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dious harangues he ridiculed with infinite wit, and answered with equal argument. Grenville himself was not more copious; but, with unexhausted fertility, Burke had an imagination that poured out new ideas, metaphors, and allusions, which came forth ready dressed in the most ornamental and yet the most correct language. In truth, he was so fond of flowers, that he snatched them, if they presented themselves, even from Ovid's Metamorphoses. His wit, though prepared, seldom failed him; his judgment often. Aiming always at the brilliant, and rarely concise, it appeared that he felt nothing really but the lust of applause. His knowledge was infinite, but vanity had the only key to it; and though no doubt he aspired highly, he seemed content when he had satisfied the glory of the day, whatever proved the event of the debate. This kind of eloquence contented himself, and often his party; but the House grew weary at length of so many essays. Having come too late into public life, and being too conceited to study men whom he thought his inferiors in ability, he proved a very indifferent politician—the case of many men I have known, who have dealt too much in books of a profession: they apply their knowledge to objects to which it does not belong, and think it as easy to govern men when they rise above them, as they found when themselves were lower and led their superiors by flattery. It is perhaps more expedient for a man of mean birth to be humble after his exaltation than before. Insolence is more easily tolerated in an inferior, than in an inferior mounted above his superiors.*

William Burke, the cousin of Edmund, wrote with ingenuity and sharpness; and both of them were serviceable to the new Administration, by party papers. But William, as an orator, had neither manner nor talents, and yet wanted little of his cousin's presumption.† Edmund, though the idol of his party, had nothing of the pathetic and imposing dignity of Pitt, though possessed of far more knowledge, and more reasoning abilities. But Pitt could awe those whom he could no longer lead, and never seemed *greater* than when abandoned by all. Charles Townshend, who had studied nothing accurately or with attention, had parts that embraced all knowledge with such quickness, that he seemed to create knowledge instead of searching for it; and, ready as Burke's wit was, it appeared artificial when set by that of Charles Townshend, which was so abundant, that in him it seemed a loss of time to think. He had but to speak, and all he said was new, natural, and yet uncommon. If Burke replied extempore, his very answers, that sprang from what had been

* A lively description of Burke, as a speaker in the House of Commons, is given in Wraxall's Hist. Mem. vol. ii. p. 35.—E.

† William Burke was M.P. for Bedwin, in Wiltshire. He shared all his cousin's fortunes, and lived with him on terms of the most intimate friendship. When the prospects of the Whigs seemed to be hopeless, he went to India; and through the support of Mr. Francis, obtained some lucrative offices. He was a person of considerable accomplishments. He survived Mr. Burke, and died in 1798.—E.

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said by others, were so painted and artfully arranged, that they wore the appearance of study and preparation: like beautiful translations, they seemed to want the soul of the original author. Townshend's speeches, like the Satires of Pope, had a thousand times more sense and meaning than the majestic blank verse of Pitt; and yet, the latter, like Milton, stalked with a conscious dignity of pre-eminence, and fascinated his audience with that respect which always attends the pompous but often hollow idea of the sublime.

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CHAPTER XLI.

Irksome Position of the Ministers.—Debate on Five Resolutions on American Affairs.—The Ministers triumph on the first Resolution.—Continuation of the Debate.—Pitt's eccentric Conduct.—Mr. Grenville moves an Address to the King, to enforce the Laws.—Opposed strenuously by Pitt.—Violent scene in the House.—Double dealing of George III.—Warm Debate on the Production of Papers.

The situation of the Ministers became every day more irksome and precarious. On the last day of January they carried a question by so small a majority, that, according to Parliamentary divination, it had all the aspect of an overthrow. Mr. Wedderburne had presented a Scotch petition, and moved to have it heard on that day month. The Ministers, disinclined to it, proposed to defer it for six weeks, and prevailed but by 148 against 139;* the Grooms of the Bed-chamber, Lord Strange, Chancellor of the Duchy, Lord Mount Stewart,† Dyson, and even Lord George Sackville,‡ so recently preferred by the Ministers, being in the minority, and Charles Townshend, declining to vote. To shake the credit of the Ministers, at least to humble them by promoting a vigorous Opposition to their measures, Lord Bute's agents affectedly sought the company of the discontented chiefs, and hung out to them hopes of Lord Bute's support. His greatest dread was union against him; his constant and repeated practice, to break and divide all parties and connexions. In the crisis of which I am speaking, he was particularly anxious to prevent the junction of Mr. Pitt and the Ministers. The latter, notwithstanding so many unpromising appearances, and having nothing to fear but the loss of their places, if firm, of their characters if they temporized, maintained their ground, and

On February the 3d Mr. Secretary Conway, in consequence of the papers that had been delivered and read in the Committee, proposed to vote five resolutions, which, he said, the world would expect in consequence of the notices laid before Parliament. A friend to the Americans he professed himself; but begged not to be understood to pledge himself for future measures, nor even for the repeal of the Stamp Act; yet could he but feel for that country, to whose miseries

* This division was the result of a junction of the friends of the late Ministers with the friends of Lord Bute.—(Chatham Correspondence, vol. ii. p. 380.)—E.

† Eldest son of Lord Bute.

‡ Lord George Sackville was intimate with Wedderburne, who had been counsel for him on his trial.

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nothing was wanting but a scene of blood, and whose language was the language of despair? He thought them to blame; but he thought them pardonable. "The other day," said he, "all had been peace and harmony in that country. All order of things had been reversed since the Stamp Act. The late Acts of Parliament had been so many repeated blows on those people. Look at other countries; they never bear fresh taxes. There was even then uneasinesses in the Colonies of our enemies. The richest provinces had been thrown away by the imposition of new taxes. He would mention the grievances of America historically, as the Sugar Act, and the swarms of cutters to interrupt the Spanish dollar trade. This Act was false in its principles, and dangerous in its policy. Himself should never be for internal taxes, and would sooner cut off his hand, than sign an order for sending out force to maintain them." He then read the following resolutions:—

First.—that Great Britain had, hath, and ought to have full right and power to bind the Americans in all cases whatsoever.

Second.—That tumults have been carried on.

Third.—That the votes of the assemblies are illegal.

Fourth.—Humbly to address his Majesty to bring the authors of riots to condign punishment.

Fifth.—To address, that the sufferers by riots be compensated.

He added, that he looked on the right of taxation as a point of law; Parliament might take it up. If he was to be called to account for his letters, he repeated it again, he would do any thing but exert military force. Whenever the blow should come, he would stand on his defence, and meet it like a man, with all the firmness of justice, and indifference of innocence.

Stanley spoke for supporting the dignity of the Constitution, and quoted Mr. Legge for having had views of raising assistance from America; which country, he had thought, ought to maintain its own army. Charles Yorke said, if it was impossible to carry the Stamp Act into execution, it was better to repeal it; the House might make free with its own work. Yet he talked much of the omnipotence of Parliament, and said "Lord Coke had declared he did not know how to set bounds to its power. Our right was entire, supported by forms of precedents, and the language of the Constitution. The moment one part of the Legislature was given up, no friend would trust you, no enemy would fear you." This trimming speech was ridiculed by Beckford. He saw, he said, no infallibility in an Act of Parliament: the learned gentleman had quoted nothing fairly; lawyers never did. He would prophesy, that the moment the Stamp Act should be repealed, it would be like the quarrels of lovers, the renewal of love. Nugent said, the subjects who went from this country, had carried with them their privileges, but had left their duty behind. Dr. Blakistone, an able writer, but an indifferent speaker, declared, *Tory* as he was, that Parliament had no right to impose internal taxes. Hussey pleaded for the Colonies, and urged that internal taxes had never been carried so far as by the Stamp Act. The

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House ought to have said, "Pay, or we will tax you." To this hardship had been added that of taking away their trials by juries. He advised to exercise legislation with justice and humanity; and concluded, that Parliament ought to consider less the acts of the Americans, than their own. Wedderburne was as warm for sticking to fundamentals, as Hussey had been temperate. Burke, allowing the right of taxation, and that their own charters were against the Americans, was yet for temporizing, according to the variation of circumstances, the neglect of which had brought Ministers into disgrace. Principles should be subordinate to Government. The Stamp Act, on account of the dignity of the mischief it had produced, required the discussion of a particular debate. Lord Frederic Campbell objected to distinctions between theory and practice, which, he said, had brought on the Revolution. If the Americans carried with them their liberty, how came it that the King in Council had a right to tax them? Colonel Barrè talked of the Americans as worse treated than French or Spanish provinces. The Chancellor of the Exchequer said, that the Parliament's power of taking away their charters gave it a right of taxation; but to repeal the Act would be a safer way.

George Grenville, who had reserved all his fire for Conway, attacked him with the utmost animosity. The Americans had been blameable, but were pardonable according to the Secretary of State. For his part, he did not think rebellion pardonable. He had never advised to resist taxes; had never advised people to stand to their tackle and resist. Was there not an order under the gentleman's own hand, in papers on the table, to send a military force? and yet, forsooth, he would sooner cut off that hand! His insinuation was void of truth; there were no cutters sent to the West Indies; no such orders to cruise on the Spanish trade. He had proposed, and now called on the House to fix a day for inquiring into that affair. For shame! let it not be repeated any more. First let the business be done, and then let it be known by whose fault affairs had been brought to the present crisis.

Mr. Pitt made another oration on general liberty, and in favour of the Colonies, but not various enough from the former to demand being particularized. Sir Fletcher Norton answered him with equal warmth—and then burst out such a confutation of the lies Mr. Grenville had been venting, that it was wonderful how even *his* pallid features could quench the blush of shame. Conway acquainted the House that he had two letters in his hand, one from Sir William Burnaby,* acquainting him that the Spanish trade could not go on under the present regulations; and he offered to read them to the House, or give them to Mr. Grenville himself. "I may be *mistaken*," said Conway; "but he shall not say I *misrepresent*." Grenville still repeated that there were no such orders given to regulate that trade. Admiral Keppel said, he could take upon himself to affirm

* Sir William Burnaby had been Admiral and Commander-in-Chief on the West India station. He was knighted in 1754, and made a baronet in 1767.—E.

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that that trade had suffered; and Huske undertook to prove to the House, that orders had been given by the Treasury under Mr. Grenville's Administration, relative to the restrictions laid on the Spanish trade: and Mr. Grenville had no more to say. At near three in the morning the question was put, and the first resolution was carried without a division, Mr. Pitt's, and four or five voices only, dissenting; the rest of the propositions were adjourned to another day.*

In the House of Lords the Opposition ran the Ministers nearer, and even carried one or two questions by majorities of four and five. Lord Bute himself, almost acting patriotism, said, Nothing should oblige him to be for the King's wish if he did not approve the measures of the King's Ministers. In the House of Commons the sittings were long, repeated, and full of warmth; but the Ministers, supported by the popularity of the measure, and by the ascendant of Pitt, (which never appeared more conspicuously, though eccentric,) pursued their point, and weak as they were from the treachery of the Court, from their own inexperience, and from deficiency of great talents, were able to weather the various storms that concurred, and concurred only, for their destruction.†

On the 5th the House went again on the resolutions. To the second Dyson proposed to add, *where by the execution of an Act of the last session of Parliament has in such provinces been defeated*. This was opposed, particularly by Mr. Pitt, though he said his support could be of little *efficacy* to American liberty, standing as he did almost naked in that House, like a primeval parent, naked, because innocent; naked, because not ashamed. Elliot declared for moderating rather than for repealing the Act, and Grenville himself agreed that it might be altered; on which Burke triumphed and taunted him: and Pitt, to whom Grenville had made compliments, declaring that there he would make his stand, the amendment was withdrawn. The third resolution passed without contradiction. The fourth, Conway himself offered to give up as too severe; and Pitt, with encomiums on his constitutional lenity, encouraging him to depart from it, it was withdrawn. The fifth occasioned more debate. Nugent proposed to correct the words, *recommend to governors to recompense the sufferers*, and to substitute the word *require;* and the master of the Rolls declaring the whole resolution illegal, as the House could not recommend in cases of money, that motion, too, was given up. Grenville proposed others for compensation, protection, and indemnification to the officers of the revenue, &c. Pitt went away, after highly praising the Ministers, protesting how desirous he was of agreeing with them, and assuring them that, as far as he could support them, they might depend on his support. Grenville's motions carried on the debate for two hours more; when both sides fearing to divide, and Elliot moderating, Grenville was, with much

* I have not been able to find another report of this important debate.—E.

† The fall of the Ministers was so much expected, that it was said, "They were dead, and only lying in state; and that Charles Townshend [who never spoke for them] was one of their mutes."

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difficulty persuaded to suffer the amendment of his motions. Those questions and alterations may be found in the journals; nor do I pretend to great accuracy in words of that sort: the sense and substance I mean to give, the forms may be collected by historians, or corrected by critics. It is the business of the former, the existence of the latter, to be nice in minutiæ.*

On the 7th of February the Opposition determined to try their strength. Mr. Conway acquainted the Committee that though the voluminous quantity of his correspondences prevented his being able as yet to lay them before the House; still that they deserved the most important consideration, as representing the deplorable state of that unfortunate country, America, where all was anarchy and confusion—without courts, without laws, without justice; and yet he, had not heard a breath of disloyalty,—it was the countenance of despair. They looked upon their trade and liberty as gone; and yet he thought it his duty to acquaint the House that one of his correspondents was of opinion that the Stamp Act might still be carried into execution.

Mr. Grenville, untouched and unmoved by so calamitous a picture, moved to address the King to give orders for enforcing the laws, and for carrying all acts of the English Parliament into execution. Charles Townshend, making a merit of not having declared his opinion on the repeal, approved the Address, and yet disliked the latter words, which could be interpreted to be levelled at nothing but the Stamp Act. This was much extended by Burke; faintly taken up by Yorke; and the motion supported on the other side by Jenkinson and Norton. Mr. Pitt, who arrived under extreme pain, argued against the proposed Address with unusual strength of argument, and demonstrated the absurdity of enforcing an Act which in a very few days was likely to be repealed. He encouraged a division rather than the admission of such an Address. Such a question, followed by such a majority as he foresaw would be against the Address, would show the weakness of the wisdom, and the weakness of the numbers of those who proposed and approved it. Supposing orders should be sent out immediately, in consequence of such an Address, to enforce the Act, the scene that would ensue would make the Committee shudder; what could follow but bloodshed, and military execution in support of a law, which perhaps might be repealed in a week's time, and our Governors abroad might go on enforcing it after it was repealed? When he was Secretary of State, the fleet lay wind-bound in the Channel for nine or eleven weeks—what would be the consequence of such an event now? He pressed Grenville to withdraw his motion; and then, excusing himself on his illness, went away.

Grenville, as obdurate as the winds of which Pitt had talked, and who, having checked a glorious war, seemed to promise himself

* Walpole takes no notice of the debate in the House of Lords on the American Resolutions. It took place on the 10th of February, and will be found in the Parliamentary History, vol. xvi., p. 168. The speeches of Lord Camden and Lord Northington are eloquent and interesting.—E.

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other triumphs over his countrymen, expatiated on the haughtiness of Pitt, and denounced curses on the Ministers that should sacrifice the sovereignty of Britain over her Colonies. Conway retorted on the inhumanity of Grenville, and that sort of intrepidity that menaced two millions of people, who were not in a situation to revenge themselves; and by apt allusion to Grenville's remorseless despotism, told him that Count d'Ocyras,* the most intrepid Minister that ever was, had yet rescinded the duties in the Brazils. In confirmation of Mr. Pitt's arguments, he told the House the packet would depart in two days; was it advisable to let it carry this precipitate, and perhaps useless Address to America? useless, if the Stamp Act was repealed, as he avowed he hoped it would be. Nugent argued on the danger of giving way: on the spirit of resistance this would infuse into the Irish; and on the contempt with which France would treat our demands, if we knew not how to govern our own subjects. The resolutions of the House, unenforced, would, he said, be holding a harlequin's sword over the heads of the Colonists. Lord Granby declared for, and Sir George Saville against, the Address. Beckford was bitter on Grenville; and Norton so abusive on Yorke, that Sir Alexander Gilmour told him, in his own famous phrase, that he could have kept company with nothing but *drunken porters*. Colonel Onslow with more good humour, said, he looked upon the altercation between the two learned gentlemen (Yorke and Norton) as a race for the Chancellorship. Much personal heat, however, ensued, and put an end to the debate, when the motion for leaving the Chair, which had been proposed by Yorke, was carried (and the Address consequently rejected) by 274 to 134; the very majority being greater than the whole amount of the Opposition; though Lord Bute's friends and all the Scotch and the Tories, and Lord Granby, and near a dozen of the King's own servants, voted in the minority. It was matter of ridicule, that in the lists given out by Lord Sandwich, *their* faction had been estimated at 130; and Lord Bute's tools had vaunted that he could command fourscore or ninety votes. The astonishment and mortification of Grenville and the Bedfords were unequalled. They had quarrelled with and defied the Favourite when they were in power; and were now seeking and courting his support, when he seemed to have lost his power almost as much as they had.

The Ministers, however triumphant, were with reason disgusted at the notorious treachery of the Court; and remonstrated to the King on the behaviour of his servants. Evasions and professions were all the replies; but no alteration of conduct in consequence. On the contrary, within two days after the last division in the House of Commons, a scene broke forth that exhibited a duplicity, at once so artful, and yet so impolitic, so narrow-minded in its views, and so dangerous in its tendency, that the warmest partizans of royalty, of the Princess, and of the Favourite, will never be able to efface the stain.

* Prime-Minister of Portugal.

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What crooked counsels, and how insincere the mind, which could infuse or imbibe such lessons!

Lord Strange, one of the placemen who opposed the repeal of the Stamp Act, having occasion to go into the King on some affair of his office, the Duchy of Lancaster, the King said, he heard it was reported in the world, that he (the King) was for the repeal of that Act. Lord Strange replied, that idea did not only prevail, but that his Majesty's Ministers did all that lay in their power to encourage that belief, and that their great majority had been entirely owing to their having made use of his Majesty's name. The King desired Lord Strange to contradict that report, assuring him it was not founded. Lord Strange no sooner left the closet, than he made full use of the authority he had received, and trumpeted all over the town the conversation he had had with the King. So extraordinary a tale soon reached the ear of Lord Rockingham, who immediately asked Lord Strange if it was true what the King was reported to have said to him? The other confirmed it. On that, Lord Rockingham desired the other to meet him at Court, when they both went into the closet together. Lord Strange began, and repeated the King's words; and asked if he had been mistaken? The King said, "No." Lord Rockingham then pulled out a paper, and begged to know, if on such a day (which was minuted down on the paper) his Majesty had not determined for the repeal? Lord Rockingham then stopped. The King replied, "My lord, this is but half;" and taking out a pencil, wrote on the bottom of Lord Rockingham's paper words to this effect: "The question asked me by my ministers, was whether I was for enforcing the Act by the sword, or for the repeal? Of the two extremes I was for the repeal; but most certainly preferred modification to either."

It is not necessary to remark on this story. The King had evidently consented to the repeal, and then disavowed his Ministers, after suffering them to proceed half-way in their plan, unless it is an excuse that he secretly fomented opposition to them all the time. His middle way of modification, tallying exactly with what had been proposed in the House of Commons by Elliot and Jenkinson, proved that, notwithstanding all his Majesty's and Lord Bute's own solemn professions, the latter was really Minister still; and that no favour could be obtained but by paying court to him. In such circumstances is it wonderful that the nation fell into disgrace and confusion, or that the Crown itself suffered such humiliations? A King to humour a timid yet overbearing Favourite, encouraging opposition to his own Ministers. What a picture of weakness!

On the 17th happened another very warm debate, occasioned by Mr. Dowdswell's moving to discharge the order for printing the American papers, the Speaker having declared that it was impossible to omit proper names and preserve the sense. The Opposition called this *inconsistency*, and threw all the ridicule they could on the Ministers, for what they termed variation and unsettled conduct. Wedderburne, in particular, a very fluent, acute, and bitter speaker, im-

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puted these changes to the orders of Mr. Pitt. "The oracle has appeared, the oracle has spoken," said he; "those gentlemen have prostrated themselves before it; but I tremble to think what will become of them for their inconsistencies. How will they expiate their crime? how atone for it? I would advise them to make pilgrimages to Hayes. Perhaps he may require human sacrifices." Beckford and Conway reproached him for not having ventured to attack Mr. Pitt when he was present. Rigby turned his artillery on Conway, who had dropped that he had been forced into his present situation. "I have heard," said Rigby, "of a *médicin malgré lui*, never of a Minister *malgré lui*; nor am I apt to think that people who do not like their situations, exert all their abilities—they do not do their best: I dare say the honourable gentleman does not do his best, I look upon timidity in a Minister to be as bad as cowardice in a General." Lord George Sackville said, "May we ever have such a Minister *malgré lui*, who is ready to serve his country and rescue the dignity of the Sovereign from being insulted!"

Conway, roused by the brutality of Rigby, yet too apt to bear public abuse with phlegmatic patience, both from conscious intrepidity, and from knowing that such public jarrings are always hindered from coming to private decision, replied with uncommon ability and applause. "The gentleman had talked," he said, "of timidity in a Minister and cowardice in a General;—as to timidity on the present measure, the House would judge whether his conduct had been timid. Cowardice he was sure the honourable gentleman did not mean to apply to him;" said he, "I know him too well; he would scarcely have taken an improper occasion to call me coward; I have a better opinion of his courage than that comes to. The other gentleman, who had talked of the oracle, had better have said that on the last debate—but why had he said it at all? Was it not known that those gentlemen had courted and idolized the idol, and had been rejected?" The debate was at length closed by Mr. Vane,* who told a story of Sir Robert Walpole and Mr. Pulteney, in the Administration of the former. Mr. Pulteney had made a motion for papers, and Sir Robert granted them; but immediately went to Mr. Pulteney and told him that what he had done would be the occasion of many persons losing their lives, besides the mischief he would entail on future Ministers. Mr. Pulteney was struck, and withdrew his motion. In like manner the order for printing was now set aside without a division.

* Mr. Frederick Vane, M. P. for Durham.—E.

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CHAPTER XLII.

Lord Bute humiliates the Duke of Bedford and Mr. Grenville.—General Conway moves the repeal of the Stamp Act—Obtains leave to bring in a Bill.—Excited State of the Country.—Recommitment moved and rejected.—Desultory Opposition.—Final debate.—The Repeal passed by a large Majority.—Conduct of Lord Rockingham.

WHILE the House of Commons was busied in continuing to read American papers, and in other necessary affairs of the year, various attempts were carrying on for cementing that union between Lord Bute and the Opposition in reality, which seemed to exist, and in their votes did exist between them in Parliament. I have said that the Favourite every now and then hung out, by the intervention of his creatures, hopes of his pardon and protection to the late Ministers—with little sincerity, as the event showed. Partly, I believe, his conduct was actuated by a view of awing the new Ministers into more deference for him; partly to prevent the diminution of the Crown's authority, by relaxation towards the Americans. Certain it is, that Colonel Graeme, the Queen's Secretary, and much a confidant, had indirectly and by an oblique channel opened a kind of negotiation. George Grenville, the most untractable of men, and the most unforgiving, recoiled at the proposal; and, even to save his darling Act, could scarce be brought to bow the knee again to the Favourite. It was with difficulty that he would hear of any other terms but a dismission of the Ministers before the fatal repeal should be passed. At length, the severe attacks made on him in the House of Commons, and threats of impeachments for having suppressed material notices, relative to the dangerous situation and humour of the Colonies, even from the year 1764, which Lord Halifax had been ordered by the King to lay before Parliament, and had stifled, wrought on his stubborn temper; to which were added the despotic command of his imperious and intriguing elder brother, who, however, had the address to wriggle himself out of open genuflexion to the Favourite. By the intervention of the Duke of York, Lord Temple prevailed to have a meeting, of himself, his brother, and the Duke of Bedford, with the Favourite, at the house of Lord Eglinton, a Scotch emissary, alternately devoted to the Duke of York, to the Favourite, and to Lord Temple; at the same time Lord of the Bed-chamber to the King. Towards the middle of January this extraordinary congress was settled and brought to bear; though, at the hour of meeting, Lord Temple excused himself from attending it.

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The Favourite, however, had the triumph of beholding the Duke of Bedford and George Grenville prostrate before him, suing for pardon, reconciliation, and support. After enjoying this spectacle of their humiliation for some minutes, the lofty Earl, scarce deigning to bestow upon them above half a score of monosyllables, stiffly refused to enter into connexion with them; on which the Duke of Bedford said, hastily, "he hoped, however, that what had passed would remain a profound secret." "A secret!" replied the Favourite, "I have done nothing I am ashamed of,—has your Grace?" and quitted the room. As if Lord Bute's refusal of secrecy made it prudent to expose even more than Lord Bute could tell, the Duke went home, and at dinner, with sixteen persons, and before all the servants, he related what had passed; and then said to the Duchess and his court, "I was against taking this step, but you would make me." Not nine months had intervened between the dismission of his brother Mackinsy by that faction, and their abject application to the Favourite for protection. What a trade is the politician's, when it can so debase the human mind! Comfort yourself, ye poor, ye necessitous; what is the servility of your lot compared to this of titles and riches?

On the 21st of February the House of Commons came at last to the great question of the repeal of the Stamp Act. The Opposition endeavoured to fight it off by pretending fresh accounts were that very morning arrived of a disposition in some of the Colonies, particularly New York, to submit to the Act; from whence was inferred the inutility of repealing it. But this was properly treated as the lie of the day; and had no effect. General Conway moved for leave to bring in a bill to repeal that Act; and drew an affecting and alarming picture of the mischiefs it had occasioned and threatened. All orders for goods from this country were stopped: the North Americans would neither take any more, nor pay for what they had had. Eight merchants, who had received orders to the amount of 400,000*l*., had received counter-orders. The debt to those merchants amounted to 950,000*l*. Antigua was near ruined by famine. The tax fell chiefly on the poor, particularly on the poor of Georgia. At home, the situation of our manufacturers was most calamitous. Nottingham had dismissed a thousand hands: Leicester, Leeds, and other towns in proportion. Three in ten of the labourers of Manchester were discharged. The trade of Englahd was not only stopped, but in danger of being lost. If trade suffered, land would suffer in its turn. Petitions would have been sent from every trading town in England, but that they apprehended that the very hearing of their petitions would delay the repeal. Every part of the Act breathed oppression. It annihilated juries; and the Admiralty courts might drag a man three hundred miles from his habitation. The fisheries were in equal danger. The right of taxation he did not doubt would be given for us in Westminster Hall; but the conflict would ruin both countries. We had but five thousand men in three thousand miles of territory: the Americans a hundred and fifty thousand fighting men. If we did not

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repeal the Act, he did not doubt but France and Spain would declare war, and protect the Americans. As the Colonies would not take our manufactures, they would set up of their own. He had a piece of cloth, he said, in his pocket made at Philadelphia, as cheap as in England. Would the House risk the whole for so trifling an object as this Act modified?

I will not detail the rest of the debate, the essence of which had been so much anticipated. The great, and no trifling argument on the other side, was the danger from being beaten out of an Act of Parliament, because disagreeable to those on whom it fell; and the high probability that the Americans would not stop there; but, presuming on their own strength, and the timidity of the English Government, would proceed to extort a repeal of the Act of Navigation. Grenville particularly exposed the futility of declaring a right which the Government would not dare to exert: and he pushed the Ministers home with giving up the brightest jewel of the Crown, the right of taxation. How would they justify it to his Majesty?—how to future Administrations? Mr. Pitt, who acknowledged his perplexity in making an option between two such ineligible alternatives, pronounced, however, for the repeal, as due to the liberty of unrepresented subjects, and in gratitude to their having supported England through three wars. He begged to stand a feeble isthmus between English partiality and American violence. He would give the latter satisfaction in this point only. If America afterwards should dare to resist, he would second a resolution of the most vigorous nature to compel her with every man and every ship in this country.

At half an hour past one in the morning the committee divided, and the motion was carried by 275 to 167. This majority, though the question was but a prelude to the repeal, decided the fate of that great political contest. And though Lord Rockingham with childish arrogance and indiscretion vaunted in the palace itself that he had carried the repeal against the King, Queen, Princess-dowager, Duke of York, Lord Bute, the Tories, the Scotch, and the Opposition, (and it was true he had,) yet in reality it was the clamour of trade, of the merchants, and of the manufacturing towns, that had borne down all opposition.* A general insurrection was apprehended as the immediate consequence of upholding the bill; the revolt of America, and the destruction of trade was the prospect in future. A nod from the Ministers would have let loose all the manufacturers of Bristol, Liverpool, Manchester, and such populous and discontented towns, who threatened to send hosts to Westminster to back their demand of repeal. As it was the lobby of the House, the Court of Requests, and the avenues were beset with American merchants. As Mr. Conway

* Whatever might be Lord Rockingham's exultation at having carried a measure on which he considered the safety of the empire to depend, he was so far from being blind to his own precarious position, that a few days after, on the 26th, he made overtures to Mr. Pitt expressing an earnest desire to transfer the Government to him. The letters that passed on this occasion are given in Lord Chatham's Correspondence, vol. ii. p. 397.—E.

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went away they huzzaed him thrice, stopped him to thank and compliment him, and made a lane for his passage. When Mr. Pitt appeared the whole crowd pulled off their hats, huzzaed, and many followed his chair home with shouts and benedictions. The scene changed on the sight of Grenville. The crowd pressed on him with scorn and hisses. He, swelling with rage and mortification, seized the nearest man to him by the collar. Providentially the fellow had more humour than spleen—"Well, if I may not hiss," said he, "at least I may laugh,"—and laughed in his face. The jest caught—had the fellow been surly and resisted, a tragedy had probably ensued.

On the following Monday, when the report was to be made from the committee, Grenville's friends, seeing the inutility of their struggles, laboured to persuade him to contest the matter no farther; but it was too much to give up his favourite bill and his favourite occupation, talking, both at once. The last debate, too, had been much abridged by the impatience of the committee, worn out by so many successive discussions of the same subject. Many speakers had not been attended to; others forced to sit down without being heard. Something of this was imputed to the partiality of Rose Fuller, the Chairman; and, before he could make his report, Mr. Shifner ironically proposed to thank him for his great impartiality;* Onslow defended, and moved to thank him seriously. This provoked so much, that Fuller was accused of not doing his duty by suppressing the riots and insults offered to several members who had voted against the repeal. The indignities heaped on George Grenville were particularized; and he himself said that both England and America were now governed by the mob. Conway quieted the dispute by declaring the pains taken by the Administration to prevent far greater tumults and extensive petitioning.

Lord Strange then proposed to postpone the Report, that, since repeal was intended, the House might rescind its resolution on the right of taxing, which would be inconsistent with giving it up. This the majority would not allow; and Dyson, on the modifying plan, hinting that internal taxes might be laid to ascertain the right, Lord Palmerston said, that modifying would be giving up the right and retaining the oppression. The Report being then made, Oswald moved to recommit it. Hussey showed the badness of the Act, which all allowed (even Grenville having offered to correct it,) and declared the most advisable method was a requisition to the Provinces to raise money for the service of the Government. Norton broke out on the resistance of the Colonies, and said, that to resist a known law was High Treason. Huske, a wild, absurd man, very

* Mr. Fuller, no doubt, was a hearty well-wisher of the repeal. He was a sensible man, and his opinion carried additional weight from the decided and independent tone in which he delivered it; and Almon says, that after his death it was discovered that he had been for many years in the receipt of a pension from the Government of 500*l.* a-year, a fact that explains the sudden decline of his zeal mentioned by Burke, Correspondence, ii. 8.—E.

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conversant with America, had still sense enough to show that the Americans could not be independent, for they would be obliged to lay an internal tax for the support of their own paper-currency, and could not impose that tax without the consent of Parliament. T. Townshend referred to a letter of Governor Bernard (a great favourite of Grenville and warm for the sovereignty of England) in which he had advised to get rid of the Stamp Act. At eleven at night the recommitment was rejected by 240 to 133; and the Bill for Repeal was ordered to be brought in.

Dr. Blackiston then moved an instruction to the committee for bringing in the bill, that all votes of the Assemblies should be expunged that were repugnant to the rights of the Legislature of Great Britain. Mr. Yorke said, that an Act declaratory of the right would be a virtual expunging of their votes. This George Grenville treated with much contempt, and as a mere evasion; and let loose all his acrimony against the Ministers for reversing his Stamp Act. Conway said he was surprised at so much fondness for a bill which the late Ministers had so much neglected while they had power to enforce it. He had been looking for the orders they had given, and could find but one, and that from the Treasury, settling how much poundage should be deducted from the profits of the Stamp-duty. This had been their only order till the 12th of July, when they had determined to send a military force. (This was at the conclusion of their power.) Grenville replied, orders had been given, for Stamp-officers had been appointed. At near two in the morning Dr. Blakiston's motion was rejected without a division.

The Bill of Repeal was but faintly opposed in its course, the Opposition reserving their fire for the third reading. Wedderburne and Dyson, however, moved to annex a clause declaratory of the law, and enacting that in case any person or persons should print, or cause to be printed, any paper calling the said law in question, or abuse it in any manner whatsoever, should be guilty of a præmunire. The Ministers objected; and Rose Fuller, with severe invectives on the Tories, said, such a motion would have been well-timed in the reigns of Henry VIII. or Charles II. Wedderburne replied by showing he had taken the words of his motion from the Act of Settlement. The motion was rejected.

March 4th was fixed for passing the declaratory Bill of Right, and the Repeal. Mr. Pitt objected again to the first, and avowed his opinion that the Parliament had no right of taxing North America while unrepresented. "He had heard," he said, "that this opinion had been treated in his absence as nonsense, as the child of ignorance, as the language of a foreigner who knew nothing of the Constitution. Yet the common law was his guide; it was civil law that was the foreigner." To this he added severe reflections on Dr. Hay, the person he alluded to, for having adopted arbitrary notions from the civil law. "For himself, he was sorry to have been treated as an overheated enthusiastic leveller, yet he had served the highest and best Prince in Christendom, and the most valiant and

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brave nation, and never would change his opinions till the day of his death. If he was one of the weakest men in the kingdom, at least he was one of the soberest;* had no animosities, no pursuits; he wished to live and die a dutiful subject, and to see such an Administration as the King should like, and the people approve. Wales had never been taxed till represented; nor did he contend for more than had been given up to Ireland in the reign of King William." He quoted one or two authors; said he was a solitary, unconversing man, and not a very reading man neither; but he loved old books and old friends; and though his books and his opinions might be nonsensical, he should still adhere to them; and declared he never gave his dissent with more dislike to a question than he now gave it at present." Dr. Hay excused himself, and pleaded having been misrepresented; and then he and Rigby argued for the repeal, if it must pass, without the declaratory law. Mr. Pitt moved to leave out the words *in all cases whatsoever;* and the debate turned chiefly on the resemblance or non-resemblance of Ireland to America, in the privileges enjoyed by the former. The amendment was rejected, and the bill passed.†

The Bill for Repeal was then read for the last time, and eagerly and obstinately combated by Grenville and his party. Bamber Gascoyne produced a letter written to Liverpool, by Sir William Meredith, in which the latter had said to the Mayor, "Lord Bute's friends, Mr. Grenville's party and the rank Tories, voted for this bloody question; and, considering we had been beaten twice in the House of Lords, we were surprised to find our numbers were 275 to 167; I hope soon to send you word of the repeal. P. S.—Mr. Pitt will soon be at the head of affairs."

Pitt rose and said, He had heard somewhere, no matter where—a bird in the air had told him—of a meeting that had lately been held (between Bute, Bedford, and Grenville) of which he could not learn the particulars; but had heard that at that meeting the noble Lord (Bute) behaved like himself and like a nobleman. It was a name which had been much bandied about in a way it did not deserve. "I am inflexibly bent," continued he, "to resist his return to power;

* Dr. Hay was a man given up to his pleasures.

† Some political writers, opposed to the Rockingham Ministry, have condemned and ridiculed this bill as inconsistent with the principle, and calculated to defeat the object of the repeal of the Stamp Act. Indeed they have gone so far as to say that it raised an insurmountable barrier to the settlement of these unhappy differences. However unjust the charge may be, the bill proved a fertile experiment to maintain the dignity of the country, and the best defence of the measure is to be found in the state of political parties, which rendered it apparently impossible to obtain the repeal without this concession to the feelings of the King, and to public opinion. The Colonies, also, gave themselves, at that time, little concern about abstract resolutions of right, so long as the same were not carried into practice. The joy with which the Repeal Act was received in America seems to have been unqualified, and some years elapsed before any serious objections were taken against the Declaratory Act. Even in 1775, Burke writing to his Committee at Bristol, observes that it had not yet become a grievance with the Colonists.—E.

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but how could that prophet (Sir W. Meredith) imagine a thing so improbable, as that I should be at the head, when I am so extremely at the tail of affairs, as I am now, with five friends in the other House, and four in this? In the order and class of salutary and preventive things, I never felt greater satisfaction than in giving my vote for this repeal. You could not subsist and be a people with that defalcation of imports. America is over-glutted with nothing but the Stamp Act. Nothing but a disposition to heal and strengthen the Government can make you a people. I have my doubts if there would have been a Minister to be found who would have dared to have dipped the royal ermines in the blood of the Americans. This country, like a fine horse, to use a beautiful expression of Job, whose neck is clothed in thunder, if you soothe and stroke it, you may do any thing; but if an unskilful rider takes it in hand he will find that, though not vicious, yet it has tricks. I repeat it, I never had greater satisfaction than in the repeal of this Act."

This speech gave great offence to Grenville, who replied, "Let his bird have told him what it would, yet, in justice to the noble Lord (Bute,) he would declare that it was impossible to behave better than he had done; but why was that meeting mentioned? to what end? He had heard a bird speak, too, of a meeting, or meetings, on other occasions. But the gentleman had doubted whether a Minister would have been found to dip the royal ermines in blood;—no, sir, not dip the royal ermines in blood; but I am one who declare, if the tax was to be laid again, I would do it; and I would do it now if I had to choose; since he has exerted all his eloquence so dangerously against it, it becomes doubly necessary. It is necessary from the increase of the debt in the late war; he knows I was against the enormous expense of the German war. Are all those boasted triumphs shrunk to the meanness of supporting such a measure as this? I envy not the popularity; let him have the bonfire; I rejoice in the hiss. Was it to do again, I would do it."

Pitt desired to say one word in answer. "What that bird, alluded to two years ago, did say, I will tell gentlemen. The noble Lord (Bute) came to my lodging on a message from the King—I suppose because I was lame—not to converse with a hermit, but about coming into the King's service. The noble Lord behaved with great fairness. I had an interview; was dismissed with the same marks of favour by the King. Some time ago I had another meeting with a royal person (Duke of Cumberland,) who is no more. I objected to the brother of the noble Lord being Minister for Scotland; had no objection to his having a sinecure. I was again dismissed with the same graciousness by the King. But I am charged with the expense of the German war. If the honourable gentleman had such strong objections to that war, why did he not resign his post of Treasurer of the Navy?" Grenville had nothing to reply; and in fact it ill became him to plead disapprobation of measures in which he had concurred, rather than resign so very lucrative an employment.

The repeal passed by 250 to 122. It made its way even through

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the House of Lords by a majority of more than thirty, but was followed by a strenuous protest drawn up by Lord Lyttelton. Lord Camden took the same part as Mr. Pitt, and declared against the right of taxing. He also detected Lord Mansfield, who had quoted two laws that had never existed. As I am possessed of no notes relative to the debates in that House, I do not pretend to extend the detail of them. The most remarkable event was Lord Bute's speaking: he censured the timidity of the repeal, wished to see firm and able Ministers, and denied enjoying any present influence, and protested against accepting any future power.

The victorious Ministers having thus secured a majority on the most difficult point, determined to make use of it to alleviate other aggrieved subjects, and to extend their own popularity. The tax on Cider had given great uneasiness to the western counties, particularly from its being collected by the mode of excise. The City of London had adopted those disgusts; and Lord Bute, under whose Administration the tax had been laid, had sunk beneath the panic after he had carried the measure. To alter that mode of collection was the next step taken by the Ministers; and they found it no difficult task to obtain the assent of so time-serving a Parliament, who by turns enacted and repealed whatever was proposed to them, and who supported every successive Minister of that period, and deserted him the moment he lost his power. I do not know that other Parliaments have not, or would not have been as bad; but no Parliament ever had so many opportunities of being impudent. The Opposition, not well pleased with Lord Bute's ineffectual support, and angry that he did no more than encourage them to oppose, were little anxious to save the honour of his Cider Act, and the repeal of the excise passed easily.

In all these debates, nothing was more marked than the acrimony between Grenville and Conway. The latter appeared to be a much abler man of business than had been expected. Mr. Dowdswell, on the contrary, sunk much in the estimation of mankind, and seemed but a duller edition of Mr. Grenville, though without his malignity. Never did the intemperate rage of talking, which possessed the latter, display itself more copiously than on the debates relative to the Stamp Act. It occasioned his being ridiculed with much humour.

The man who did not make long speeches, but who absented himself on pretence of illness on most of the debates, was Charles Townshend. He was afraid, by speaking, of losing a place which nothing had given, nothing could preserve but his speaking.

But though the heat of the day lay on Conway, the power was solely engrossed by Lord Rockingham. He admitted the Duke of Grafton and Mr. Conway to no partnership. He was even so indiscreet as to bestow on a relation of his own the vacant place of Commissioner of the Revenue in Ireland, which had been promised by Lord Hertford, the Lord-Lieutenant, to an Irishman of note.* This occa-

* Lord Rockingham gave the place to Mr. Milbank, and was justified in so

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sioned ill-blood between the Lord-Lieutenant, Conway's brother, and the head of the Treasury. Lord Hertford, whose great property lay in that country, and who had always assiduously courted the Irish, was at first very successful there. But his economic temper, malevolently exaggerated, and too great propensity to heap emoluments on his children, though in few instances, and an appearance of similitude in the disposition of his son, Lord Beauchamp, soured the conclusion of that Session of Parliament, and occasioned to the Viceroy several mortifications.

doing, for the patronage did not belong to the Lord-Lieutenant, who was very indiscreet to have a difference with Lord Rockingham on such a subject.—E.

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CHAPTER XLIII.

Difficulties of the Ministry.—Further Negotiation with Mr. Pitt.—Meeting of Ministers.—The Seals given to the Duke of Richmond.—Grant to the Royal Dukes.—Portion of the Princess Caroline.—Treachery of Dyson.—Conduct of the Chancellor.—Virtual Fall of the Rockingham Administration.

THE traverses which the English Ministers experienced, increased every day. The King was not only in opposition to himself, and had connived at Lord Bute's seducing such of his servants as were connected with that Favourite to vote against the measures of Government, and, in truth, those servants were some of the ablest men in the House of Commons, as Elliot, Dyson, Martin and Jenkinson, besides Sir Fletcher Norton, who, though displaced, was at the beck of the Favourite; but his Majesty, at Lord Bute's recommendation, actually bestowed a vacant regiment on Colonel Walsh, Lieutenant-Colonel to Lord Townshend, without saying a word of it to his Ministers. It was not a command high enough to be offered to General Conway.. He, with singular forbearance, had declined asking for his regiment again when he was appointed Secretary of State, lest he should be taxed with rapaciousness; and yet was determined to return to and adhere to the military line.

There was another man less delicate. Lord Albemarle had been directed by the King to act as executor to his master, the late Duke of Cumberland. Ambitious, greedy, and a dexterous courtier, Lord Albemarle flattered himself that the door was now opened to him, and sought and made pretences from his trust to obtain frequent audiences of the King. He procured a grant, I think, for three lives, of the lodge at Bagshot, dependent on Windsor, which he had held during the pleasure of the Duke, and under colour of resigning a pension he enjoyed on Ireland, he obtained to have it made over to a brother and sister of his in indigent circumstances, with whom he would otherwise have been burdened. But here ended that gleam of favour. Lord Bute grew jealous, and the door of the closet was shut for ever against Lord Albemarle.

Yet this and every other evidence could not open the eyes of Lord Rockingham. He weakly flattered himself that he was grown a personal favourite with the King, and had undermined Lord Bute. Nor were the complaints he was forced to make received in a manner to nourish his delusion. When it was first proposed to call in Mr. Pitt, the King was said to reply, "Go on as long as you can;

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but if there is to be a change, I will choose my next Ministers myself." When the royal assent for treating with Pitt had been extorted, the latter had replied (as I have mentioned*) in a manner not to inflame Lord Rockingham with eagerness to renew the proposal. Yet the Duke of Grafton was earnest for that junction; and disliking business, and probably not charmed to see all power arrogated by an associate, who was reduced to sit silent in the House of Lords, whilst he himself was almost the sole champion there of their joint-administration, daily threatened to resign unless Mr. Pitt was called to the head of affairs. Conway, under like circumstances, looked the same way, but with more temper. Some of the friends of the administration, sensible of their tottering position, and wishing to burst the connexion between Grenville and the Bedfords, the latter of whom were the only real supporters of the former, endeavoured to detach the Bedfords and unite them with the Ministers; but Rigby, devoted to Grenville, though not blind to his defects, which he often made the subject of his ridicule, detested Conway, and despised Lord Rockingham and the Cavendishes, and was too clear-sighted and too interested to attach himself to the desperate fortune of a set of men disliked by the King. Chance at the same time opened to the Duke of Bedford and his friends a prospect of an ally, able himself, and suited to their desire of reconciliation with Lord Bute. Lord Holland's eldest son† fell in love with with Lady Mary Fitzpatrick,‡ niece of the Duchess of Bedford, and educated by her. The marriage was proposed, and joyfully accepted by the Duke of Bedford, who lost not a moment to send overtures of peace to Lord Holland. But though the latter had consented to gratify the inclinations of his son, as he was a most indulgent father, he acted with the spirit of resentment that became him; and besides rejecting the Duke of Bedford's offered visit, wrote him a most severe answer, and plainly told him how egregiously he was duped and governed by a set of worthless people. This letter Lord Holland showed to all that resorted to him, nor would at any time listen to various advances that were made to him by that family.

At this juncture I returned to England, April 22d, and found every thing in the utmost confusion. The Duke of Grafton, as I have said, determined to resign; Mr. Conway very ill, and sick of the fatigue of his office, which he executed with inconceivable and scrupulous attention; Lord Bute's faction giving no support; and the Court discouraging all men from joining the Administration. A greater embarrassment had fallen on the Ministers: Mr. Pitt had grown impatient for power; and, after having discouraged Lord Rockingham from seeking his aid or protection, began to wonder that he was not courted to domineer; and he betrayed his ambition

* See pp. 336—337, 344, 345, supra.—E. † Stephen Fox.

‡ Mary, eldest daughter of the Earl of Ossory by Lady Evelyn Leveson, youngest daughter of John, first Earl Gower.

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so far as to complain that the Administration had had his support, and now neglected him. Yet, on Grafton's threats of quitting the seals, Pitt entreated that nobody might quit for him; things were not ripe for him; it would let in Grenville and the Bedfords, the worst event of all, he said, for this country. Yet if the Ministers made any direct advances to him, he was coy and wayward, and would treat only with his Majesty. Lord Mansfield and Mr. Yorke, who had great weight with Lord Rockingham, and were both jealous of Lord Camden; and the Duke of Richmond, now returned to England, and incited by Lord Holland to oppose Pitt; kept alive Lord Rockingham's resentment, and prevented any direct negotiation. Thus circumstanced, Pitt's temper broke forth. George Onslow had proposed, in order to save fifteen or twenty thousand pounds a year on the militia, to reduce one sergeant in each company, and the pay of the militia-clerks from fifty to twenty-five pounds a year. This reformation Lord Strange opposed; and the Ministry, not thinking it worth a division, gave it up. The opportunity, however, was seized by Pitt, to whom the plan had not been communicated. He went to the House, and made a vociferous declamation against the Ministry, who, he said, aimed at destroying the militia; he would go to the farthest corner of the island to overturn any Ministers that were enemies to the militia. This was all grimace: he did not care a jot about the militia.

In a few days after this, Rose Fuller moved to refer to the committee the petitions of the merchants on the severe clogs laid on the American trade. Grenville, as madly in earnest as Pitt was affectedly so, vehemently opposed that motion, and called it a *sweeping resolution*. They would next attack, he supposed, the *sacred* Act of Navigation. Burke bitterly, and Beckford and Dowdswell, ridiculed him on the idea of any Act being sacred if it wanted correction. Lord Strange went farther; said, he would speak out; should be for a free port in America, and for altering that part of the Act of Navigation that prohibited the importation of cotton not the growth of our own islands.* Charles Townshend said he was sorry to find that convenience was to give way to dignity. For his part he would call for a review of the Act of Navigation. This drew on warm altercation between him and Grenville, in which it was no wonder that Townshend's wit and indifference baffled Grenville's tediousness and passion.

The idea of a free port in America had been taken up by the Ministers, and that intention was now declared to the hearty satisfaction of the merchants. But this plan too, to humour Beckford's local interests and his own spleen to the Ministers, was harshly and inconsiderately censured by Pitt, but with ill success to his popula-

* There is no such prohibition in the Navigation Act, but the Act of 6 Geo. III. c. 62, seems to imply the possession of a monopoly of the Cotton trade by our West India Islands. No cotton was at that time cultivated in North America. In 1843, our importation of cotton from the United States exceeded 574,000,000*l.*, whilst from our West India Islands it actually did not reach 2,000,000*l.*—E.

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rity, the scheme being grateful to the City. He was not more fortunate in his next step. The Ministers thinking themselves bound to give the last blow to General Warrants, which had now been decided in Westminster Hall to be illegal, moved a resolution of their being illegal and a breach of privilege. Grenville, hoping to squeeze out a little popularity from the same measure, moved to bring in a bill for taking them entirely away. This happening while Mr. Pitt was in his hostile mood, he seconded Grenville's motion; but his lending himself thus to the champion of those warrants, highly offended the Ministerial Whigs, and drew on him much severity from Sir George Saville and Lord John Cavendish. Norton told Mr. Pitt privately that he had got from Carteret Webbe Mr. Pitt's three warrants, and offered them to him; but Pitt refused to accept them, and said he had always declared he would justify his own warrants. At the same time he dropped to him that he wondered he (Mr. Pitt) had not understood Lord Bute's speech on the Stamp Act. The Opposition, to purge Lord Temple from being the instigator of Wilkes in his attacks on the Scotch and the Tories, now produced a letter from the former to the latter, dissuading him from such national and general acrimony. This letter had been seized among Wilkes's papers. But if it palliated the disposition to mischief in the one brother, it laid open the malice of the other; and Grenville was severely tasked for having connived at Webbe's suppressing this letter in enmity to his brother. Mr. Pitt avowed to the House that he thought Carteret Webbe gently dealt with in not being expelled.

The night I arrived, the Duke of Richmond came to me to entreat Mr. Conway to go on without Mr. Pitt, who had offended both the Administration and the City; and he told me there were thoughts of softening towards Lord Bute, and of suffering his brother Mackinsy to have a place. The plan of diverting the enmity of Lord Bute was not at all repugnant to my opinion. From the moment the Administration had come into place, I had seen the necessity of it. Justice demanded the restitution of Mackinsy. The Ministers could neither destroy the King's confidence in his Favourite, nor get rid of him by force. He was in no employment, nor had they any proofs in their hands that would authorize impeachment. Ungrounded impeachment would have purged him—perhaps have made him popular. Two options only remained: to quit their places, if they thought it for their honour not to temporize with Bute; or to temporize with him. Why I preferred the latter, these were the reasons: if those Ministers surrendered their power, where was there another set of honest men to replace them? They could mitigate, perhaps ward off, the evil designs of the Court, while the executive part of government remained in their hands. If they resigned it, it must fall into the hands of Mr. Pitt, who must either take his obnoxious brothers Temple and Grenville, or lean entirely on Lord Bute; and with all my admiration of Mr. Pitt, I doubted whether he would not make too complacent a Minister to prerogative; or Grenville and the Bedfords (the worst of all) must resume their power, and they had

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smarted too severely for their attacks on the Favourite, not to have profited of that experience. The Nation had once escaped from that coalition. Any system was preferable to the return of it.

I told the Duke of Richmond, that though I was glad to find Lord Rockingham and his friends were grown more reasonable, yet I thought the moment not suited to the experiment. There was another plan which ought first to be tried, and that was to endeavour once more, at any price, to acquire the accession of Mr. Pitt. Should he be omitted, it would throw him into the hands of his brothers and the Bedfords, or of Lord Bute—perhaps of all together. At least, should he refuse to join with the Administration, it would put him in the wrong, and damage his popularity, his sole strength. Lord Rockingham came to me still more eager for what the Duke had proposed. I adhered to my point, though I agreed they might try to go on, if Mr. Pitt should prove unreasonable, and Mr. Conway (who was ill in the country) should not think himself obliged to resign with the Duke of Grafton, who had brought him into Parliament. Grafton had promised Lord Camden (which indicated that he acted in concert with, or by direction of Pitt) to come to town in two days, and resign; yet his Grace himself had been offended at Mr. Pitt's conduct, and had said, if he was haughty out of place, what would he be when in? He should pity those who were to act under him.

April 25. Mr. Conway came to town, and agreed with me on the necessity of trying Mr. Pitt once more, though he did not think the King could be induced to see him. On the 27th the Duke of Grafton came to me, and Mr. Conway and I persuaded him to defer his resignation a few days; though he said he could not trust the King, who had promised that Lord Bute's faction should support the Administration, after the repeal of the Stamp Act was passed, which during the whole time of its discussion they had pretended they could not come into, as they had all concurred in the Act; yet when the repeal was over, their conduct continued the same. This consideration staggered Conway; and he told me, that if he should now resign for Mr. Pitt, the latter would certainly restore him, and entrust the House of Commons to him, as he had declared he would. This reflection showed Conway was more reconciled to power than he pretended to be,—and yet it was but transient ambition. It returned at times, but never was permanent; and even when he had quitted or declined supreme power, he did not give himself less to the fatigue of business, which yet was his standing objection. He could not enjoy so insignificant an office as the Board of Ordnance without making it slavery, and yet could not bear to be Secretary of State!

The Duke of Grafton, however, gave notice to the King that he would resign. The King begged him to defer it for a few days. Thus pressed, I prevailed with the Duke and Mr. Conway to go to Mr. Pitt, and entreat him to give some facility to his own accession. He complained that Lord George Sackville had been restored to employment to affront him personally: said he himself had been twice admitted to treat personally with his Majesty, and therefore hoped he

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might have that honour again. Several times he threw out Grenville's name (to intimidate,) and said he did not know what Lord Temple would do; he had had no intercourse with him for several months. To *part* of the Administration he professed great civility. Mr. Conway told him he was sure the King would not send for him. He answered, that he looked on that as a design not to let him come in. The fact was, the King, not desirous of the junction of Pitt and the actual Ministers, and choosing that Pitt should solely to him owe his admission, pleaded that he had sent so often for Mr. Pitt in vain, that he would condescend no more—a resolution his Majesty was at that very time in the intention not to keep.

On the 1st of May the Ministers had a meeting at the Chancellor's, to determine what their plan should be on Grafton's resignation and Pitt's refusal; Mr. Conway having been induced to retain the seals at the earnest request of the other Ministers, rather than break up their whole Administration. The King had ordered them to give him their proposals in writing, expecting, at least hoping, that they would at last propose connexion with Lord Bute. They proposed that the King should promise to support them, and turn out those who should not act with them; this, however, they forbore to deliver to the King in writing. The Chancellor said, if they determined to go on, he would support them, but he did not think this a business proper for the Council. Conway replied, they were met as Ministers, and at the King's desire. Some were for offering a place to Mackinsy; but Newcastle said their friends would dislike it; he had seen several who were against it. Lord Egmont told them fairly not to flatter themselves (and no doubt he spoke by authority;) even a place for Mackinsy would not satisfy. Lord Bute's friends were powerful, and would expect confidence. They broke up in disorder. Conway reported to the King what had passed. He replied coldly, "I thought you would not settle any thing at one meeting." Three days afterwards he bade them try for support, and inquire if Lord Bute's friends would not support them, which was bidding them unite with the latter.

In the room of the Duke of Grafton I resolved to try to make the Duke of Richmond Secretary of State. Not that I could flatter myself with the duration of the system; but as I knew the Duke had better talents than most of the Ministers, and would be more moderate, I thought he would be likely to bring them to such a temper as might prevent their dissolution then, and would be of use to them if they remained in power. My friendship for him made me desirous, too, to obtain that rank for him, that, although he might enjoy it but a very short time, he might have pretensions to the same place, if ever they recovered their situation. He was apt to be indolent, if not employed: the Secretary's seals might inspire him with more taste for business. I first mentioned the thought to himself, and found him pleased with it; and then engaged him to ask Mr. Conway's interest, with whom I myself made it a point. Conway liked the motion, but

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said he was so nearly* connected with the Duke of Richmond, that he did not care to ask it; always preferring his own character to the service of his friends. I acted, however, so warmly in it, and Lord Rockingham took it up with so much kindness to the Duke, that we surmounted Conway's delicacy, and the Cabinet Council proposed it to the King. His Majesty, who had never forgiven the Duke of Richmond, objected strongly to that choice; said the Duke was too young (though as old as Grafton,) and desired it might be first tried if Lord Hardwicke would not accept the seals. Lord Hardwicke, a bookish man, conversant only with parsons, ignorant of the world, and void of all breeding, was as poor a choice as could have been made; and being sensible himself that he was so declined the offer; yet to avoid taking Richmond, and to keep within the circle of Lord Rockingham's friends, his Majesty next proposed to make the Attorney-General, Yorke, Secretary of State. If the elder brother was ill-qualified for that office, the younger was still more so, being ignorant of languages and of Europe, and read in nothing but the learning of his profession. Lord Rockingham, as civil as the King, yielded to make this trial too; but at the same time told the King that he and his friends, finding the precariousness of their situation, wished to resign their employments. The King begged they would not, said he should be greatly distressed, and had nobody to replace them. Yorke declining the seals, they were at last bestowed on the Duke of Richmond, who in answer to the notification he received from Lord Rockingham, marked his being sensible how little he had been his Majesty's choice. He entered, however, on his office with all the ardour and industry that I had expected, and had every qualification to make him shine in it. He had such unblemished integrity, and so high a sense of his duty and honour, that in the preceding winter Lord Powis† having been exposed in the House of Lords for sordid meanness and injustice to Lady Mary Herbert,‡ the sister of the last Marquis, from whose bounty Lord Powis had received his estate, and yet withheld from her a scanty annuity, the Duke of Richmond consulted the Chancellor to know if there was no precedent of expelling a Peer, so little was his Grace possessed by what is called *l'esprit de corps.*

* The Duke of Richmond had married Lady Mary Bruce, daughter by her first husband of Lady Ailesbury, Conway's wife.

† Henry Arthur Herbert had married Barbara, niece of the last Marquis of Powis, and had been created Earl of Powis on the accession of the fortune to him and her.

‡ This was the lady celebrated by Pope, who first ambitioned the Crown of Poland, then sought a fortune in the mines of the Asturias, where she met the Comte de Gages. She then was reduced to such extreme poverty, that the young Pretender arriving in Spain, and visiting her, she received him in bed, not having clothes to put on, and he gave her his coat to rise in. She retired to Paris, and was at last harboured in the Temple by the Prince of Conti, where she died not long after the transaction and lawsuit I have mentioned in the text. The Comte de Gages had likewise retired to Paris, and died there a little before Lady Mary Herbert, who lived to August, 1775.

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But though the seals were given to the Duke of Richmond, several other places of importance and rank remained vacant; nor could any man be found that would accept them, being discouraged by the discountenance with which the King treated his Ministers. Nor did it stop there; Lord Howe* resigned his post, declaring he could not co-operate unless Mr. Pitt was Minister, an extraordinary strain of delicacy in a man who had accepted a commission at the Board of Admiralty from Mr. Grenville on the fall of Mr. Pitt, and his new post from the present Ministers on the fall of Mr. Grenville. Yet when the Ministers represented to the King the disgrace it brought upon his Government to have so many employments lie unfilled, and even offered to make Mr. Mackinsy Vice-treasurer of Ireland, his Majesty declined that place for him, but advised them to get all the strength they could. Lord Bute's friends owned that it was expected the Ministers should employ their faction, in particular the Earl of Northumberland and Sir Fletcher Norton. The last none of them would hear of; and even I, who, for the reasons I have given, wished them not to proscribe a party without whom they could not be Ministers, advised them to resign rather than stoop to adopt so bad a man, so lately, to their credit, cashiered by themselves. In truth, there was nothing but obstinacy in some, and irresolution in others. The nearer their fall, the more Lord Rockingham grew inclined to preserve his power by humouring the King; while Lord John Cavendish was inflexible to Bute, and Mr. Conway totally irresolute what part to take.

Not so the Court-faction. Dyson opposed the tax on windows, and yet the Opposition was beaten by four to one. When the bill passed the Lords, the Duke of Grafton expressed great regard for *some* of the Ministers; but the nation, he said, called for the greatest abilities, and for all abilities; and though himself had borne a general's staff, he would with pleasure take up a mattock and spade to be of what use he could. The Duke of Bedford forced Lord Rockingham to rise and say a few words.

It was now the 29th of May. From the instant of my arrival I had pressed the Ministers to put an end to the session, and had foretold that they would let it draggle on till it overturned them. All my views tended to prevent their resigning before the Parliament rose, and to keep them in place till the eve of the next session; that if no circumstances should arise in their favour during that interval, they might surprise and distress the King by a sudden resignation, or force him to give them better terms. Should they quit in the present conjuncture, whatever grievances they might allege would be

* Richard Viscount Howe, an Admiral, Treasurer of the Navy, and a man of most intrepid bravery, as all his brothers were, but not very bright, though shrewd enough when his interest was concerned. [He was personally attached to Pitt, and probably accepted office with his consent. If he paid an undue attention to his own interest, it was to very little purpose, for although he was frugal in his habits, and had many opportunities of enriching himself, he died poor.] —E.

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forgotten before six months were elapsed. My prophecy, though founded, was as little regarded as my advice. Late as it was, a new parliamentary business, waited on by new scruples of Mr. Conway, broke forth.

On the death of the late Duke of Cumberland, it had been projected to divide his 25,000*l.* a-year between the King's three brothers, and make up the revenue of each 20,000*l.* a-year. The Ministers, during Mr. Conway's illness in the country, had consented to carry this through, without acquainting him. When he came to town, he vehemently objected to it, as the session was so near its period. The Cavendishes caught the scruple, and infused it into Lord Rockingham, though he had passed his word, for it to the King. The Chancellor and Lord Egmont were as eager on the other hand to have the promise performed, and the former had warm words with Conway. The King was much discomposed, and said, unless his brothers would give it up he could not. The Duke of Gloucester, all decency and temper, behaved handsomely; but the Duke of York, instigated by the Bedfords, insisted on what had been promised to him. Lord Rockingham told the King he would keep his word but would then resign—that was, would keep a promise he had neglected till it was almost too late, but then would resign for having kept it. Mr. Conway said he could not vote for it, but would absent himself from the House. Lord Rockingham repented the instant he had made his declaration, but did not know how to get off. Mr. Conway consulted me on this dilemma, and objected that Mr. Grenville was out of town, thinking the business of the session at an end. "What!" said I, "because you suffered Mr. Grenville to protract the session till he had wearied even himself, is that a reason for the Ministers not performing what they have engaged for? You have just had a signal victory [on the tax] and now will give up all for an idle qualm. For God's sake satisfy the King and the Princes on this point; but you are so unfit to be Ministers, that I advise you to find some plausible and popular excuse afterwards to resign;" and to that indeed now did my utmost wishes tend. I saw they must fall, and desired only that the pretence might do them credit. At night, however, I hit off an expedient to which I got the concurrence of the Ministers. It was to propose to the King that they should move for a call of the House. *That* would take up at least a fortnight, and near as much time to go through the bill. He was to be told how unpopular the service was. If he still accepted the call, the question would either be carried in a full House, which would justify the Ministers; or would be lost in a full House, which, besides defeating the measure, would punish the Duke of York, without affording room for censure against the Ministers, as the Opposition would support the Duke; and the question, if lost, would be lost by the defection of the Court's own majority, to whom the measure was very unpalatable, from the largeness of the designed appanages, and the independence of the Crown, which the princes would acquire. If, on the other hand, the King should refuse to accept the

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call, the Ministers would be in some degree disculpated from keeping their promise, or would have more grace in resigning. The Ministers went with this proposal to the King, but he had now prevailed on his brother of York to give up the point till the next session, on promise that the half-year's income, which he would lose by the delay, should be made up to him.

On the 3d of June Rigby moved that the Parliament should not be prorogued, but kept sitting by short adjournments to wait for news from America. This was easily overruled; and then a message from the Crown was delivered, asking a portion for the Princess Caroline against her marriage with the King of Denmark. Dyson, in opposition to the Ministers (and for a treacherous reason that will presently appear,) offered a precedent against taking the message into consideration but in the committee or the next day—a strange disrespect, unless it had been concerted with the King. This occasioned a long debate, and Conway greatly distinguished himself by his spirit and abilities; and Dyson's motion was rejected by 118 to 35. Next came a message for a settlement on the Princess. Augustus Hervey* proposed to amend the address, and to promise to take it into immediate consideration. This, too, was out-voted; and Charles Townshend spoke finely on the occasion with great encomiums on the Duke of Grafton and Conway.

The next day the Ministers pressed the King to turn out Dyson and Lord Eglinton, who had voted against the tax. His Majesty hesitated, but desired Lord Rockingham to talk to them. Lord Rockingham saw Dyson for an hour, who pretended to be in no opposition, but to dislike measures; and going through them showed he disliked every one of their measures. On this Lord Rockingham again proposed his being turned out, but the King took time to consider.† Mr. Conway spoke to me on this. I said, it was plain Lord Bute meant to force them to join him, which made it impossible for them to join him; yet I begged they would not opiniatre those dismissions, as it would not be proper for them to resign on court-intrigues. To resign because men were not turned out would be still less proper in them, who had complained so much of dismissions, though the case was widely different between being persecuted for conscience sake, and dismissing men who would force them to unite with the very arbitrary Ministers they had condemned. They must wait till they were obstructed in some constitutional measure, and then retire.

* He was much connected with the Duke of York, being of the same profession.

† Lord Rockingham had reason to complain of Dyson's conduct, as the King had in some degree answered for the latter when the Government was formed, and in consequence he had been allowed to remain in office. There were others of the Government whose votes reflected blame only on Lord Rockingham himself; for what can be said of his suffering Lord Barrington to become Secretary at War, with the express understanding that he might continue his opposition to the course pursued by the Government on such questions as the American Stamp Act and General Warrants?—(Political Life of Lord Barrington, p. 119.)—E.

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Lord Hertford* was now returned from Ireland, and prevailed on his brother to consent that Mackinsy should be restored to his ancient place, as soon as any settlement could be made to open it for him; and to let Lord Northumberland go ambassador to Paris, if Lord Rochford could be otherwise accommodated. The Duke of Richmond and Lord Rockingham came into this, and it was broken to the King in general terms. "Was there any body he wished to prefer?" He was on his guard, and replied, "No;" that they might not accuse him of parting with them on their rejection of any of Lord Bute's creatures. They then again mentioned Dyson and their own weakness; and showed him an intercepted letter of the Russian Minister to his Court, in which he wished his mistress not to conclude too hastily with the present Ministers, who could not maintain their ground: and he pointed out the damage the King brought on his own affairs by having a Ministry who did not enjoy his confidence. This the King denied, and said they had his confidence. For Dyson, he had opposed Princess Caroline's portion, and his Majesty did not care to remove any body on his own account (a salvo, as I have said, concerted.) Dyson, they replied, opposed and obstructed all measures at the Board of Trade. Still the King would not give him up, but promised he would the next winter, if Dyson did not alter his conduct; but his Majesty had determined to remove the Ministers, not Dyson. Lord Eglinton was next accused of having opposed the tax. "Oh!" said the King, "that is abominable; but Eglinton is angry with me too: he says I have not done enough for him." They civilly put his Majesty in mind that he had promised, in the middle of the winter, to dismiss opponents on their next default; but the plea was taken, and nothing could be obtained by the Ministers for their satisfaction.

The Chancellor, Lord Northington, disgusted with the dilatoriness and irresolution of the Ministers; and seeing they would neither embrace the Favourite, nor could do without him; and perceiving, too, that the King was determined to suffer them on no other terms than compliance, was alarmed for his own interest; and apprehending that if Mr. Pitt, as was probable he would, became the Minister, Lord Camden would expect the seals, made a pretence of quarrelling with the Ministers, complaining most untruly that he was not consulted nor summoned on cases,† which had not only been submitted to him, but had waited for him and suffered by his delay. All this, however, being but negative, the Chancellor wished to have more

* Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland.

† One was the establishment of a civil government in Canada, a plan for which had lain before the Chancellor for some months, and in which he did nothing [except declaring his entire disapprobation of the plan, and urging that no proposition should be sanctioned by the Cabinet until they had obtained a complete code of the laws of Canada.—1 Adolphus, 226.] It remained unsettled till the year 1774, when the famous bill, called the Quebec Bill, in favour of Popery, was passed, and, agreeably to the supposed author Lord Mansfield's arbitrary principles, took away decisions by juries.

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positive merit, and accordingly told the King (and possibly had his Majesty's own orders for telling him so) that this Ministry could not go on, and that his Majesty must send for Mr. Pitt. Whether this meanness was officious, or whether instilled into him, was not certainly known. The motion was at least so acceptable that the Chancellor certainly opened a new negotiation with Mr. Pitt. Lord Bute's friends asserted solemnly that this treaty, which was kept very secret, was known only to his Majesty, and concluded without the least privity of the Favourite—a tale too improbable to meet with the least credit.

As a signal of what was to ensue, on the 7th of July the Chancellor went into the King, and declared he would resign; a notification he had not deigned to make to the Ministers, but which he took care they should know, by declaring openly what he had done. When the Ministers saw the King, he said coolly, "Then I must see what I can do."*

The next day the Duke and Mr. Conway came to me in the country to ask my opinion on the present crisis. I said, I believed it was the signal of a change, but as it was yet uncertain whether the Chancellor had acted from self-interested fear, or by concert with the King, the wisest step for the Ministers would be to seize the opportunity, and on Wednesday, the next Court-day, (it being now Monday,) resign their places very civilly on want of the King's confidence, and recommend to his Majesty to send for Mr. Pitt. This, if the King was not prepared with a Ministry, would greatly distress him; and whether Pitt, or Grenville, or the Bedfords were sent for, they would give harder terms to Lord Bute when at their mercy. That *their* recommending Pitt might prevent the King's sending for him; and then nothing would be so odious and unpopular as the Bedford faction united with Bute, while Pitt and the present Ministers should be

* It appears that Lord Northington's notification to the King was on the 5th of July.—(Lord Henley's Life of Northington.) We learn from the same writer that the bad state of Lord Northington's health, and his frequent disagreements with his colleagues, had for some months made him desirous of an honourable and quiet retreat. There is no doubt, both from his own letters, and the traditions still extant at the bar, that his habits of hard labour and extreme conviviality had by this time undermined his constitution much to the deterioration of his temper, and he perhaps suspected slights that were never intended. Moreover, the scrupulous sense of public duty, the natural reserve and strict propriety of deportment which characterized Lord Rockingham and Mr. Conway were by no means to his taste. He must have felt even less easy with such associates, than his successor Lord Thurlow did in a later day with Mr. Pitt; and, like him, his usual course in the Cabinet was to originate nothing, and to oppose every thing. The commercial treaty with Russia, a measure of unquestionable benefit, nearly fell to the ground, owing to his unreasonable and obstinate opposition. He would rarely listen to remonstrances from his colleagues, and was on such cold terms with them as probably justified him in his own mind in breaking up the Cabinet so unceremoniously. He was too fearless to stoop to intrigue, and there was no necessity for it on this occasion. His communications with Mr. Pitt, on the formation of the new Government, are given in the Chatham Correspondence, vol. iii. p. 434.—E.

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out of place. That if Pitt did become Minister, he would be hampered by *their* recommendation; it would hurt his popularity if he did not take them in, and must be an obstacle to his preferring the Bedfords. I added that this recommendation would be entirely consistent with Mr. Conway's past declarations, which had always been in favour of Mr. Pitt, and would bind the Duke of Grafton more firmly to Conway. This advice was extremely tasted by Mr. Conway, not at all by the Duke, who had no partiality for Mr. Pitt.

The next day the Duke wrote to argue the point with me, and said, Lord Rockingham was still for making Yorke Chancellor, for insisting on the dismission of Dyson, Eglinton, Augustus Hervey, and others, and then for offering the King to make Mr. Mackinsy Vice-treasurer of Ireland. This last (which had already been in effect rejected) the Duke allowed was a very silly plan, but thought Mr. Pitt had treated the Ministers with too much contempt to make it honourable for them to propose him; the Duke even supposed that their not leaving the King in distress would oblige him. Mr. Conway, he said, was determined to follow my advice. I, who had no opinion of his Majesty's sensibility or gratitude, stuck to what I had said; and warned the Duke to take care that they were not turned out in the cause of Yorke, instead of their own. I advised his Grace to make use of the good news from America, where all was quiet, and to declare that having pacified America, they could now resign without reproach; but the Seals had glimmered in Yorke's eyes, and I knew he would advise any meanness rather than lose the moment of being Chancellor.

I went to town on Wednesday the 7th, in the afternoon, concluding that Rockingham and Newcastle would have prevailed on Mr. Conway to defer resigning for a day or two. So it had happened, though the Duke of Richmond had been convinced by me that they must resign. But in the morning, when the Ministers had gone in to the King, his Majesty, with the most frank indifference, and without even thanking them for their services, and for having undertaken the Administration at his own earnest solicitation, acquainted them severally that he had sent for Mr. Pitt; and lest this declaration should want a comment, to Newcastle he said, "I have not two faces." Newcastle replied, "Does your Majesty know if Mr. Pitt will come?" "Yes," said the King, "I have reason to think he is disposed to come;" and then added, "I wish you all well, particularly Lord Rockingham." Nothing could be harsher to Newcastle, in whose presence this was uttered. To the Duke of Richmond the King was not tolerably civil; and, in truth, I believe the Seals which I had obtained for his Grace were a mighty ingredient towards the fall of that Administration. To Conway alone his Majesty was gracious, and told him he hoped never to have an Administration of which he should not be one. This looked as if the plan was settled, and that the King knew Mr. Pitt intended to retain Conway, for his Majesty loved him no better than the rest; and at Lord Rochford's return from Spain, had ridiculed Conway's des-

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patches, and said, he fancied Lord Rochford had had difficulty to know how to act, as they were sometimes warm, sometimes cold. This remark had been furnished by the Chancellor, when the offer made by the King of Spain of taking the King of Prussia for arbitrator on the money due for the ransom of the Manillas, had neither been accepted nor rejected. When the King told Conway he had sent for Pitt, he replied, "Sir, I am glad of it; I always thought it the best thing your Majesty could do. I wish it may answer. Mr. Pitt is a great man; but as nobody is without faults, he is not unexceptionable."

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CHAPTER XLIV.

Mr. Pitt proposes to Conway to remain in the Ministry.—Quarrel with Lord Temple.—Townshend Chancellor of the Exchequer.—Rockingham displaced to make way for Grafton.—Resignation of Lord John Cavendish.—Lord Rockingham affronts Pitt.—Unpopularity of the new Lord Chatham.—Changes and Preferments.—Foreign Policy.—Disturbed State of the Country.—Chatham's Interview with Walpole.

On the 11th Mr. Pitt arrived; and on the 13th Mr. Conway came to me, and told me Mr. Pitt had been with him, had shown much frankness, and had offered him the Seals again, and the lead in the House of Commons, for he himself could not attend there. The King, Mr. Pitt said, had sent for Lord Temple; and he himself must offer him the Treasury, but protested it was without knowing whether he would accept it. Of Mr. Grenville it was delicate for him to speak; but if Mr. Conway would not conduct the House of Commons, Mr. Grenville must, though that would be subject to great difficulties. He intended something for Mr. Mackinsy when occasion should offer; thought Lord Bute had been too much proscribed, but would ever resist his having power. Changes he wished could be made without changes. The foundation of the present Ministry he hoped would remain; but he must take care of Lord Camden, Lord Shelburne, Lord Bristol, and Colonel Barrè. Of Lord Rockingham he thought meanly, but was sorry to displace him. Sorry, too, for the Duke of Richmond; would he take an embassy? Mr. Conway said, No. Pitt replied, he did not desire an immediate answer; he knew Mr. Conway would have difficulties. Conway avowed he had the greatest, though two months before he should have laughed at any man that had supposed he could have any. He should now prefer returning to the military; but would consult his friends.

The same moment that told me Mr. Conway's acceptance would be an exclusion of George Grenville, decided my opinion; and the Duke of Richmond coming in at that instant, we related what had passed, and I frankly told the Duke, that I could not hesitate on pressing Mr. Conway to accept, when I knew it would be shutting the door against George Grenville. The Duke heard my opinion with concern; and with great decency to Conway, rather started objections than urged him to decline. It would break the party; Mr. Pitt, as well as Lord Bute, had always aimed at dividing all parties. Could Mr. Conway quit the Cavendishes? I told his Grace, that if

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Mr. Pitt did not remain in the House of Commons, which he seemed disposed to quit, Mr. Conway would be the Minister. The latter I was sure would not go into Opposition. His excluding Grenville would exclude Lord Temple. Lord Hertford arrived; and desiring, for his own sake, that Mr. Conway should go on as much as I desired it, from enmity to Grenville, and Conway himself inclining to go on, he easily acceded to our opinion. But in honour of the Duke of Richmond, I must add, that he was so satisfied with my plain dealing, however vexed at the event, that he neither then, *nor ever after*,* changed his countenance towards me or confidence; and was the only man I ever knew, whose friendship difference in party had no power to shake. As he was the sole person of that party for whom I had any friendship myself, I pressed Mr. Conway to ask for the Duke a promise of the Garter and of the Blue Guards; but that measure was defeated by the warmth of the heads of the party, provoked by the neglect Pitt showed them; though, in truth, they were forward enough in inviting his resentment, by pressing all their friends to resign, even if Lord Temple should come in without Grenville.

On the 14th arrived Lord Temple, who, at Mr. Pitt's earnest desire, had been sent for by the King. Mr. Pitt, who always acted like a Minister retired or retiring from power, rather than as an all-puissant, or new Minister, had begun to refine on his former conduct: and had already commenced that extraordinary scene of seclusion of himself, which he afterwards carried to an excess that passed, and no wonder, for a long access of phrensy. It was given out that he had a fever, and he retired to Hampstead, whither Lord Temple went and saw him the day of his arrival. The next day Lord Temple had an audience of the King. On the 16th he was with Mr. Pitt till seven in the evening, dined, and took the air with him, when such high words passed, that the coachman overheard their warmth, and Mr. Pitt was so much agitated that his fever increased, and he would see nobody, not even the Duke of Grafton, whom he had sent for to town, but whom he had informed by message that he would take no step without acquainting his Grace.†

On the 17th Lord Temple again saw the King, made extravagant demands, which were peremptorily refused, and immediately went out of town.

The detail was, that Mr. Pitt had pressed the King to send for him; but said that was all he asked. When he and Lord Temple met, the latter insisted on bringing in his brother George; Mr. Pitt

* These words ceased to be true in the year 1783.

† That Mr. Pitt's indisposition was no pretence, is proved by his letters to Lady Chatham. He says on the 15th of July, evidently to calm her anxiety,—"In a word, three hot nights in town rendered a retreat hither [Hampstead] necessary, where I brought yesterday a feverish heat and much bile, and have almost lost it already." Throughout their correspondence his health is a constant topic, and the extreme delicacy of his nervous system certainly rendered his acceptance of office a most imprudent act.—E.

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would not hear of it. Lord Temple then demanded that Lord Lyttelton should be president of the council: nor that would Mr. Pitt grant: nor, in truth, did Lord Temple propose any conditions in earnest after the negative put upon his brother. Then, indeed, as provision for loading Mr. Pitt, Lord Temple asked him what he intended to do about Mr. Mackinsy and Lord Northumberland. He replied, Considerably. This was of a piece with what Lord Temple had lately done. In a pamphlet published by Almon, to abuse the Ministry, and called "The History of the late Minority," it was declared that Lord Temple's refusal of coming in with Mr. Pitt in the preceding year, had been grounded on the terms Mr. Pitt had been willing to grant to Lord Northumberland. As that refusal fully justified Mr. Pitt from not calling Lord Temple again, it was strange refinement or delicacy to invite a new quarrel by a new summons, especially as it was evident that he did not mean to grant any one facility that could tempt Lord Temple to accept.*

Fortunate it was, that Lord Temple did not overreach him by accepting. It was not less fortunate that he remained out of place, a check on Lord Bute, and a sure source of clamour against arbitrary measures, while discontented himself.† Yet Lord Temple did not act without art. Though the King saw, from the first five minutes of their conversation, that he did not mean to accept the Treasury, yet he and his brother had persuaded the Bedfords that he intended it, and that he would bring them in; and extremely were they disappointed when they heard the negotiation was at an end; but it had answered the purpose of his laying them under obligation to his in-

* In a letter of explanation to Lady Chatham, written a fornight after his interview with Mr. Pitt at Hampstead, Lord Temple admits that his separation from Mr. George Grenville was conditional upon "a public and general union of parties taking place." This union had long been one of the great objects of Mr. Pitt's ambition, but was at this time wholly impracticable, as Lord Temple well knew; and taken together with the proposal of Lord Lyttelton for President of the Council, the admission goes far to support Walpole's statement, that Lord Temple had determined not to take office without his brother. Indeed the connexions which Lord Temple had lately formed, and not less than the opinions he had expressed in Parliament, must have rendered his acceptance of Mr. Pitt's overtures out of the question, unless, to use his own words, he had chosen "to be stuck into the Ministry as a great cypher at the head of the Treasury."—(Chatham Correspondence, vol. ii. p. 468.)—E.

† Nevertheless, had their former connexion remained unbroken, Lord Temple might have again proved a valuable colleague to Mr. Pitt. The restless spirit and defective temper that hurried him when in Opposition into excesses so prejudicial to his character, had not prevented his identifying himself completely with Mr. Pitt while in office in all great questions of public policy, and though he had no claim to superior merit as a speaker, his knowledge of the world, fixedness of purpose, and close attention to the details of business, had often compensated for the absence of those qualities in Mr. Pitt. Above all, he was really loved and trusted by him, and through Lady Chatham's intervention, had access to him when it was denied to every one else. Neither of them prospered after their separation, and Lord Temple had the mortification of finding himself alternately neglected, distrusted, and opposed by the associates of his earlier days during the remainder of his life.—E.

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tentions, especially as he endeavoured to make them believe that he had broken with Mr. Pitt for refusing to make him* Secretary of State; but the Bedfords, who could get over real obligations, were not men to be much enchained by fictitious intentions.†

Mr. Conway laboured to make some accommodation between Mr. Pitt and the fallen Ministers; and to engage the former to try at softening the ill-humour of the latter, who were great and respectable men, and whose assistance he would want. Pitt was cold and mysterious; said it would be impertinent in him to inform any of them that they were to be dismissed; it must come from his Majesty in the ordinary way of office. He should go to the King on the morrow; nothing was yet settled; he should begin with the great outlines. The Army and Law, he thought, should be left to the King. Lord Granby was very high; but if his Majesty preferred Lord Albemarle, he should not oppose it. Charles Yorke he should leave Attorney-General, unless the King disliked him.

The same day Mr. Pitt wrote to Charles Townshend in this haughty and laconic style:—"Sir, you are of too great a magnitude not to be in a responsible place: I intend to propose you to the King to-morrow for Chancellor of the Exchequer, and must desire to have your answer to-night by nine o'clock." Unprecedented as this method was of imposing an office of such confidence in so ungracious a manner (for it was ordering Townshend to accept 2700*l.* a year in lieu of 7000*l.*, and intimated that, accepting or refusing, he must quit the post of Paymaster,) yet it was singularly well adapted to the man. It was telling him that no other man in England was so fit for that difficult employment; and it was telling him at the same time that though his great abilities rendered him a useful servant, the lightness of his character made those talents not formidable in an enemy.

Pitt had judged rightly. Townshend did not dare to fling both offices in his face: but, without being incensed or flattered, fell into the most ridiculous distress imaginable. All he felt was the menace, and the loss of the Paymaster's place; and instead of concealing the affront or his own anxiety, he sat at home in his night-gown, received all that came, showed Pitt's mandate to them, and commented on it, despatched messengers for his brother and the Duke of Grafton, who were out of town; and as the time lapsed, ran to the window on every coach that passed, to see if they were arrived. At last he de-

* I had written *Pitt* by mistake, and forget now whom Lord Temple pretended to have recommended. Most probably it was the Duke of Bedford.

† A pamphlet in defence, or rather in praise, of the part taken by Lord Temple in those negotiations, was soon afterwards published under the title of "An Inquiry into the conduct of a late Right Honourable Commoner." It is justly described by Lord Chesterfield as "scurrilous and scandalous, and betraying private conversation." It is believed to have been written by Mr. Humphry Cotes, but Lord Temple was suspected to have furnished the materials; and it probably is to this discreditable piece of revenge, more than to the other libels in which Lord Temple was concerned, that Lord Rockingham alluded when he noticed some years afterwards the objection of the Whigs to act under his Lordship.—E.

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termined on suing for leave to remain Paymaster, to which Pitt listened. Then with his usual fluctuation, Townshend repented of not accepting the Chancellorship of the Exchequer, so leading a situation in the House of Commons, and begged he might have it. Pitt replied, the place was full, being then inclined to retain Mr. Dowdswell. Townshend renewed his supplication with tears; but for some time Pitt was firm. At length he yielded to the Duke of Grafton's intercession; and that very day Townshend told the King that Mr. Pitt had again pressed and persuaded him to be Chancellor of the Exchequer—with such silly duplicity did he attain a rank which he might have carried from all competitors, had his mind borne any proportion to the vastness of his capacity. Pitt diverted himself with these inconsistencies, and suffered him to be his Chancellor.*

But now Pitt's own mind, as unballasted by judgment as Townshend's, though expressing itself in loftier irregularities, disclosed to Grafton and Conway his plan of Administration. He told them he meant to make the present Administration the groundwork of his own, and meditated few changes; that Lord Camden† was to be Chancellor, and Lord Northington President; that he had asked the King what his Majesty desired for Mackinsy. The King had answered, Restoration, but without power in Scotland; to which he had consented. Something for Lord Northumberland—but he might wait. Lord Bristol was to be Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, when Lord Hertford should be weary of it. The Duke of Grafton was to be placed at the head of the Treasury, with Dowdswell (on Townshend's refusal) for Chancellor of the Exchequer; Lord Shelburne and Mr. Conway, Secretaries of State; Colonel Barrè and James Grenville, Vice-Treasurers of Ireland; Lord George Sackville to be turned out. At last he acquainted them that himself was to be Privy Seal and a peer.

Two words are sufficient comments on so ill-conceived and ill-digested a plan. It was founded on a set of men whose chiefs he disgusted and displaced, without having obtained, without having even asked the consent or sounded the acquiescence of those who were to remain, and whose passions he had left to be worked upon by their several leaders: and, as if forgetting that the sole foundation of his own authority lay in his ascendant in the House of Commons, and in his popularity, he abandoned the one and risked the other; vainly presuming that he could dictate from the House of Peers, where he had no interest, and which required far different oratory from that in which his strength lay. Some argument, much decency, and great art are requisite to lull and lead lords. The House of Commons, too, was so accustomed to see the Minister himself at their head, as not to be easily conducted by his substitutes. It was quitting the

* Two letters, from Mr. Townshend to Mr. Pitt, on the offer of the Chancellorship of the Exchequer, are given in the Chatham Correspondence, vol. ii. pp. 456, 464.—E.

† Sir Charles Pratt, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas.

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field to Grenville and every rising genius. Even his own Chancellor of the Exchequer, when not under his own lash, was almost sure to run riot. Two such capital errors in the outset, could not but embarrass his measures: they did; and yet smaller errors had greater consequences.

The outlines of the plan were no sooner public than they gave the highest offence to those whom it most imported Mr. Pitt to keep in humour. The King owned to Mr. Conway that he much disliked Lord Shelburne. The Ministerial Whigs, or party of the late Ministers, were enraged. Rockingham was indignant at being displaced for Grafton, and Richmond for Shelburne; and was the more hurt that Mr. Conway suffered this preference. He complained to me of Conway with much anger. I said, "I could not allow Mr. Conway to be blamed in order to disculpate myself. I did profess I had advised him, as his Grace knew, to accept Mr. Pitt's offers. He had accepted them before any mention had been made of Shelburne; and grievous as it was to him, could he break on it with Mr. Pitt, after being the cause that the latter had broken with both his brothers, Temple and Grenville? Mr. Conway had wished to resign with his friend the Duke of Grafton; yet had staid in at the request of the whole party, as they could not go on without him. Could they blame him for staying in now, when the Duke of Grafton returned to Administration?" The Duke replied, "The Duke of Grafton had treated Mr. Conway ill: and that his obligations were to the House of Cavendish." I said, "My lord, were the 5000*l.* bequeathed to him by the late Duke of Devonshire, to be a retaining fee to make him a servant of that family?" The Duke asked, why Mr. Pitt did not turn out any of Lord Bute's friends? Why only friends of the late Ministers? I said, "Not one had been or would be turned out for Lord Bute's friends; that no man of half the importance of Mr. Pitt had ever brought so few dependents; he had proposed but four of any consequence, the Duke of Grafton, Lord Camden, Lord Shelburne, and Lord Bristol; and even the last he waived for a time. That himself declared he acceded to the present Administration, not they to him; and that he brought not a single man along with him, that had not voted with them all the last winter. That Mr. Conway was influenced by measures not by men; yet these were both Whig men and Whig measures. Oppose the first arbitrary measure, my Lord, you and your friends, and you will be in the right; but hitherto of what can you complain? Three weeks ago you declared you could not meet the opening of the next Session. The Administration has now got the most creditable accession and strength, and will not accept it:" at last I said, "desire Mr. Conway, my Lord, not to accept, and I will answer he will not." "No," said the Duke, with his usual goodness of heart, "I will not do that." "Then," said I, "my Lord, your Grace and your friends will reduce Mr. Conway to this: he will be disgusted with your ill-treatment, he will ask for his regiment again, and retire, and never enter the House of Commons more; and then what becomes of your party?" The Duke was in-

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finitely struck with this; and though for a few days he could not conceal his dissatisfaction from Conway on the latter's yielding to let him be removed for Shelburne, his friendly heart surmounted his chagrin, and he wrote a letter to Conway acknowledging that he had been in the wrong, and renewing their amity.

In truth, I suffered as much as the Duke in being forced to argue against him, when my heart was on his side. But nothing could have justified Conway in flying off after Pitt had sacrificed Grenville to him, and all other views of support. Every public consideration concurred to excite my endeavours that Pitt and the late Administration should not separate. *They* were honest, and *he* inflamed with the love of national glory. All *they* wanted was activity and authority; *he* was proper to confer both. If he lost *them*, he must hang on Bute, or revert to his brothers and the Bedfords. He and the late Ministers were popular; all other sets were odious from past experience of their actions.

In vain did I labour to preserve so salutary a union. My evil genius, Lord John Cavendish, came across me; and though I had the private satisfaction of letting him see whose influence with Mr. Conway was the greater; it did not compensate for the mischief he did by inflaming the party against Pitt. To engage by his example to set Pitt at defiance, Lord John resigned his seat at the Treasury; and lest he should be too much in the right by resenting the ill-treatment of his friends, he sent his resignation to the Duke of Grafton in a letter, in which he told the Duke, that he supposed his Grace did not desire to see a Cavendish at that board. Nothing could be more unfounded or unjust than this insinuation. Grafton had ever lived in the utmost harmony with that family, and Lord John was his particular friend. There was no intention of removing one of their relations; and the Duke had, above all, reckoned on Lord John for his associate in the Treasury. Yet the latter affected to beg nobody to resign—after firing the signal. He carried this dissimulation so far as to beg me, who felt the blow he had let fall on Conway, to do my utmost that Lord Dartmouth and Mr. Dowdswell might be pacified, or they would both resign: and he concluded his exhortation with great professions to the Duke of Grafton, who, he said, had always distinguished him from the time he was at school. I said, "I was sorry, but did not see what I could do: that they would drive Mr. Pitt to Lord Bute, or to his brothers and the Bedfords." "No," he replied, "it might drive Mr. Pitt himself away, which would make confusion, and confusion did no harm in times of peace." "That confusion," said I, "would unite Lord Bute and the Bedfords." "Oh!" said he, "then we should have impeachments."

Slight as our hopes were now of working any good on the party, Mr. Conway was urgent with Pitt to show them some civilities, and represented how much they were exasperated by his obstinate silence and coldness. Pitt said, he heard so, but could not believe it; all would come right again. Conway implored him to speak to them, or to empower him to soothe them. He was inflexible: said, the

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King did all. When done, he would go to Lord Rockingham; but would promise no further. Conway spoke of the Duke of Portland,* who, as nearly related to the Cavendishes, must be disposed to quit, and therefore required the more attention; and, as the last argument, stated the cruelty of his own situation. Nothing could move him. He replied coldly, If Portland should resign, he would be replaced by a man taken from no exceptionable quarter. This looked like no unwillingness to disgust; and though this absurdity of trampling on the greatest subjects, and even on those men on whose support he must lean, or leave himself at the mercy of the Court, was not abhorrent from Pitt's character, notwithstanding the inconveniences it had often drawn on him; yet I have suspected that at the time in question, he might have studied or received intimations of the King's inclination to get rid of some particular men. The Cavendishes had long been particularly obnoxious, had personally affronted the Princess on the Bill of Regency, and had been the chief obstructors of any approach to Lord Bute. The Duke of Portland, though his mother† was the intimate friend of Lady Bute, had wantonly piqued himself on enmity to the Favourite; and by local and county‡ circumstances was the declared rival in the North of Sir James Lowther,§ the Favourite's son-in-law. To these motives was added in Pitt a desire of making room for Lord Bristol; and an incidental offer to himself of support from another quarter contributed to augment his indifference to the consequences of the party's anger.

It happened that the Bedford squadron did not give credit to the fair report Lord Temple had made of his zeal for their service. Their hopes had been raised, and seeing a door open, they were not willing to be excluded by an equivocal obligation. Lord Tavistock‖ acquainted the Duke of Grafton, that his father disclaimed the Grenvilles, and would be ready to assist his Grace on no other conditions than places for Lord Gower, Rigby, and Vernon,¶ the Duchess's brother-in-law. This was making so capital a breach in that connexion on such moderate terms, that averse as I was to the Bedfords, I wished to see it closed with before they should be apprized of the ill-blood between Pitt and the late Ministers. But if the offer swelled Pitt's haughtiness, it did not operate much on the prudence of his measures. He at once slighted the overture, and continued his obstinacy of making no overtures to the discontented. It seemed a

* He was Lord Chamberlain, and had married the only daughter of the late Duke of Devonshire, niece of Lord John Cavendish.

† Lady Henrietta Harley, sole daughter of Edward, second Earl of Oxford, and widow of William, third Duke of Portland.

‡ They contested the Parliamentary interest of the counties of Cumberland and Westmoreland, where their estates lay. More of this rivalship will appear hereafter.

§ Sir James Lowther had married Lady Mary Stuart, eldest daughter of the Earl of Bute.

‖ Francis Russell, Marquis of Tavistock, only son of John Duke of Bedford.

¶ Richard Vernon, Esq. had married the Countess-dowager of Ossory, youngest daughter of John, first Earl Gower.

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contest between them which should be most in the wrong. Lord Rockingham and his friends professed that they would yet be contented with civilities. Lord Frederic and Lord John Cavendish both sounded this high; and the latter, at my house, pressed Mr. Conway so much to obtain some notice of them from Mr. Pitt, that he went that very evening to the latter, and did at last prevail with him to visit Lord Rockingham. Mr. Pitt went the next morning, and was admitted into the house, but was met by a servant, who said, his Lord desired to be excused from seeing him. Thus had they forced Mr. Conway to draw in Mr. Pitt to receive an affront; and from that day the wound was incurable.

On the 30th of the month Mr. Pitt kissed hands for the Privy Seal, and the Earldom of Chatham; Grafton, Camden, Northington, and Charles Townshend for the places I have mentioned. Lord Howe was restored to his post of Treasurer of the Navy: Barrè and James Grenville were made Vice Treasurers of Ireland; and Lord George Sackville was dismissed.

The same day Lord Dartmouth resigned the Board of Trade, and Charles Yorke his post of Attorney-General. Dowdswell was asked what he should like: he replied, the King had placed him above what he had pretensions to, but having been there, he could take nothing lower. Though in straitened circumstances, and burdened with a numerous offspring, he adhered to his party, and refused to be First Lord of Trade, or half-paymaster. His character was exceedingly fair; but among many examples of that time, he had been raised above his abilities, and was more respected for his fall than for his exaltation.*

A pension of 4000*l.* a-year was offered to, and rejected by, the Duke of Newcastle, who with all his faults and weaknesses was never stained with avarice and rapaciousness. The deepest tinge of that dirty vice blotted the late Chancellor Northington, who sold the Seals for the President's place, augmented by 5000*l.* a-year, with the contingency of 2000*l.* a-year if he should quit the place of President, and for the reversion of the Hanaper for two lives.† Grants so exorbitant, and so void of any colour of merit in the fool on whom they were showered, that if they cast a shade on the dawn of Mr. Pitt's new Administration, or recalled the memory of his former waste, they reflected lustre on the fallen Ministry, who had been beyond example sparing of such shameless profusion. It was not lessened by another contingent pension to Lord Camden in case he should lose the Seals; yet as he quitted the place of Chief Justice of the Common Pleas for life, the boon was far more justifiable; espe-

* He continued the leader of the Rockingham party in the House of Commons until his death, which took place at Nice in 1775. He left a family of eleven children, of whom one of his youngest sons, the Rev. Dr. Dowdeswell, Canon of Christ Church, and Rector of Stansford Rivers, is the present possessor of his estates, having succeeded General Dowdeswell an elder brother.—E.

† Neither had he neglected his interests whilst he held the Great Seal. He had actually given a great sinecure to a trustee for his three daughters.—E.

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cially in an age when men were paid alike for merit and demerit, for accepting or losing employments.

The services of the discarded Ministers were set forth in a small, well-written tract, called, "A Short History of a late Short Administration." It did justice to their integrity, and it could not do too much.* The nation felt and allowed their merit. Some counties and corporations complimented them in addresses. The Parliament followed the Court, and supported whoever was the actual Minister; uniform in its way of voting, though its votes of every year were inconsistent with those of the preceding.

The glory with which the late Ministers retired, was half of it plucked from the laurels of the new Earl of Chatham. That fatal title blasted all the affection which his country had borne to him, and which he had deserved so well. Had he been as sordid as Lord Northington, he could not have sunk lower in the public esteem. The people, though he had done no act to occasion reproach, thought he had sold them for a title, and, as words fascinate or enrage them, their idol Mr. Pitt was forgotten in their detestation of the Lord Chatham. He was paralleled with Lord Bath, and became the object at which were shot all the arrows of calumny. He had borne his head above the obloquy that attended his former pension—not a mouth was opened now in defence of his title; as innocent as his pension, since neither betrayed him into any deed of servility to prerogative and despotism. Both were injudicious; the last irrecoverably so. The blow was more ruinous to his country than to himself. While he held the love of the people, nothing was so formidable in Europe as his name. The talons of the lion were drawn, when he was no longer awful in his own forests.

The City of London had intended to celebrate Mr. Pitt's return to employment, and lamps for an illumination had been placed round the Monument. But no sooner did they hear of his new dignity, than the festival was counter-ordered. The great engine of this dissatisfaction was Lord Temple, who was so shameless as to publish the history of their breach, in which he betrayed every private passage that Mr. Pitt had dropped in their negotiation and quarrel, which could tend to inflame the public or private persons against him.† This malignant man worked in the mines of successive factions for near thirty years together. To relate them is writing his life.

The next month was spent in changes and preferments, which I shall recapitulate as briefly as I can. Sir Charles Saunders, instigated by Lord Albemarle, resigned his seat at the Admiralty, on pretence of disliking Lord Egmont, the first Commissioner. Lord Albemarle had been refused the Rangership of the Parks at Windsor. John Yorke‡ retired from the same board. Within a few days Lord

* Mr. Burke's well-known tract,—a master-piece of its kind.—E.

† The pamphlet has been noticed in p. 416. An attack on Lord Temple also appeared, most bitter and personal, which was ascribed to Mr. Pitt. A curious extract from it is given in Belsham's History, vol. i. p. 210.—E.

‡ Brother of the Earl of Hardwicke, and of Charles Yorke.

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Egmont himself resigned, telling the King he disapproved of Lord Chatham's foreign system, and should be afraid of embarrassing his Majesty's affairs. If they were to be debated in council, he could submit to the majority; but as he found one man was to have more weight than six,* he begged to be unemployed.

Lord Chatham was hurt at losing Saunders, one of his favourite and most successful admirals in the last war. Keppel,† too, intimated a like design of retiring. To prevent the one and recover the other, Lord Chatham, though sorely unwilling to raise Sir Charles Saunders above Sir Edward Hawke and Sir George Pocock, at last put the Admiralty into the hands of Saunders. Lord Granby was appointed Commander-in-chief, and Lord Ligonier quieted with an earldom—at near ninety, and with a reversion to his nephew of fifteen hundred pounds a-year of his pension. Even the promotion of Lord Granby was a portion of another bargain, the price of his father, the Duke of Rutland's, quitting Master of the Horse, which was given to Lord Hertford, that he might cede the government of Ireland to Lord Bristol. Nor was the post of master of the Horse sufficient: the King promised Lord Hertford should have the Chamberlain's staff on the next vacancy, which his Majesty added, he wished was then —a confirmation of his dislike of the Duke of Portland. Lord Hertford was too good a courtier not to acquiesce, or to be satisfied. He prevailed to have the borough of Orford then dependant on the Crown, where Lord Hertford had an estate, ceded to him,—a boon unprecedented, and that made much noise. The ill-conduct of the Court had reduced the Crown to little more than to be able to make changes; for it could scarce make an Administration, though both Houses were ready to support any that was made.

I ought to have mentioned that, in consequence of the Duke of Bedford's offers, the Admiralty, on Lord Egmont's demission, was offered to Lord Gower; Lord Chatham still deluding himself with the thought that he could detach any separate man from any connexion. But if men were grown more venal, they were grown, too, to understand their own interests better than to loosen their strength by separating themselves from powerful bodies; a single and temporary emolument could not compensate for the support of their friends. Lord Gower answered that he could not stand *alone* in so responsible a place, and was connected with none of the present Ministry.

Lord Frederic Campbell was removed, and Mr. Mackinsy restored to his ancient place.

However alert and peremptory Lord Chatham was in offending or promoting, domestic power by no means occupied his thoughts. The stocks had fallen on his accession, from the apprehension entertained

* The Cabinet Councils composed of the first Lord of the Treasury, the first Lord of the Admiralty, the two Secretaries of State, the Lord President, and the Commander in Chief; others are now and then added. Lord Chatham, as first Minister, was now necessarily one.

† Admiral Augustus Keppel, brother of Lord Albemarle.

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that he would hurry into war. Had his views succeeded, one cannot tell how soon it might have been his measure. I know certainly that he despatched emissaries to visit the frontier towns in France. His immediate and avowed purpose was to cement a union between England, Russia, and Prussia.

Baron de la Perriere,* the Sardinian Envoy, had given notice that the new Emperor† was much disinclined to the French system, and even disposed to break with that Court, beholding with an eye of discontent their possession of his hereditary dominion, Lorrain. It was expected that Count Kaunitz, his mother's Prime Minister, devoted to France, would retire.‡ I had sent notice of this favourable opening, and had repeated it at my return from Paris. A short time before the change in the Ministry, an event corroborated this intelligence. Count Seilern, the Austrian Ambassador, had opened himself freely to Mr. Conway, and said, if the latter would assure him that we neither had leagued, nor would league, with Prussia, his Court would enter into a defensive league with us against France. Mr. Conway replied, we could not advance so far at once, but assured him we were not, nor were likely to be, in league with Prussia. Seilern was to report this answer, and no reply was arrived when Mr. Pitt became Minister. The King had been so indiscreet as to tell Count Seilern in the drawing-room that Count Malzahn, the new Envoy from Berlin, had had his audience, and was the first foreign Minister that ever came to him without saying any thing personally civil.

Mr. Pitt, full of a grand northern alliance, without attending to the conjuncture, or above informing himself of the situation, immediately names Mr. Stanley§ Ambassador to Russia instead of Sir George Maccartney,‖ a personal favourite of the Czarina, and who had just concluded a treaty of commerce with her; and orders Stanley, in his way to St. Petersburg, to learn if the King of Prussia was disposed

* Son of the Comte de Virri, the late Envoy from Turin. Baron de la Perriere, who succeeded to his father's title, married Miss Speed, an Englishwoman, mentioned in Mr. Gray's long story, and was afterwards ambassador at Madrid and Paris.

† Joseph, second son of the Empress Queen Maria Theresa, and of Francis Duke of Lorrain, and Emperor.

‡ Count Kaunitz did not retire; he preserved his influence with occasional fluctuations during the life of Joseph, and he continued nominal Prime Minister until his own death in 1794.—E.

§ Hans Stanley, employed to negotiate the late peace.

‖ Sir George Maccartney had travelled with Lord Holland's eldest son. The Czarina obtained a Polish blue riband for him, which he afterwards laid aside on being made Knight of the Bath, while Secretary in Ireland to Lord Townshend, to whom he was recommended by Lord Bute, whose second daughter, Lady Jane Stuart, he married. [He subsequently filled many other employments, having been in succession Governor of Grenada, Governor of Madras, Ambassador to China, and Governor of the Cape of Good Hope. In 1794–5 he was created Earl Maccartney, and in 1796 an English Peer. He died in 1806. He had the merit of being amiable, disinterested, and well informed. His life has been written by his secretary Mr. John Barrow in 2 vols. 4to.—E.

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to enter into strict alliance with us. The King had acquiesced in this new arrangement, for he submitted even to treat with the King of Prussia, whom he hated, rather than not accommodate Lord Bute with a more favourable Administration. Conway was thunderstruck. He saw we should miss the opportunity of recovering the Court of Vienna, and expected nothing from Prussia. To add to the mortification, the nomination was made in his own office, and he not acquainted with it till it was done; nor had he been summoned to the Council in which it was declared. So little confidence to the confidential Minister looked ill, and prognosticated how entirely the new Earl intended to engross the sole direction. Conway wrote to Lord Chatham to beg Mr. Stanley's journey might not be precipitated, but debated in Council: if the King's servants should approve it, he should acquiesce. The Earl returned a very civil answer, and promised they should consult on it. The event was, the King of Prussia refused to receive Stanley's visit, and the Czarina did not like to admit an Ambassador. After a long delay, Stanley's embassy was laid aside*—the union with Austria was lost. These foreign disappointments, I believe, were the chief ingredients in the strange conduct of Lord Chatham that ensued. Peace was not his element; nor did his talent lie in those details that restore a nation by slow and wholesome progress. Of the finances he was utterly ignorant. If struck with some great idea, he neither knew how nor had patience to conduct it. He expected implicit assent—and he expected more, that other men should methodize and superintend, and bear the fatigue of carrying his measures into execution; and, what was worse, encounter the odium and danger of them, while he reposed and was to enjoy the honour, if successful. The history of the ensuing winter will justify every word here asserted. His conduct in the late war had been the same. He drew the plans, but left it to the Treasury to find the means; nor would listen to their difficulties, nor hold any rein over their ill-management.

While the attention of the great world was fixed on the political revolution, the people laboured under the dearness of corn and the apprehension of famine. The last two seasons had been particularly unfavourable; and though there was not absolute want, the farmers

* The letters that passed between Lord Chatham and his colleagues on the proposed Northern Alliance may be seen in the second volume of his Correspondence. The scheme was a noble one, and had probably been contemplated by Mr. Pitt during his former Administration, as it certainly would have been an appropriate termination of his brilliant prosecution of the war. Unhappily, Lord Bute's diplomacy had altered the feeling of foreign powers towards this country, and the King of Prussia, especially, was thoroughly alienated from British connexions—partly from personal resentment, partly from distrust of the strength of the Government. His Majesty received the proposal most ungraciously, and it certainly reflects no credit on Lord Chatham's discretion to have engaged in this difficult negotiation so precipitately. He had not even consulted Sir Andrew Mitchell, the minister at Berlin—his personal friend, and the person, above others, best qualified to furnish correct information as to the views of the King of Prussia.—E.

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kept back their corn, and would not bring it to market, in order to enhance the price. Great disturbances ensued in several counties: the mob rose, seized provisions by force, or obliged the venders to distribute them at the price fixed by the people. In some places they burnt the barns of those who concealed their corn, and committed other violences. The worst tumults were at Norwich and in the western counties, where the peace could only be preserved by quartering regiments in the most riotous districts. In this emergency, the Council advised the King, as Parliament was not sitting, to lay an embargo, by his own authority, on the exportation of corn; an extension of prerogative not used for a large number of years, but in a war, or on the imminent approach of one. The Duke of Newcastle attended the Council, and, to his honour, spoke heartily for a measure which checked the evil. Who would believe that so essential a remedy was converted into matter of blame? That it was, reflected honour on the Administration. Such crimes can only be found in a dearth of accusation.

The Earl of Northumberland, offended at the promotions of Lord Bristol and Lord Hertford, and that even the Chamberlain's staff was engaged to the latter, broke out in complaints to Lord Chatham, who, with a facility that seemed to imply a secret understanding, consented that he should be created a Duke. The King did not hesitate a moment; the same day heard the grievance and the indemnification. Lord Cardigan,* on an old promise, obtained by Lord Bute, that he should be a Duke whenever one was made, was raised to the same rank; but Lord Chatham, coupling it with a condition to both, that the one should take no employment, and the other resign the government of Windsor Castle, Lord Cardigan refused the increase of title, and would not part with his office, saying he thought titles were honours and rewards, not punishments. Lord Northumberland acquiesced, and obtained the precedence. The other being firm, carried his point, kept his place, and got the dukedom. Had Lord Chatham intended to bar solicitation for titles by so unpleasant a restriction, he had acted wisely; but relinquishing it in Lord Cardigan's case, it is probable that his sole view was to disculpate himself from the imputation of too open propensity to the Favourite's family. He offered an earldom to Lord Monson in lieu of his place, which the Earl designed for Mr. Popham; but Lord Monson would neither accept the title nor resign the office. Lord Grantham† was removed from the Post-office in favour of Mr. Prowse, who would not accept it, but the former was partly indemnified by his son Robinson being made a Lord of Trade.

In October Lord Chatham went to Bath, where I happened to be. He came to me, and we had a conversation of two hours. Nothing could be more frank and unreserved than his behaviour. He asked

* George Brudenel, Earl of Cardigan, had married the second daughter and coheiress of the last Duke of Montagu, and had taken the name of Montagu.

† Sir T. Robinson, Lord Grantham, formerly Secretary of State.

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me earnestly if I did not think that France, intended to keep peace with us? I replied, I was sure in the present distress of their circumstances they must keep it: and that I was as sure, from the terror I had seen they felt at *his* name, that they would be still more disposed to keep it now he was Minister. He lamented that we could get no allies; that he saw no day-light. The session he thought he should carry through easily. To flatter me he commended Mr. Conway highly, particularly for his Whiggism—"and am not I," said he, "Lord Camden, and Lord Shelburne, Whigs?" Yet he wished to take some of all parties. The Duke of Bedford, indeed, had made himself nobody. Lord Gower was considerable, and ought to be high. If the Duke and Duchess desired it, Rigby might be taken care of; but when Cabinet places were so scarce, they wanted one for Lord Weymouth—a very pretty man, Lord Weymouth!—but that could not be. He had been offered the embassy to Spain, but would not accept it; nor Postmaster, though it had been held by Lord Grantham, who had been Secretary of State. The King, he said, was very gracious to him, and he believed in earnest—and then dropped these remarkable words: "If I was in possession of the citadel of Lisle, and was told there was a mine under my feet, I would say, I do not believe it." His opinion of his Majesty's sincerity was therefore exactly the same as mine. I took great pains to cultivate harmony between him and Mr. Conway, because I feared it was little likely to last.

The negotiation with the Duke of Bedford had been renewed at Bath by Lord Northington and Mr. Nugent. The Duke himself came thither and they had an interview, in which Lord Chatham desired artfully to open himself to his Grace, and declared against Continental measures, subsidies, &c. (the very objects in which he had been disappointed, but against which the Duke's humour then lay.) They could not agree on Lord Weymouth, which made the Duke profess his unwillingness to abandon his friends, though ready to abandon them if that point had been accorded. However, Lord Chatham had made so much impression that, on the Duke's return to London, and being instantly beset by Grenville, the Duke said he was unpopular enough already, and would not be torn to pieces for condemning the embargo on corn. He would vote for the Address, and insisted that Rigby should. The latter begged to go out of town, and said to his friends that Lord Chatham had duped the Duke of Bedford, and the King Lord Gower, who had been particularly distinguished at Court; and that they were undone if they voted with the Administration before their bargain was made.

Lord Temple and Lord Lyttelton went to the Lord Mayor's feast, but were totally neglected by the citizens.

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CHAPTER XLV.

Debates on the Embargo laid on Corn.—Party Tactics.—Walpole exerts himself to prevent Conway from resigning.—View of Lord Chatham's Conduct.

On the 11th of November the Parliament met. Lord Suffolk opposed the Address of the Lords, and the debate turned on the illegality of the late Act of Council that had directed the embargo; the Opposition censuring the Ministers for not having called the Parliament to that end. To urge that the necessity had been pressing, that the delay necessarily attendant on issuing writs, on assembling the members, on passing the Bill, would have wasted the time, while the merchants who had contracted to send corn abroad would have taken advantage of such protraction and sent away their corn—and thus the evil would not have been prevented by paying too scrupulous regard to forms—these reasons did not satisfy men who would have found greater fault if the evil had not been prevented. The Duke of Bedford was more moderate, but wished the Parliament had been assembled. Lord Chatham, for the first time of his appearing in that House, spoke with coolness, dignity, and art, declaring that if any man was personal to him, or revived stories past, he should take no notice of them. This seemed to check Lord Temple's heat, who, though severe in arraigning, forbore invectives against Lord Chatham; but proposed (as Mr. Grenville did in the other House) to issue 200,000*l.* from the Treasury for the relief of the poor—a vain attempt at popularity, and deservedly ridiculed. Lord Northington, with great boldness and defiance, said, he disclaimed accepting any pardon for the part he had acted in advising the embargo, and held law-books cheap when weighed against such a crisis. For himself he had acted on a larger scale. He concluded with haranguing against disunion. Lord Temple reminded him that two years before, he had declared unanimity was destructive. Lord Mansfield, from aversion to Lord Chatham and his Chancellor Camden, was now the advocate of the Constitution. The Act of Council he maintained was illegal, though he said he would give no opinion as the case might come before him in judgment, many suits being commenced, he heard, against officers of the customs for detaining corn from exportation on the authority of the Council's order. Prerogative! there was no such thing: the King could do nothing but by law; was only free from arrest for debt,—truths that were scandalous in the mouth of a man whose soul was sold to Despotism. Lord Camden answered

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with firmness, and with sharp irony, on the new Whiggism of the Chief Justice. Himself, he said, had always been Whig, and should continue so. If it was not yet in our laws, it ought to be so, that *salus populi suprema lex*. If this Act was a stretch of prerogative, *it was but a tyranny of forty days*. This sentence drew much censure—ridiculously so. In every Government there is—must be—a supreme power to exert itself when evils are too mighty for the common channel of law to divert. That power must have relieved the people, or they would have relieved themselves; for men will not starve, if you tell them there is no law that can help them. The very phrase, too, *of forty days* implied that liberty preceded and succeeded to that transient tyranny. It is when unlimited that tyranny is dreadful. The sentence, however, proved the text on which the following libels were preached for some months. Lord Mansfield was daunted, and retracted, and the House rose without a division.*

In the other House Mr. Grenville held forth on the illegality, and abused Mr. Conway, not for intention, but for ignorance and blunders. Burke spoke finely on the same side; but they could not attempt a division, the Duke of Bedford's people having absented themselves. The Tories, however, exclaimed against Lord Camden's dispensing power; a clamour that manifested their own principles. The Whigs dread the prerogative being used *against* the people; the Tories, it should seem, *for* the people.

The schism raised in the Opposition by the Duke of Bedford's defection, and the general inclination attached to the late Ministers to close with Lord Chatham, had discouraged almost all thoughts of opposition. Grenville and his dozen of followers in vain attempted to rekindle it, and though Lord Rockingham wished to figure as leader of a party even out of place, and Burke, an adventurer, was to push his way by distinguishing himself as a formidable antagonist; yet the decency of that set of men was such, even of Lord John Cavendish, that they did not care to fly out. They retained much deference for Mr. Conway; and too many of their friends remained still in place, whom they might displease and lose, and without whom their numbers would be inconsiderable. They had acted, too, with such recent animosity to George Grenville, that it was a bitter resource to join his standard: nor were he and Lord Rockingham compatible, the Treasury being the object which neither would cede to the other. So forlorn a prospect deadened all factious spirit; Lord Temple went out of town. The Dukes of Bedford and Richmond were to go on the 19th; and though some scanty forces might rally after Christmas, all who waited to judge from the size of the majority whether duration might be expected to the present Ministry, would probably by that time have enlisted themselves in the troops of the Court. This moment, fortunate beyond all calculation, did Lord Chatham pitch upon to do the wildest of acts for

* Vide Parl. Hist. p. 251, for an eloquent summary of the arguments against the suspending and dispensing prerogative.—E.

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the silliest of reasons. Without waiting to let so prosperous a conjuncture ripen into a system, he seemed to take a fortuitous concurrence of circumstances for established power; and though the predominant influence of the Court preserved him from falling, he involved himself in such a labyrinth of difficulties, that he found no other way of extricating himself than by a conduct more preposterous than the series of imprudence which had drawn him into his perplexed situation. I must now relate what he lost and for whom.

There was a nephew, of the Duke of Newcastle who when the Whigs had broken with the Court and sought to place Lord Chatham at their head, had attached himself particularly to that chieftain. Lord Lincoln,* the other nephew of the Duke, had quarrelled, as I have said, indecently and ungratefully with his uncle. Mr. Shelley,† the hero of the present episode, had copied that ingratitude, and for no worthier reason than because a peerage, to which he had no pretensions, had not been added to the boons his lavish uncle had already heaped on him, had joined himself to his cousin. But Mr. Pitt was his standard; and, furnishing himself with scraps of that orator's new-coined diction, he retailed them on the most ordinary occurrences; so that as Mr. Pitt was called *the Great Commoner*, the nickname of *the Little Commoner* was bestowed on Shelley in ridicule.‡ This insignificant person did Lord Chatham, to gratify Lord Lincoln, design for Treasurer of the Household. Mr. Conway had remonstrated against the dismission of Lord Edgcumbe,§ who held that staff, insisting that an equivalent, at least, should be given to Lord Edgcumbe, and with his consent. This had passed about a month before the meeting of the Parliament, and Lord Chatham said no more at that time. But six days after the opening of the session, Lord Shelburne, being with Mr. Conway, said, "I wish you would tell me how to write a civil letter to Lord Edgcumbe." Conway started, and asked on what occasion? "To notify his dismission," replied the other. Lord Chatham, it seems, had offered a Lordship of the Bed-chamber to Lord Edgcumbe, a man of forty-five, very high in the Navy, who had served with reputation in Lord Chatham's favourite war, and who, into a place only fit for a boy, must have entered below thirteen other boys! Lord Edgcumbe very properly declining such a post, Lord Chatham affected to resent it as an affront to the King, and wrote a verbose notification of

* Henry Clinton, Earl of Lincoln, Knight of the Garter, and afterwards Duke of Newcastle.

† John, only son of Sir John Shelley, (whom he succeeded in the baronetage,) by Margaret Pelham, his second wife, sister of Thomas Duke of Newcastle.

‡ Sir John Shelley had also a personal claim on Lord Chatham, for although on confidential terms with Lord Temple, he had not followed that nobleman into Opposition. He died in 1783.—E.

§ George, third Lord Edgcumbe, [and first Earl Edgcumbe, distinguished himself on some occasions in the navy, and rose to the rank of Rear-Admiral of the Blue in 1762. Before entering the House of Lords, which he did in 1761, he sat in the Commons for Fowey. At his death which happened in 1795, he was Admiral of the Blue, Lord-Lieutenant of the County of Cornwall, &c. &c.—E.]

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the refusal to Mr. Conway, with frequent repetitions of his Majesty's name and intentions. Conway, wounded at the treatment both of himself and Lord Edgcumbe, wrote a firm answer, justifying the latter.* Lord Rockingham, getting wind of this transaction, hurried to Mr. Conway, artfully reminding him that the late Duke of Devonshire, at his death, had recommended Lord Edgcumbe to the Duke of Cumberland; and that Lord Edgcumbe himself had lately, at Mr. Conway's request, chosen his nephew, Lord Beauchamp,† into Parliament.‡ But Lord Chatham's own conduct exasperated Conway more than any incendiary could. He wrote again to Conway imputing all to the King's intentions and to the necessity of accommodation. He could not have assigned a weaker reason. Shelley would not even have a seat in Parliament, for the Duke of Newcastle refused to re-elect him. Lord Edgcumbe commanded four boroughs, and it was within a year of the general election. Instead of replying by letter, Conway went and expostulated with Lord Chatham on the ill-usage of his friend, and of the silence of himself, desiring to retire; did not mean to oppose, but thought that the Government could do without him now Charles Townshend was in their service. Lord Chatham talked of his desire of pleasing all parties by taking some of all: some Bedfords—Burke, to please Lord Rockingham—(but Burke had said he would take nothing but on proviso of resigning, if Lord Rockingham went into Opposition—though, as the Duke of Grafton told me, Burke would not have been obdurate if his demands had not been too extravagant)—Norton—Conway remonstrated—Lord Chatham rejoined, "only in case of a vacancy, perhaps Master of the Rolls, if the present should die."

While this matter was in suspense, Mr. Conway moved the House of Commons for leave to bring in a bill in favour of *all* who had acted under the Order of Council for restraining exportation of grain. Grenville said the motion was not adequate to the case: the indemnity ought to extend to the Privy Council, as had been customary in the reign of Charles II., and at the Revolution. Yet he would not then propose the amendment; would wait to see the bill. If he should not find the extension there, that great question would and should be discussed. Burke, more moderate, said, it would be sufficient if the preamble specified, *all those who had counselled or advised.* Beckford, to disculpate the Chancellor, said, *in times of danger the Crown might dispense with law.* Grenville started up, and demanded that the clerk should take down those words. Beckford said, he was glad to see that gentleman so zealous for liberty *at present*, but that he had interrupted him before he had finished his sentence; that he was going to add, *by the advice of his Council, for the salus populi.* Grenville demanded that those words should

* This letter—a very creditable one to Mr. Conway's feelings and good sense, is printed in the Chatham Correspondence, vol. iii. p. 126.—E.

† Francis Seymour Conway, son of Francis Earl of Hertford.

‡ Lord Edgcumbe, had great weight in Devonshire and Cornwall.

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be taken down too. Several interposed, and desired that Beckford might have leave to explain himself. Grenville said, he aimed at the doctrine, not the person. Beckford pleaded ignorance, and that he was not one of the docti. Nugent replied, that the House had often been witness to his ignorance. "But, sir," said he, "I exaggerate his ignorance to excuse him." Hussey, a very honest man, and who had refused any preferment, though an intimate friend of the Chancellor, stated an explanation of Beckford's meaning, which, indeed, was totally the reverse, and a full definition of liberty against a dispensing power, which the House accepted. I went home with Mr. Conway, and though I entirely approved what the Council had done, yet as precedents of power cannot be too strongly guarded against, I begged him, as Hussey had advised, to obtain a firm declaration against a dispensing power in the preamble to the bill. He was zealously of that opinion, and said he would. I told him, if Lord Chatham objected, *that* would be a much more laudable and wise subject for breaking with him, than on the private case of Lord Edgcumbe, which the world would consider but as a squabble about places and power. The Duke of Richmond and Burke tried to persuade me that Mr. Conway ought to break on Lord Edgcumbe, as their friends would desert the party, if the party did not resent the ill-treatment of individuals. I replied, I would neither flatter his Grace, nor Lord Rockingham; that, next to my country, I consulted Mr. Conway's honour, and desired they should know it. That Mr. Conway could not break for Lord Edgcumbe, when he had not quarrelled with Lord Chatham on the Duke of Richmond's account. That if he quarrelled on some constitutional point, he would bring double strength to the party. To break on persons might be called faction; and I thought too well of his friends to believe they would leave him. Hitherto they had not been very considerable; but their conduct in Administration, and their quiet behaviour since out of place, would give them new importance. That they said, Lord Chatham wanted to ruin their party; he might, but was recruiting them. That he would reduce himself to be dependent on Lord Bute, and would become of no consequence.—I did not persuade them, nor they me.

Lord Edgcumbe conducted himself with singular temper, being, in truth, desirous of an indemnification, which he told Mr. Conway he would still accept. The latter tried to obtain an earldom for him. Lord Chatham refused it with much verbiage, and pleaded the honour of the King engaged, and that himself had always determined to break all parties; and a wise method* he took, no doubt, by declaring that intention! It was not much wiser when he conde-

* It was a wise intention in no light. Parties are the preservative of a free Government. The King and Lord Mansfield succeeded, though Lord Chatham did not, in breaking all parties; and what was the consequence? that every body ran to the Court, and voted for whatever the Court desired. Lord Chatham, who forfeited his popularity, and set all parties at defiance, sank into an individual of no importance.

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scended to intimate that he would offer something to Lord Edgcumbe, but not for some days, lest he should seem to be forced. Lord John Cavendish said to me, he supposed Lord Chatham would not yield. I replied, Certainly not; but if he would, we should have a great triumph. This was to reconcile them to it in case the offer came. He told me the Duke of Portland and Lord Besborough would resign, unless Mr. Conway should desire them not. I understood this; it was an artifice to lay him under stronger obligations to them. Lord Besborough, extremely unwilling to resign, offered to give up the Post-office to Lord Edgcumbe, and, though a place he should dislike, (for he was still an older man,) to take the Bed-chamber himself. Mr. Conway, charmed, as thinking this would accommodate every thing, immediately sent word of it to the Duke of Grafton; but in a little hour received from Lord Chatham a haughty and despotic answer, *that he would not suffer connexions to force the King*. Mr. Conway, losing all patience, wrote to the Duke of Grafton, *that such language had never been held west of Constantinople*. Still, however, to prevent the rupture, I persuaded him to soften the expression to *in this country;* and insinuated to him, that Lord Besborough's offer was a snare laid by Lord John, and conceived from my having told him that Lord Chatham would certainly not bend.

On the 22d the Duke of Grafton told Mr. Conway that Lord Chatham had no objection to his proposing any thing to the King in favour of Lord Edgcumbe, but would not himself: and the Duke added, If the King would still grant it. This made me fear another repulse. Mr. Conway, however, who scorned to bend to Lord Chatham's haughtiness, desired his brother to ask an audience of the King, in order to make the proposals. Yet I obtained a delay till I should try to prevail on Lord Edgcumbe to accept the Bed-chamber. In the mean time I met Lord Rockingham, who, taking me aside, laughed at the idea of Lord Besborough's proposal; said it was a joke, and that Lord Chatham would only have laughed at them for it. I said, very seriously, "What, my lord, have you sent Mr. Conway on a fool's errand, and now disavow him?" He replied, the party knew nothing of it. Lord Besborough had done it from himself to prevent a rupture. I said, Mr. Conway had received the proposal from the Duke of Portland. He said, he was sure not: yet so it proved. He pressed me earnestly to encourage Mr. Conway to resign. I said I could not take upon me to advise him to give up all he had. He laughed and said, it could not be for long; every thing came round in this country. I replied, "Your Lordship, with twenty thousand pounds a-year, talks very much at your ease; but Mr. Conway would have nothing in the world, and would not go into Opposition to recover his fortune. He has told both Lord Chatham and the Duke of Grafton that he will not oppose." This conversation was so ill taken, which was indifferent to me, that it broke off all correspondence between me and Lord Rockingham. I went to Mr. Conway and represented to him that they were trying to dupe

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him: that they now disavowed him, as they had done on Lord Chatham's visit to the Marquis; and I added, that though Lord Rockingham affected to resent so warmly for him the treatment of Lord Chatham, his Lordship had treated him in the same manner the last spring on the establishment for the Princes. I wished to stop Mr. Conway from resigning till Lord Chatham should have gained the Bedfords from George Grenville; I wished to give Grenville time to involve himself in further declarations for liberty; I wished Mr. Conway to have a regiment again, which I had been the cause of his losing; and I was not unwilling to convince Lord Rockingham and Lord John Cavendish that Mr. Conway was not to receive orders from them. Of these four points, of which the second in truth would have availed little* but to disgrace Grenville if he returned to power, I accomplished all but one; and it will be soon seen that that, like many other prudential views, was defeated solely by the mismanagement of Lord Chatham. Wearisome contests it cost me for six months to prevent Mr. Conway's resignation; and though I succeeded, and afterwards shut the door both on Grenville and Lord Rockingham, the person† who profited of my fatigues, and of the credit I had with Mr. Conway, proved so unworthy; and so sick did I grow both of that person and of the fatigues I underwent, that I totally withdrew myself from the scene of politics, and tasted far more satisfaction in my retreat than I had done in the warmest moments of success and triumph. The joys of a private station present themselves—are bought by no anxiety. I never found pleasures answer that were purchased by trouble. It is like many moral aphorisms, a theme for poets, untrue in practice.

All proposals of accommodations proving fruitless,‡ Lord Edgcumbe was dismissed, and his staff placed in Shelley's hands. The wound rankled so deeply in Mr. Conway's bosom, that he dropped all intercourse with Lord Chatham; and though he continued to conduct the King's business in the House of Commons, he would neither receive nor pay any deference to the Minister's orders, acting for or against, as he approved or disliked his measures;—a scorn that became his character, and which he supported with very different

* It did avail so much, that Grenville fabricated, during his Opposition, the famous bill for trying elections by Select Committees, likely to give a sore wound to the influence of the Crown, but which, hoping to return to power, he limited in its duration; but it has since been made permanent.

† The Duke of Grafton.

‡ Lord Chatham did not long preserve his power, and Lord Edgcumbe soon came into place again, having first revenged himself on the Earl in this humourous epigram,—

Says Gouty* to Gawkee,† pray what do you mean?
Says Gawkee to Gouty, to mob King and Queen.
Says Gawkee to Gouty, pray what 's your intention?
Says Gouty to Gawkee, to double my pension.

* Lord Chatham.

† Lord Temple.

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dignity from that of Lord Chatham, whose tone being fictitious and assumed, could not bear him out in the implicit obedience he expected. Like oracles and groves, whose sanctity depended on the fears of the devout, and whose mysterious and holy gloom vanished as soon as men dared to think and walk through them, Lord Chatham's authority ceased with his popularity; and his godhead, when he had affronted his priests.

In all his actions was discernible an imitation of his model, Ximenes; a model ill-suited to a free government, and worse to a man whose situation and necessities were totally different. Was the poor monk thwarted or disgraced, the asylum of his convent was open; and a cardinal, who was clothed in a hair-cloth at Court, missed no fine linen, no luxury, in his cloister. Lord Chatham was as abstemious in his diet; but mixed Persian grandeur with herbs and roots. His equipages and train were too expensive for his highest zenith of wealth, and he maintained them when out of place and overwhelmed with debts; a wife and children were strange impediments to a Ximenes. Grandeur, show, and a pension, could not wrestle with an opulent and independent nobility, nor could he buy them, though he had sold himself. His services to his country were far above those of Ximenes, who trampled on Castilian pride but to sacrifice it to the monarch of Castile. Lord Chatham had recalled the spirit of a brave nation, had given it victory and glory, and victory secured its liberty. As Ximenes had no such objects, the inflexibility of Ximenes was below the imitation of Camillus. It was mean ambition to stoop from humbling the crowned heads of France and Spain, to contend with proud individuals and the arrogance of factions—at least, would a real great man have doted on a coronet, who prided himself in lowering the peerage? Lord Chatham had been the arbiter of Europe; he affected to be the master of the English nobility: he failed, and remained with a train of domestics whom he could not pay. More like Nicholas Rienzi than Ximenes, the lord of Rome became ridiculous by apeing the tawdry pageant of a triumph. Yet, as what is here said is the voice of truth, not the hiss of satire, British posterity will ever remember that, as Lord Chatham's first Administration obtained and secured the most real and substantial benefits to his country, the puerilities of his second could not efface their lustre. The man was lessened, not his merits. Even the shameful peace of Paris, concluded in defiance of him, could not rob the nation of all he had acquired; nor could George the Third resign so much as Pitt had gained for George the Second. Half the empire of Indostan, conquered under his Administration by the spirit he had infused, still pours its treasures into the Thames. Canada was subdued by his councils, and Spain and France—that yet dread his name, attest the reality of his services. The memory of his eloquence, which effected all these wonders, will remain when the neglect of his cotemporaries, and my criticisms, will be forgotten. Yet it was the duty of an annalist, and of a painter of nature, to exhibit the varying features of his portrait. The lights and shades of

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a great character are a moral lesson. Philosophy loves to study the man more than the hero or the statesman; and whether his qualities were real or fictitious, his actions were so illustrious, that few names in the registers of Time will excite more curiosity than that of William Pitt.

When Mr. Conway presented the Bill of Indemnity to the House, he ushered it in with strong declarations against the Chancellor's doctrine of necessity justifying a dispensing power. He was much applauded by Grenville for extending the Indemnity to the Council, the latter inveighing against Lord Camden, and ascribing his tenets to folly, ignorance, weakness, and wickedness, such as cost Charles I. his life, and James II. his crown. Conway, who felt that himself had gone too far, took that opportunity of apologizing for the Chancellor, who, he said, he believed was no friend to a dispensing power in an odious light: the dispensing power claimed by Charles and James had not been founded on necessity. The Bill was ordered to be printed. After the debate I asked Lord John Cavendish if it was not more desirable to have the dispensing power condemned by a Minister than by a man in Opposition?

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CHAPTER XLVI.

Lord Chatham proposes to examine the East India Company's Affairs.—His unaccountable Conduct.—More signs of Weakness in the Cabinet.—Negotiation with the Duke of Bedford.—Bill of Indemnity.—Debates on the East India Question.—Attack on Lord Chatham in the House of Lords by the Duke of Richmond.

THESE petty politics were soon absorbed in the consideration of a more momentous and more arduous affair. Restrained as Lord Chatham's genius was by the tranquillity of Europe, and impeded as his plan had been, by his own want of conduct, his soul was still expanding itself towards greater objects. With indignation, he beheld three Indian provinces, an empire themselves, in the hands of a company of merchants who, authorized by their charter to traffic on the coast, had usurped so mighty a portion of his dominions from the Prince who permitted their commerce with his subjects. By what horrid treachery, fraud, violence, and blood the Company's servants had stridden to such aggrandizement, was not a question a Minister was likely to ask. It is the cool humane man, who had no power to punish and redress such crimes, who alone reasons *on the manner*, *how*, and *the right* by which such acquisitions are obtained. The stupendous fortunes created by individuals struck more forcibly on the political eye of Lord Chatham. Above any view of sharing the plunder himself, he saw a prey that tempted him to make it more his country's. By threats to intimidate the Company, and incline them to offer largely towards the necessities of Government, was the least part of his idea. Such a tribute would stand in the place of new taxes, or relieve the debts on the Civil List; could he induce the Parliament to think the Company had exceeded the powers of their charter, the whole property of their territorial acquisitions might be deemed forfeited to the Crown; this would be a bribe with which few Ministers could purchase the smiles of their master. Nor could common sense find a flaw in the reasoning. Could it be intended, what country ever meant by granting a charter for trading and building forts to secure their magazines, say, even by allowing them to defend themselves against open hostilities; could it be understood, I ask, that such a charter gave up the dominion of whole provinces to a set of private merchants—of three provinces more ample than the extent of the country which bestowed the charter? The event could not be foreseen—it could not be foretold by prophecy's wildest ima-

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gination; but if common sense could not answer the question, self-interest could. What! invade property!—those two words, *Invasion of Property*, branched into every subtlety that law could furnish. And as it has been well said,* *that in England all abuses are freeholds*, most of those that had property in the East India Company, most of those who had any other property, and all who enjoyed any property by abuses, took the alarm; and they who desired to obstruct any measures of Government, were sedulous not to let the panic cool.

But if the plan was great and bold, the execution was mean and unworthy of the conception. The man who traced the design, shrank from it himself; and having tossed it into the world, left it to be carried through by other hands. He grew mysterious; he would not declare what he wished—Parliament must decide—but his anger awaited those who should even decline guessing at his purpose. I feel while I write that I shall scarce be credited: yet both words and matter cannot be more strictly true. Lord Chatham would not utter his will or wish; yet neither obstacles nor remonstrance could extort a syllable of relaxation from him; but I must take the matter a little higher, and relate it more historically.

So early as the 28th of August the Cabinet Council had sent for the Governors of the East India Company, and advised them to be prepared, for Parliament would certainly inquire into the state of their acquisitions in Bengal. The Governors asked if the Administration intended to carry the affair thither? They were told that the Ministers had not determined to proceed so far, but did not mean to preclude themselves from doing so. Thus the affair had been left. The Company were to be alarmed; the nation to be tempted to look into the matter. The Company, no doubt, were alarmed accordingly; but the nation with folded arms awaited the event, not apt of late to forerun Ministers in what they declare they meditate themselves.

In this uncommunicated state the dictator had left the business, and the Parliament had met without his assigning their departments in the action to any of the Ministers—not to the Duke of Grafton himself, the head of the Treasury, and who, though as a peer not qualified to conduct the plan through the House of Commons, yet was the person who must superintend and transact an affair which, whether in a greater or less proportion, was ultimately to centre in the revenue, had he disclosed how far he meant or wished to go. In the mean time had intervened the episode of Lord Edgcumbe; and Conway, the acting Minister in the House of Commons, had been disgusted. Never officious to thrust himself into business, and now indisposed to the great projector, he neither was ambitious to receive orders, nor forward to apply for them at the fountain-head: yet being well disposed to the plan, and, at least, too much versed in business not to know the propriety of digesting so very daring a scheme before it was thrown into the House of Commons, where, had there been no men of ill intention,

* By Mr. Richard Bentley, son of Dr. Bentley.

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still a rude design must create confusion and impediment, he had pressed earnestly to have it well considered in Council, before it was introduced into Parliament. His prayers and remonstrances were vain; and though Lord Chatham depended on him for the conduct of the Ministerial part, he would not deign to impart a ray of instruction. There was another man still more necessary perhaps to the progress of a scheme of a monied nature; and that was the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Charles Townshend. But him Lord Chatham neither trusted nor considered but as the mere slave of his orders. Be it so; yet could it be imagined that instead of employing either Secretary of State or Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Minister should have consigned his darling scheme to a private man—and that man the most absurd, and of as little weight as any member in the House of Commons? So the fact was, and so must I recount it. But ere the project was opened, it was known that the versatile genius of the Chancellor of the Exchequer was playing tricks and endeavouring to obstruct the measure yet in embryo. Conway, zealous for extracting some national advantage, from the prosperous state of the Company's affairs, laboured to surmount Townshend's objections, and assembled a council at his own house to debate the point with him. Lord Chatham flamed at the notice of Townshend's adverse conduct, and vowed himself would resign, or Townshend should be turned out; and he resented Conway's interfering to serve him without his direction. Yet ere the business came to any conclusion, Townshend exhibited many doubts: though for once his inconsistencies and treachery were not solely dictated by unsteadiness. It became known that his frequent fluctuations in the course of the affair were so many wiles to raise or lower the stock in which he was dealing, and which the Chancellor of the Exchequer could extremely agitate and depress as he pleased.

On the 25th the plan was first intimated to the House by Lord Chatham's confidant, Alderman Beckford, who moved to take into consideration the state of the East India Company's affairs. Men were amazed to see a machine of such magnitude entrusted to so wild a charioteer. Wedderburne and Charles Yorke opposed the motion. The Whigs deserted Mr. Conway who supported it, by the mouth of their spokesman, Lord John Cavendish, though he paid profuse compliments to the latter. Burke and Grenville appeared as opponents, too, and the violation of the property was sounded high. Yet the motion was carried by 129 to 76, Charles Townshend speaking for it, and the Duke of Bedford's friends staying away.* The wind, however, of this transaction, and the dissensions that had sprung up from the dismission of Lord Edgcumbe, brought Lord Temple back to

* According to Mr. Flood, there was little concert, and not much ability shown by the Government in this debate, except in the speech of Townshend, which was "very artful, conciliatory, able, and eloquent. He stated the matter quite anew, disclaiming the officious expressions used by Beckford."—(Chatham Correspondence, vol. iii. p. 144, note.)—E.

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town. Grenville painted the East Indian business to Rigby as a mine in which Lord Chatham must blow himself up; and that idea was impressed more deeply by Lord Northington, who said to Lord Gower, "There are four parties, Bute's, Bedford's, Rockingham's, and Chatham's, and we (the last) are the weakest of the four."

On the 27th of November the Duke of Portland, Lord Scarborough, Lord Besborough, and Lord Monson, resigned their employments. The King immediately appointed Lord Hertford Lord Chamberlain; but told him that, knowing his brother's delicacy on the preferment of his relations, he had hidden the stick and key, while Mr. Conway, who had just been with him, was in the closet.

This defection of the Rockingham party, of whom scarce a dozen* remained in connexion with the Court, reduced Lord Chatham, who had defeated his own purpose of dividing them, to look out for new strength. There remained Lord Bute's and the Duke of Bedford's factions. He approached towards both; but so coldly, and with such limited steps, that he acquired neither, and fixed the last in more open opposition. By preferring a few of the Favourite's creatures, he drew odium on himself, without doing enough to engage their real attachment, the very rock on which his predecessors had split, though their more reluctant offers having arrived too late, they had escaped the imputation of stooping to servile conditions. Lord Chatham's conduct towards the Bedfords was as void of dexterity as his treatment of the Rockingham party.

The very evening of the resignations he sent for Lord Gower, and offered to make him Master of the Horse, and to connect with the Duke of Bedford; but telling him that if they declined his offers, he could stand without them. With regard to Mr. Rigby, he had talked so hostilely on the East Indian affair, that he must explain his conduct before any thing could be done for him. Lord Gower, impatient to return to Court, jealous of Rigby's influence over his sister, the Duchess, and satisfied with such fair terms for himself, gladly accepted the commission, and set out next morning for Woburn to open it to the Duke of Bedford and obtain his acquiescence.

Rigby, in the mean time, whether apprehending that the wildness

* Of these were the two Onslows, the Townshends, and T. Pelham, all connected with and related to the Duke of Newcastle, who, though sedulous in promoting the resignations, could not prevail on his own family to quit, some of them having during their opposition attached themselves particularly to Lord Chatham. A few more were friends of the Duke of Grafton. Yet with these losses, Lord Rockingham's party remained a very respectable body for numbers and property. The weakness and incorrigible ambition of their chief, the obstinacy of Lord John Cavendish, the want of judgment in Burke, their own too great delicacy, and the abandoned venality of the age, reduced them to be of no consequence, as will appear: but the Duke of Newcastle's impotent lust of power, Lord Holland's daring and well-timed profligacy, Lord Chatham's haughty folly, and Lord Temple's unprincipled and selfish thirst of greatness, had baffled all opposition, had counterworked Lord Bute's incapacity and cowardice; and altogether so smoothed the way, that Lord Mansfield's superior cowardice and superior abilities at last ventured to act and effect almost all the mischief he burnt to execute against the noblest and happiest Constitution in the world.—Sept. 16th, 1774.

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of Lord Chatham would overturn him, or over-persuaded by Grenville, or rather hoping no great emolument for himself, from Lord Chatham's neglect of him and application through another, had preceded Lord Gower, and got to Woburn over night. He found the Duchess as eager as her brother to return to Court, and the Duke prepared by her not to listen to his objections. The next day he had the mortification of seeing Lord Gower arrive, and of hearing the suspension imposed on himself till he should correct his behaviour. Deaf to his arguments and interest, the whole family accepted with thankfulness Lord Chatham's overtures, and Lord Gower was remanded to town to notify their consent and the Duke's intention to follow and ratify the treaty. Rigby remained a day behind, but could not recall the Duke from the alacrity with which he hurried to London.

But even before Lord Gower could arrive there, Lord Chatham, who rarely deigned to impart his measures to the rest of the Ministers, had now, with still less prudence, notified to the Council his offers to the Bedfords, in the style of one sure of their being accepted. At the same time speaking of the resigners, he said, they were only the remnant of the late Duke of Cumberland's party. Conway fired at the expression, and said he would hear no such language, nor ever bear disrespectful mention of the Duke of Cumberland's name. Lord Chatham retracted; if he had not, Mr. Conway protested to me he would have left the Council and returned to it no more.

Lord Gower had gone on the Friday, and returned the next day with the Duke of Bedford's assent; and the Duke himself arrived on the Monday. Yet, in that little interval, considerable events had happened, and a far more considerable imprudence of Lord Chatham. Admiral Saunders, a most gallant, but weak man, governed by Admiral Keppel and Lord Albemarle, had been persuaded by them to throw up his post of First Lord of the Admiralty, and join his old friends the Rockinghams.* The blow was heavy on Lord Chatham, but facilitated his treaty with the Bedfords, as he had thereby a Cabinet-Counsellor's place to offer them. Instead of profiting of the opportunity, and as if the Bedford-faction were men easily satisfied, and with trifles, he would not wait for the Duke, but filled up the Admiralty with Sir Edward Hawke, Sir Piercy Brett, and Jenkinson—the last two in the room of Sir William Meredith and Keppel, resigners; at the same time causing Keppel to be struck out of the King's Bed-chamber. Sir Edward Hawke had as much merit in his profession and to his country as man could have, but no moment of rewarding him could have been more imprudently taken.

* A spirited character of Saunders is given in Walpole's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 394. His services at Quebec had endeared him to Lord Chatham, and their political connexion was renewed upon his Lordship's retirement from office. A pleasing letter from him is printed in the Chatham Correspondence, vol. iv. p. 231, on his presenting his portrait for the ball-room at Burton Veyncourt in 1772. He died three years after, deservedly lamented both in his profession, and by the country.—E.

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Though the place might have been destined for him, still the faith of negotiation ought to have been observed till Lord Chatham could have satisfied the Bedfords and agreed with them on that disposition. And where was the policy of warning them that he meant to admit them into no office of confidence?

Rigby, too alert and too artful to let slip an incident so favourable to his inclination, and who saw from this step how little would be allotted to his party, and aware, from the treatment of the Rockinghams, that Lord Chatham meant little more than to break the Bedford connexion, too, inflamed the Duke of Bedford and all their friends with the indignity offered to them in the very hour of treaty. The Duchess had been left at Woburn, trusting to the impression she had made on her husband, whom she was now as solicitous to recover from Rigby's influence, as in their younger intimacy she had been to place him there. Her security betrayed her; the Duke caught fire; and he who had thought the most bounded terms satisfactory, was now persuaded to carry to Lord Chatham a list of demands that comprehended half the employments in the Court-calendar, besides peerages for some of his friends.* Such enormous terms Rigby knew would not be granted; but the demand would palliate to their friends the total sacrifice that would have been made of them if he and one or two more had found their account in the first proposals. Lord Chatham received his Grace's extravagant list, but told him he did not believe the King would comply with his demands. The next day he waited on the Duke and informed him that his Majesty was willing to make his son, Lord Tavistock a peer: to appoint Lord Gower Master of the Horse, and Mr. Rigby Cofferer; but as for entering on other particulars of places and peerages, his Majesty would not hear of them. The Duke begged his Majesty might be thanked for his goodness to his son, but said his friends could not think of accepting on such terms.† Thus an end was put at once to the negotiation. In the list had been asked posts of Cabinet Counsellor for Lord Gower, Lord Sandwich, Lord Weymouth, and the Duke of Marlborough, or the first vacant garter for the latter (the Duke's son-in-law) after the King's brother, Henry, the new Duke of Cumberland, and peerages for Lord Lorne, and Mr. Brand,‡ though the Duke of Bedford, at the commencement of the treaty, had positively refused the former to solicit for him.§

* The Duke of Bedford left an interesting account of this negotiation in his private journal. See Cavendish's Debates, vol. i. pp. 591, 596, giving more full details than this book could admit. It confirms the essential parts of Walpole's narrative, though the reader must draw his own inferences as to the motives of the parties in the transaction.—E.

† The King, too, ascribed the Duke's refusal entirely to the interference of the persons around him.—E.

‡ Thomas Brand, of the Hoo in Hertfordshire, had married Lady Caroline Pierpoint, half aunt of the Duchess of Bedford. Mr. Brand was an old Whig, but had deserted that party in hopes of getting a peerage by the Duke of Bedford's interest. When the Duke joined the Court after this, he did obtain a promise that Brand should be a Baron on the first creation, but the latter died before that event arrived.

§ See Walpole's Letters to Sir Horace Mann, vol. i. p. 320.—E.

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The treaty evaporated, the vacant employments were filled with some of Lord Bute's creatures, and any stragglers without connexion that could be picked up. Thus the Duke of Ancaster was made Master of the Horse to the King, and was succeeded in the same rank to the Queen by Earl Delawar, already her servant. Lord Hilsborough and Lord Despenser were appointed joint Postmasters; Nugent* First Lord of Trade, and Stanley Cofferer.

Conway's disgusts were doubled by seeing himself reduced to act with scarce any but Lord Bute's friends; and had Lord Chatham continued the effective Minister, would, I am persuaded, have resigned like the rest, for however gentle when he met with respect, he was minutely jealous of the smallest neglect, and incompatible with the haughty temper of Lord Chatham. Charles Townshend, restless in any situation, fond of mischief, and not without envy of the lead allotted to Conway, was incessant in inciting him to retire, by painting to him the pride and folly of Lord Chatham, the improbability of his maintaining such shattered power, and alarming him with threats of resigning and leaving him alone in the House of Commons.

To this mad situation had Lord Chatham reduced himself; first, by quitting the House of Commons, and thereby parting with his popularity; secondly, by disgusting the Whigs, his best and firmest support; thirdly, by never communicating a syllable to Mr. Conway, nor trusting him, though his only friend in the House of Commons; fourthly, by turning out Lord Edgecumbe, when all opposition was damped and in a manner annihilated; and, lastly, by not gaining the Bedfords from Grenville, when it was in his power. He had nothing left to try, but whether by the mere influence of the Crown, without leaders, and almost without speakers in the House of Commons, he could govern against all the other parties,† who, though hating each other, would all probably unite against him.

Conway, however out of temper, supported honourably the duty of his station; and, in the course of the Bill of Indemnity, dis-

* Nugent was immediately after created an Irish Peer, by the title of Viscount Clare. [His coarse, clever sayings, are frequently recorded in Walpole's Correspondence. He was the friend and patron of Goldsmith, who dedicated to him the amusing *jeu d'esprit* the "Haunch of Venison," and he aspired to be a poet himself, with indifferent success. The Ode to Pulteney, however, contains some spirited lines, and it was therefore pronounced by Gray not to be his. His daughter married in 1775 the first Marquis of Buckingham, to whose interest with Mr. Pitt he owed his elevation to an earldom in 1776. He died in 1788, having survived his son, Colonel Nugent. The present Lord Nugent is his grandson, and has succeeded to his Irish Barony.—E.

† I include Lord Bute's faction in the standing force of the Crown, and the Scotch in both: but the facility with which the Duke of Bedford had been ready to abandon Grenville, created a new party, or sub-division, that of Grenville and Lord Temple, and their few friends; for though on the failure of the treaty the outside of union was preserved, they evidently remained two distinct factions, as appeared more than once: nor did Lord Temple ever forgive the intended separation, regarding himself and his brother as one, though the Bedfords had frequently told Grenville that they did not look on themselves as connected with Lord Temple, who had opposed them when they were in power.

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tinguished both his zeal and capacity. In the Committee, Grenville and Rigby moved to have stated the losses of those who had suffered by acting under the order of Council. Burke and Dowdswell spoke on the same side; but Conway, by an artful speech, gained over Dowdswell, and Grenville did not dare to divide the House. He next tried to avoid the preamble of the bill, and moved to adjourn. Charles Townshend and he had a sharp altercation, in which Townshend both ridiculed and flattered him. Lord Granby declared warmly for Lord Chatham; Conway spoke handsomely of him too, though intending to add censure to praise, but was interrupted by Rigby; and thus the praise remained alone. The Cavendishes having been consulted on the bill, would therefore not divide against it, and went away. Rigby, impatient to mark his resentment to Lord Chatham, and fondly thinking their numbers would appear formidable, even without the Cavendishes, advised to push a division; and Wedderburne actually divided the House when the Ministerial party amounted to 166, and the Opposition but to 48: a signal victory in Lord Chatham's circumstances! But Lord Bute's friends had signalized themselves in his support. Elliot and Dyson spoke for him; and Sir Fletcher Norton retired rather than vote against him. It was even suspected that Wedderburne, who, though of the same corps, commonly opposed, like Norton, to force himself into place, had treacherously drawn on the division to expose the weakness of an Opposition without harmony; nor was there any thing in Wedderburne's character to counteract the suspicion. Some there were who believed that Lord Bute, apprehending the junction of Lord Chatham and the Bedfords, had, during the treaty, made overtures to the former, which had encouraged him to act so imprudently and cavalierly in that negotiation. But, if duped then, it never appeared afterwards that Lord Chatham had given himself up to a real connexion with the Favourite.

If the Opposition were startled at their defeat, and Rigby did repent his precipitancy, Mr. Conway was not a little startled too. He saw Lord Chatham would stand, whether he quitted or not. He had declared against going into Opposition; nor was it his inclination. Should he quit in those circumstances, he would become a cypher, and remain divested of his profession. I saw his difficulties and felt them. I told him that he had lately asked me whether I would advise him to stay and be turned out with disgrace with a falling Administration? I reminded him that in those circumstances I had acquiesced, and had allowed that he could not stay, nor support alone a system that hung on Lord Bute. But the case was altered now: it was plain the Opposition was too weak to demolish Lord Chatham; and therefore, as Lord Chatham was likely to continue in power, I wished him to stay in place likewise. At the same time I sent Lord Hertford to beg his Majesty would press Mr. Conway not to quit. The King said he had just written to Mr. Conway, and told him his Government depended on *his* conducting the business of the House of Commons. Lord Hertford replied, he believed his brother

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was more inclined to stay than he had been. The King said, eagerly, "How have you brought it about? I am sure you and Mr. Walpole have done it."

On the 9th, Beckford proceeded on the East Indian plan, and moved for inspection of their charters, treaties, revenue in Bengal, and an account of what they had expended. He expatiated justly on the devastation the Company's servants had committed, and urged that new adventurers, not old proprietors of India Stock, were the men who profited of this accession of wealth, and who were practising all arts to convert into a selfish job a source of riches that ought to be conducted to national advantage. The Opposition treated the plan as chimerical. Could Bengal, they asked, be stated as a permanent possession? Cust, the Speaker's brother, concerned in the Company, admitted that the Government was entitled to expect a return from the Company, as their settlements had been preserved by the navy, and depended on the protection of the public. But though his confession was candid, he was faithful too to the interests of the Company, and started many difficulties. No proposal, he said, could be made but to the General Court of Proprietors. Many proprietors would object, not intending to continue so. The revenue was not so large as pretended. Lord Clive computed it at one million seven hundred thousand pounds; Sumner's account settled it at one million four hundred thousand; himself did not believe it exceeded twelve hundred thousand. The Company, on their forts, armaments, &c., had expended five millions. Senegal and Goree, while in private hands, were maintained for eight thousand pounds a-year; since the public had taken them under their own direction they had cost twenty-six thousand pounds a-year. Burke, in one of his finest speeches, declaimed against the measure: it was the first instance of dragging to the bar men with whom the public meant to treat. They were accused, that their property might be confiscated. A dangerous attempt was making for little advantage. On Lord Chatham his figures were severe, painting him as a great Invisible Power, that left no Minister in the House of Commons. The greatest Integrity (Conway) had no power there. The rest approached him veiling their faces with their wings. Let us supplicate this divinity, said he, that he would spare public credit. Augustus Hervey called him to order. "I have often suffered," added Burke, "under persecution of order, but did not expect its lash while at my prayers. I venerate the great man, and speak of him accordingly."* Many other speeches were made for and against the motion, particularly by the lawyers; on which Colonel Barré said, the artillery of the law he saw was brought down on both sides; but, like artillery, had not done much hurt. He was for trying this question by common sense. He then read the opinions which Lord Camden and Charles Yorke had given when the charter was granted, in which, though favour-

* See an account of this speech in a note to Lord Chatham's Correspondence, vol. iii. p. 145.—E.

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able to the Company, they had said, "for what might follow, policy must take time to consider." This implied that they did not understand conquests as granted away by the charter; yet Yorke had now defended the Company as entitled from their charter to their present acquisitions. Bolton, one of the Company, who, though he voted for the motion, said much against it, owned that the Company could not govern their servants, nor could Clive go on without the interposition of Government. Charles Townshend, having been chidden by the Duke of Grafton for his variations, took advantage of what Bolton had said, and spoke finely for the motion. Grenville, in answer to Barrè, said he did not desire to be decided by military common sense; and dwelt with much emphasis on the sacredness of charters, property, and public credit; affirming that the affairs of no company had ever been decided in that House. Conway showed in a masterly manner that Grenville's assertions were all false; that the affairs of the Hudson's Bay and other companies had been inquired into by Parliament. In answer to Burke, he said, he disclaimed slavery; *was only a passenger* in Administration, but always remonstrated against whatever was contrary to his opinion. Dempster, as a proprietor, declared against the motion; but though Grenville had announced the dissatisfaction the measure would occasion, it created less heat than he expected: nor did either directors or proprietors petition against it, those who had been most alarmed soon discovering that whatever should be gained from the Company, would stand in lieu of burdens that otherwise might be laid on themselves. The Opposition dividing for adjournment were beaten by 140 to 56; not above twenty of Lord Rockingham's party having yet joined Grenville.

The next day the Bill of Indemnity which had passed the Commons, was read in the House of Lords. The Duke of Richmond called on the Chancellor and President to explain their doctrine of necessity justifying a dispensing power. Lord Northington adhered to his opinion, and said, on a jury he should have found for the affirmative. Lord Camden said, he should not, but would have given trifling or no damages to the sufferers. Lord Mansfield went through a laborious history of the Constitution, and vindicated himself from the reproach of being a prerogative lawyer: had always been a friend to the Constitution; on that ground had supported former Administrations, did support this, and would support succeeding Administrations. Lord Camden told him, he was glad he was returned to that doctrine. Lord Chatham said, that when the people should condemn him, he should tremble; but would set his face against the proudest connexion in this country. The Duke of Richmond took this up with great heat and severity, and said, he hoped the nobility would not be brow-beaten by an insolent Minister. The House calling him to order, he said with great quickness, he was sensible truth was not to be spoken at all times, and in all places. Lord Chatham challenged the Duke to give an instance in which he had treated any man with insolence; if the instance was not produced, the charge of

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insolence would lie on his Grace. The Duke said, he could not name the instance without betraying private conversation; and he congratulated Lord Chatham on his new connexion, the Duke looking, as he spoke, at Lord Bute. The Duke of Bedford did not speak, though he had been brought to town on purpose: but the Duchess, displeased with Rigby for breaking off the negotiation, had accompanied her husband, and even tried to renew the treaty, but was forced to desist, the places being filled up. On the Bill of Indemnity there was no division; and on the 15th the Parliament was adjourned for the holidays.

Notwithstanding his success, Lord Chatham was stunned by so rough an attack from the Duke of Richmond, a young man not to be intimidated by supercilious nods, or humbled by invective, which his Grace had shown himself more prone to give than receive. The silence of the place, and the decency of debate there, were not suited to that inflammatory eloquence by which Lord Chatham had been accustomed to raise huzzas from a more numerous auditory. Argument, at least decorum, would be expected, not philippics. Whether these reflections contributed or not to augment the distaste which the ill-success of his foreign, and the errors he had committed in domestic politics, had impressed on his mind, certain it is that the Duke of Richmond had the honour of having the world believe that by one blow he had revenged himself and his party, and driven his proud enemy from the public stage; for from that day Lord Chatham, during the whole remainder of his Administration, appeared no more in the House of Lords, really becoming that invisible and inaccessible divinity which Burke has described, and in three months as inactive a divinity as the gods of Epicurus.* His last act was bestowing an English barony on Lord Lorne, who, having failed through the Duke of Bedford, applied himself directly to the Minister. Lord Lorne had acquainted Mr. Conway with his wish, who was greatly distressed, as a favour from Lord Chatham (whom Mr. Conway intended to quit) might again destroy the harmony which was now re-established between him and his wife's brothers. Still, however, as the Duke of Argyle was old and declining, and as Lord Lorne would lose the English peerage† for ever, if he did not obtain it during his father's life, Mr. Conway would not oppose the request; though, circumstanced as he was, he would not ask it. It was immediately granted; and

* If this supposition be true, it is an extraordinary coincidence that the Duke of Richmond should, eleven years later, have made the speech which unquestionably hastened Lord Chatham's death.—E.

† A Scotch Peer cannot be made an English one by the Act of Union; this is evaded sometimes, as in Lord Lorne's case, by the heir apparent being created an English Peer. Lord Lorne seemed not to care whom he courted or quitted, so he did but obtain his end. [This disability, which the decision of the House of Lords in 1711 attached to the Scotch Peerage, was removed in 1782, when the point was referred to the Judges, and they delivered a unanimous opinion that the Peers of Scotland are not disabled from receiving, subsequently to the Union, a patent of Peerage of Great Britain.] (Journals of the Lords, 6 June 1782; Burnet's Own times, 586; 1 Peere Williams, 582; Somerville's Queen Anne, 459.)—E.

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Lord Chatham, by bending seasonably, took from the Duke of Bedford's scale the great Scottish interest of the Campbells.

Towards the East India Company he was less tractable. At a meeting of the proprietors many warm speeches were made against him, particularly by Wedderburne. They broke up in heat, and adjourned for a fortnight, determined to make no advances to Government, unless their right was established, which Lord Chatham peremptorily refused to allow. However, on the last day of the year, they met again in smoother temper, and agreed unanimously to empower the Directors of the Company to treat immediately with the Administration.

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CHAPTER XLVII.

Desultory Discussions on American and East Indian Affairs.—Debates on the Land Tax.—Defeat of the Ministers.—Conduct of Lord Chatham.—Offer made by the East India Company.—Motion for Papers.

When the Parliament met again on the 16th of January, nothing was ready to be presented for their discussion on the East India Company. Lord Chatham, on his journey from Bath, was, or pretended to be seized with the gout, and returned thither. Whether ill or not, it was plain he had determined to give no directions, for he sent none. He corresponded with none of the Ministers; and they were not eager to anticipate his intentions. The Duke of Grafton was charmed to be idle, Conway was disgusted, Townshend delighted in the prospect of confusion; however, on the 21st, Beckford laid before the House of Commons the papers he intended to employ against the Company. Townshend moved to have the consideration put off for some time, to which Beckford acquiesced.

On the 26th, the disposition of the troops in America being laid before the House, Grenville proposed that the Colonies should pay the regiments quartered there. Beckford told him he was mad on the Stamp Act, and could think of nothing else; Charles Townshend ridiculed and exposed him infinitely on the same topic. Lord George Sackville blaming the disposition of the troops in that part of the world, Lord Granby told him the plan had been drawn by his own friend General Amherst; the Court had a majority of 106 to 35. The next day, on the report, Grenville, dividing the House, had the mortification of being followed but by sixteen members, the Rockingham squadron declining union with him, and the Bedfords being kept back by the Duchess, still restless to return to Court.

On the 3d of February the House of Lords decided a great cause in favour of the Dissenters against the City of London, who asserted a right of fining them for refusing to act as Sheriffs;* Lord Mansfield made another Whig oration.

* The disgraceful practice of nominating Dissenters as Sheriffs, solely with the object of extorting the fines payable on their refusal to act, continued until the spirited resistance of Mr. Evans. The Corporation obtained a judgment against him in the Lord Mayor's Court, which they expected to be as effectual in his case, as it had proved with other contumacious Dissenters; but he appealed to the higher City Courts, and having failed there, carried his plea before the Judge Delegates, who, after a deliberate hearing decided in his favour. The Corporation then, in turn, appealed to the House of Lords, and the Judges, being consulted,

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It happened at this period that Mr. Conway, who talked of nothing but resigning, became in want of a secretary, William Burke quitting his service to follow his cousin Edmund into Opposition. My surprise was very great when Mr. Conway declared his resolution of making David Hume, the historian, who had served his brother, Lord Hertford, in the same capacity at Paris, his secretary. This by no means wore the air of an intention to quit himself; Lord Hertford, I believe, had started the thought, and on tracing the scent, I found there had been some indirect negotiation between the King and Lord Hertford to engage Mr. Conway to be Prime Minister himself. Lord Hertford thought his brother not averse to the idea, though extremely weary of the seals of Secretary. Himself told me that the King had asked him if Lord Chatham was not very tedious in council, and had complained of the long speeches he made to him, as Mr. Grenville had been used to do. Conway, no doubt, at three or four different periods, might have been Minister; but though nobody was inwardly more hurt at superiors, he never had a settled ambition of being first, nor whenever we talked to him with that view, could he determine to yield to the temptation. I was pleased, however, with the designation of Hume, as it would give jealousy to the Rockinghams, who had not acted wisely in letting Burke detach himself from Mr. Conway; and I prevailed on Lady Hertford to write a second letter, more pressing than her lord's, to Mr. Hume to accept. The philosopher did not want much entreaty; but it was in vain that I laboured to preserve any harmony between Lord Chatham and Conway; the *wildness* of the former baffled all policy. On the 6th of February Beckford was again forced to put off the consideration of Indian affairs, and not a word was said against it; his warmest opponents waiting maliciously to see where this strange interlude would end. Lord Chatham at last announced, though he would not deign to send any answer to the letters or solicitations of the Ministry, that he would be in town on the 12th; Beckford, however, gave out that he had received a letter from him, which said the terms offered by the Company were inadmissible;—they were left to guess in what particulars. To Lord Bristol this mysterious Dictator was more condescending, and wrote to him that he would come, dead or alive—a notification the more ridiculous, as having at last quitted Bath, he was again seized with the gout, as he said, and confined himself in the inn at Marlborough, still inaccessible and invisible, though surrounded by a train of domestics that occupied the whole inn, and wore the appearance of a little Court. This was the more remarked, as on his setting out from Bath he had at first left most of his servants behind, and they declared that they expected him back.

Mr. Baron Perrot, the Judge who had distinguished himself by his panegyric on Lord Bute, was the only authority on the Bench that supported the views of the Corporation. The House of Lords accordingly confirmed the sentence of the Delegates. Lord Mansfield's speech on the occasion, a composition of great ability and eloquence, is reported in the Parliamentary History, vol. xvi. p. 317.—E.

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The Opposition diverted themselves with the novelty of this scene, and levelled their chief attacks at Beckford, the substitute *out of place*, of a Minister who *would* do no business. Burke indirectly shot some of his arrows at Conway; and even out of the House some satires on the Administration, in which Conway was not spared, were strongly suspected to come from the same quarter, and were much resented by the latter.

On the 18th, on the North American extraordinaries, Beckford was very abusive on George Grenville. Rigby reproached Colonel Barrè with his *former* attacks on Lord Chatham, and with not defending him now; and he taxed Charles Townshend with his subjection to Lord Chatham, which drew a fine oration from Townshend on his own situation and on that of America. Grenville proposed two addresses to the Crown, to call the garrisons nearer to the capitals of each colony, and to employ any money that should be obtained from the East India Company in America. Those motions were rejected by 131 to 67.

On the 20th, Townshend again moved to put off the East Indian affair, as the Company were on the morrow to give an explanation of their former proposals. Rigby asked with a sneer, if the next appointed hearing was to be definitive, and abused Beckford in gross terms.

In the Lords the Duke of Bedford moved, on the 25th, for all correspondence with our Governors in America. The Duke of Grafton promised they should have all they could want; but the Chancellor, sensible that the Duke had gone too far, endeavoured to qualify the promise, and added, that since the right of taxation (which himself had denied) had been voted by Parliament, the Government was obliged to support it.

The great majorities of the Court, notwithstanding the inactivity of the Ministers, did not dishearten the Opposition so much as that supineness encouraged them to attempt a capital stroke. It was conducted with the greatest secrecy, crowned with incredible success, confounded the Administration, produced not the smallest benefit to the successful contrivers, but occasioned the expedient of another measure, that gave a deep and lasting wound to the country: not to mention that the perpetrators themselves were sensible of the mischief they should do in the first instance.

The land-tax is the surest fund of revenue to the Government. It had usually been but two shillings in the pound. The war and the increase of the National debt had mounted it to four shillings. Grenville, during his Administration, in confidence of his economic plans, and to lull the country gentlemen with fair promises, had dropped that the land-tax, he believed, might be reduced in the year 1767 to three shillings. If the country gentlemen expected that alleviation, nobody else did; nor could Grenville, had he remained Minister, have realized the hopes he had thrown out. But what he could not have effected himself, he was now glad of distressing the

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Ministers by proposing.* He and Rigby had artfully prepared a call of the House against the day of voting the land-tax, in order to bring to town the country Members, who would not only be favourable to the diminution, but must vote for it to please their electors, as the Parliament was near its dissolution. The tories, too, though inclined to the Court, were become enemies to Lord Chatham, who, having lost them as soon as he lost his power, had treated them with much contempt in his speeches on the Stamp Act. He had now trusted to his majorities, or that the other Ministers would take care to secure them. But besides that the land-tax had usually passed as a matter of course, no care was taken to watch the House of Commons. Conway, in the last Administration, could not be induced to traffic with Members, though offended that none of them paid court to him; much less was he inclined now to support Lord Chatham's measures by any indirect proceedings. The Duke of Grafton was cold and ungracious; and having offered to repair to Marlborough, and earnestly solicited permission to settle the East Indian business with Lord Chatham, had been peremptorily refused access.†

Under such a concurrence of untoward circumstances, Charles Townshend proposed the usual tax of four shillings on land, saying, that with other savings and with what might be obtained from the East India Company, Government would be enabled to pay off the four per cents; and pledging himself, that if he should remain Chancellor of the Exchequer another year, he would be for taking off one shilling from land. The Opposition was opened by Dowdswell, who moved for only three shillings—a man who, having been so lately the active Minister of the finances, knew but too well how ill Government could afford to make the abatement.‡ That very consideration weighed with Lord Rockingham's faction to join even their aversion, Grenville. Edmund Burke alone had the honesty to stay away rather than support so pernicious a measure. Sir Edmund

* The fact, as I have since learnt from Rigby's own account, who bragged of it long afterwards, stood thus. He and Wedderburne went to Grenville at Wootton, before the Parliament met, and proposed to him to try to take off two shillings in the pound. Grenville, who not only knew the impossibility of sparing so much, and the mischief the country would suffer, but flattered himself he should soon be Minister again, vehemently opposed the plan; however, as they persisted, he compromised the matter, by making them promise they would confine the reduction to one shilling, for which he not only voted but spoke ably, though so much against his opinion. Perhaps he would have done less hurt, if he had joined in the attempt to reduce it two shillings in the pound, which would have appeared so capital a mischief, that it might possibly have miscarried; and, indeed, supposing a possibility of so much conscientiousness in that or the next Parliament, is paying a compliment to them that may be thought overstrained.

† Lord Chatham's letter to the Duke of Grafton of the 23rd of February, in Chatham's Correspondence, vol. iii. p. 218.—E.

‡ Mr. Dowdswell shared the prejudice entertained by most country gentlemen against the land-tax, probably as much as the resentment felt by the Rockingham party against Lord Chatham.—E.

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Isham* and Sir Roger Newdigate,† half-converted Jacobites, declared, as representatives of the Tories, for the lesser sum, and the latter, to blacken Lord Chatham, made a panegyric on Sir Robert Walpole. They were answered extremely well by Lord North, who began to be talked of for Chancellor of the Exchequer. De Grey, Member for Norfolk, and brother of the Attorney-General, in a strange motley speech, in which he commended Grenville, abused the Administration, blamed and commended Lord Chatham, declared for the three shillings, and vented much invective on eastern and western governors, commissaries, and placemen, who, he and Sir Roger Newdigate said, thrust all the ancient families out of their estates. Beckford, though one of the Members for the City of London, on which the tax fell heaviest, yet said he would concur in what was necessary for the State. Lord Clare showed that all taxes fall ultimately on land, and that the measure of three shillings would be popular only with gentlemen of estates, would not ease labourers, farmers, artificers, and merchants. He spoke with encomium of Lord Chatham, who had first been represented as become insignificant by his peerage, now was reviled as sole Minister. Dr. Hay artfully took notice that Townshend had said he would propose some tax this year on America. Townshend explained, that it was to be done by degrees and on mature consideration; but the loss of the question of one shilling more on land hurried Townshend into new taxes on America, which not only were not well considered by himself or the House, but furnished those repeated occasions of disgust to America, or new pretences for disgust, which opened again the wounds that the repeal of the Stamp Act had closed, and reduced the mother-country to more humiliations, and even to employ the army in curbing their mutinous brethren—happy if either experiment be tried no farther than they have yet been at the end of 1769! Grenville made a great figure on this unhappy question, and, throwing off all reserve about Lord Chatham, remembered that the first year after the peace, he had asked why one shilling in the pound was not taken off land?‡ He also detailed all the savings himself had made, and said, he would not answer Mr. Townshend, who had asked where any new tax could be laid, with the end of an old song, "Tell me, gentle shepherd, where?"§ That quotation had been much applauded; himself should be hissed if he made such an answer; but it had always, he said, been Lord Chatham's style: he would spend money, but left others to raise it. A fool could ruin an estate, a fool and a knave could ruin a nation. He was not gentle

* Sir Edmund Isham, Bart., M.P., for Northamptonshire. He died in 1772.—E.

† Sir Roger Newdigate, Bart., M.P., for the University of Oxford, and the founder of the prize which bears his name. He died in 1806, aged 87.—E.

‡ What was the context, but that Lord Chatham and Grenville were honester men when Ministers than when patriots?

§ Quotation of Pitt on Grenville in a debate mentioned before.

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on Lord North, who had deserted him for the Court. Conway answered Grenville but indifferently; and Lord John Cavendish closed the debate with an affected point of honour, advising to lessen the tax now, lest, if delayed till the next session, the House should seem to court popularity at the eve of a general election. At past nine at night the House divided, and, to the extreme surprise of both sides, (for the Opposition had not dared to flatter themselves with an idea of victory,) the four shillings in the pound were lost by 188 to 206.* The confidence of the Court had contributed to their defeat, several of their friends, not doubting of success, having voted against their inclination, to please their constituents. Lord Granby and Sir William Maynard† were almost the only members for counties, who had dared to risk their popularity by voting for the larger tax. Cooke, one of the representatives for Middlesex, though devoted to Lord Chatham, had thought he might venture to go against the Court. Thomas Pelham, with the white stick in his hand, was forced by the Duke of Newcastle, as Member for Sussex, to take the same part. Some of the Duke of Grafton's young friends, not suspecting a contest, had gone out of town that very day: but the most offensive blow to the Crown was given by the Duke of York, who, though his establishment was on the point of being settled, allowed some of his own servants to fail the Court, Colonel St. John,‡ one of the grooms of his Bed-chamber, voting against it; and Cadogan,§ his treasurer, attached to Grenville, and whose place of surveyor of Kensington Garden had newly been increased to 1000*l.* a-year, absenting himself. Two years afterwards, this same man had the modesty to accept a still more lucrative employment.‖ Morton too, a Tory, in whose favour Lord Chatham had lately quashed an opposition at Abingdon, repaid the service with similar gratitude.

This was the first important question lost by the Crown since the fall of Sir Robert Walpole. Mr. Pelham had been defeated in an

* See Letters to Sir Horace Mann, vol. i. p. 326.—E.

† Sir William Maynard, M.P., for Essex, died in 1772.—E.

‡ Colonel Henry St. John, brother of Frederick Viscount Bolingbroke. [Many of his letters are given in the Selwyn Correspondence. They are smart and lively. He lived among the wits of his day, and was liked by them. He died in 1818.—E.

§ Charles Sloane Cadogan, only son of Charles Lord Cadogan. I have said he was attached to Grenville: it was because he thought Grenville likely to come into power again; but when deserted by the Bedfords, Cadogan paid his court to Lord Gower. When Lord North became Minister, he became so servile to him, that being out shooting in Norfolk during the Newmarket season, it was a joke with the persons who returned thence to examine the game going to London, and at every inn was a parcel directed by Cadogan to Lord North. [He married a daughter of Walpole's favourite sister, Lady Maria Churchill, from whom he was afterwards divorced—a circumstance that ought to be weighed against the severity of this note.—E.]

‖ He was made Master of the Mint, and in 1774, when the light guineas were called in and re-coined, he was computed to get 30,000*l.* by his profits on the re-coinage.

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inconsiderable tax on sugar by the treachery of Lord Granville. It was not less remarkable that the Crown, which had been able to muster 224 votes in favour of that crying grievance, General Warrants, found but 188 ready to support a tax so essential to Government, that it had been proved that unless means could be found to lessen the debt, the nation would be unable to engage in a new, however necessary, war. The Bank was ready to advance 500,000*l.* on the land-tax; but the weightier these arguments, the more obdurate the Opposition. Still they had no other satisfaction than in the perpetration of the mischief. No popularity ensued: the City, where the national interest was best understood, condemned such public disservice, and spread the cry of disapprobation. Many who had lent their voices to the Opposition, repented; and, what the latter alone felt with shame, the Court recovered its ascendant—a proof that surprise was the only weapon their antagonists could use to effect, and against which the Ministers were now put upon their guard. By Ministers I mean the substitutes and the alarmed friends of Lord Bute. Prone as he was to change and betray, he did not choose to be compelled to change, nor to be taken prisoner by Grenville and the Bedfords.

It was not impossible to have recovered the question by recommitting it on the report, but the Ministers did not think it prudent to venture. Charles Townshend spoke on it only to protest against the consequences of so destructive a resolution. Between Lord North and Rigby some wit passed that had no good humour for its foundation.

On the 2d of March Lord Chatham arrived from Marlborough. Any man in his senses would have concluded, that having felt the disastrous effects of his inactivity, he had hurried to town to endeavour to retrieve his influence in the House of Commons, and to apply himself to more vigorous measures. On the contrary, as if there was dignity in folly, and magic in perverseness, as if the way to govern mankind was to insult their understandings, his conduct was the very reverse of common sense, and made up of so much undissembled scorn of all the world, that his friends could not palliate it, nor his enemies be blamed for resolving it into madness. He was scarce lame, and even paraded through the town in a morning to take the air. Yet he neither went to the King, nor suffered the Ministers to come to him.* After much importunity he saw the Duke of Grafton once or twice, but would not permit the other counsellors to wait even in his anti-chamber. A Cabinet Council being summoned on the East-Indian affair, nobody could prevail on Lord Chatham to let it be held at his house. His few intimates ascribed this ill-humour to his dissatisfaction with Conway and Townshend, who had declared they thought the Company had a right to their conquests. Lord

* Several letters between Lord Chatham and his colleagues at this time in confirmation of the statement in the text are given in the third volume of the Chatham Correspondence.—E.

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Chatham vowed he would risk his situation on that question, and would defend it himself in the House of Lords. Townshend went so far as to be unwilling to dispute their right. Conway was inclined to let them apprehend its being questioned, that they might offer more largely to the necessities of Government. Lord Chatham, who, when obstinacy failed, knew not how to make himself obeyed, privately waived the point of right, but insisted on its not being told that he had relaxed. His menaces, however, had so much effect, that the directors offered to give up half their revenues and half their trade, *with the right annexed.* These last words were differently interpreted: some of the Cabinet thinking the directors meant to waive, others to save their right; and in that dilemma the Cabinet broke up in confusion, though it was easy to have asked the Directors the meaning of their own words. Conway declared he would not undertake the conduct of that business, but would cede his province to any man that would; and the King telling Lord Hertford that he (his Majesty) must support Lord Chatham, Conway and Townshend declined going to the meetings that were held at the Duke of Grafton's on that subject. They were private meetings of some of the leading men in the House of Commons, the stiffness of Lord Chatham having reduced him to seek for any men in the subordinate class who would carry on the business—a disgrace which, at the moment of having lost a capital question, seemed sufficient to blast his whole Administration. Conway had in vain pressed for these meetings for four months together. Now when the question was within two days of appearing in the House, no determination was taken, and there was no Minister to carry it through. These difficulties were increased by a rage for stock-jobbing that had seized all ranks of men. It was more shameful, that above sixty members who were to sit in judgment on the Company, were known to be engaged in that dirty practice. The Chancellor of the Exchequer himself was vehemently suspected of having caught the contagion.*

The day of expectation arrived at last, March the 6th—but ended in smoke. As Lord Chatham's plan was to be content with nothing the Company could offer, that he might at last get the whole into his hands, or reduce them by force to cede a much larger portion of their revenues than he could expect they would offer till driven to that necessity, he had eagerly rejected the plan presented by them to the Treasury; and Beckford now, to obtain from the House disapprobation of those offers, moved to have all papers that had passed between the Government and the Company for the last six months, laid before the House. This motion which had the sanction of the Ministry, for it was seconded by Colonel Fitzroy, was not only disapproved of by the Opposition, (who treated it as a measure of delay in Beckford, during the ill-humour of his friend Lord Chatham, and as a matter nugatory, since the paper being only an offer from the Treasurer of the Company to the Treasury, it was not an act of the

* See vol. iii. of these Memoirs.—E.

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General Court, and could consequently be disavowed by the proprietors,) but was objected to by Charles Townshend too, as the measure was incomplete; questions, he said, being asked on the proposals, and answers still more obscure returned. And to show his dissatisfaction, he desired the House to consider him as a private Member of Parliament. Conway, with more decency, let it be perceived that he was not much better content; however, to disculpate his friend the Duke of Grafton, he said, the Duke had warned the directors that the paper would come before Parliament, nor would accept it till they allowed of that condition. His own opinion, he said, he would not declare. He understood the proposal as yet was neither rejected nor accepted. He wished not to see the paper in the House, till either rejected or accepted; lamented the step taken, but could not obstruct it. Charles Yorke vindicated the Company. Grenville, Burke, and Wedderburne treated Chatham and Beckford with scorn, and laboured to raise a spirit against the idea of force to be put on the Company, and to baffle any benefit being received by the Government. In the midst of the debate, the military and naval chiefs, by their posts members of the Cabinet, but with all their merits very incompetent judges of state affairs, and still worse qualified to engage in the subtleties of a parliamentary discussion,—both, I say, Lord Granby and Sir Edward Hawke blabbed out the secret which the Ministers were veiling, and which even the treachery and loquacity of Townshend had not dared openly to disclose. Lord Granby told the House that the offers had been found inadmissible; and Sir Edward to engage the House to send for the paper, declared that the majority of the Council had rejected it. These blunders defeated Lord Chatham's view, which was to steal the disapprobation of the House, or at worst, should the House admit the proposal, he would stand disculpated to the public for having made no better a bargain. This unlucky truth divulged, drew much ridicule on the Managers; and now the secret was out, the Opposition suffered the motion to pass without a negative.

The adversaries, however, had not so soon forgotten to what they had owed their late success; and having acquiesced in the printing of the papers, they flattered themselves, the Ministers would the less expect an attack in that quarter. Accordingly, on the 9th, Jones,* an East Indian director, a tool of Lord Sandwich, presented a petition from the Company, by surprise, against printing their papers, pleading that it would disclose their secrets to their enemies. Townshend was absent, and the whole weight of the day fell on Conway, who extricated himself from so delicate a situation with the utmost ability. Allowing greatly, as was his nature, to candour, he called on the directors to point out particular papers that might be prejudicial to them, and which, he said, he should certainly be against printing. He disclaimed violence; but observed, as did others, that their papers told nothing more than was published every

* Robert Jones, Esq. M. P. for Huntingdon, died in 1774.—E.

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day in two occasional papers called *The India Observer*, and *The Examiner*. Jones denying that the directors allowed the Duke of Grafton to lay their proposals before the House, and Grenville pleading that had he known *that* the other day, he would not have voted for the printing, Conway and Lord Granby both affirmed that the Duke had refused on any other condition to receive their proposal; and Jones, being pressed to answer why he had not contradicted their assertion on the last debate, had nothing to say but that they had never expressed in words, allowance of exposing their paper, and that he had not ventured the other day to take on himself to make objections, but had staid till he could consult his brethren. Grenville quoted the precedent of reversing the order for printing the American papers, and others; the danger of informing France and the Mogul, of the state of the Company's transactions: but it was showed how much more they must know, the first, by the publications of Scrafton* and others of the Company, the latter by his situation. Rigby attacked the Ministers on their disunion, which was finely turned by Conway against him, the complaints of the Opposition having run till now on a sole dictator. Elliot distinguished himself on the same subject; and, after a debate till nine at night, the Ministers disappointed the intended surprisal, and maintained their order for printing the papers by a majority of 180 to 147.

When thus triumphant, in spite of his own absurdities, and of the variations of Charles Townshend, who now spoke of himself as turned out, and who only spoke so because he thought himself secure of not being turned out, it was evident what Lord Chatham might have done, had he known how to make the most of his situation. He might have given firmness and almost tranquillity to his country; might have gone farther towards recruiting our finances than any reasonable man could have expected; and, in indulgence of his own lofty visions, might have placed himself in—at least have restored Great Britain to, a situation of reassuming that credit which he and chance had given her some years before. But, alas! his talents were inadequate to the task. The multiplication-table did not admit of being treated in epic, and Lord Chatham had but that one style. Whether really out of his senses, or conscious how much the mountebank had concurred to form the great man, he plunged deeper and deeper into retreat, and left the nation a prey to faction, and to the insufficient persons that he had chosen for his coadjutors. Once, and but once, he saw the King after having refused a visit from Conway, though commissioned by his Majesty to talk with him on Russian negotiations. On the state of America he would hear

* Luke Scrafton, for some years Governor of Bengal. He was the author of "Reflections on the Government of Hindostan, with a short sketch of the History of Bengal, from the year 1739, to 1756; with an Account of the English Affairs to 1758," 8vo., London, 1762. A second edition was printed in 1770. See an account of his controversy with Mr. Vansittart, in Nichols's "Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century," vol. ix. p. 573, and the Gentleman's Magazine, vol. xxxiv. p. 55.—E.

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him as little, and would give no answer but the same he had on East India affairs, *that it would find its way through the House.* Conway protested he would not conduct it there, unless some plan was previously settled, and he knew what he was to support. With Townshend Conway had little less difficulty; the former sometimes pressing him to resign, sometimes threatening to resign and leave him alone; and at others reproaching him for not undertaking his defence when he thought himself the most obliquely hinted at; for Townshend, though as prone to draw reflections on himself as Conway was sedulous not to deserve them, was equally tender and jealous of criticism.

Though the chief business of the session turned on the great affair of what was to be gotten from the Company, yet as what was gotten, was at least peaceably obtained without violence or any Parliamentary decision of their rights; and as I avow myself extremely unversed in those and all other transactions of money and revenue, I shall, as much as I can, avoid details on that subject, both in favour of my own ignorance, and to avoid misleading the reader; the spirit of the times, and the characters of the men who gave colour to events, being almost my sole objects in these Memoirs. The reader has seen, and will see, through what a labyrinth of faction, self-interest and misconduct we were led into such a chaos of difficulties, as God knows whether I shall live to see surmounted;* or whether I must not leave these pages a sad memorial of those errors whose consequences posterity may trace back to their several sources. If I pause a moment to make this reflection, it is because I think at this period Lord Chatham, by a wise and vigorous exertion of himself, might still have established some permanent system, with the support of the Crown and the Favourite, without too disgraceful dependence on the latter. I think so, because even the remnant of this system, when Lord Chatham was withdrawn, still maintained its superiority. That Lord Chatham might have done much more service nine months earlier, before his wanton defiance of the Rockingham party, and his other wild actions of passion and scorn, is past a doubt with me. It will appear at a period not much later, that had his successor and pupil not been endued with almost as great impracticability, and scarce less haughtiness, the distractions that followed had never happened. They indeed dated from a subsequent Parliament; but the seeds were sown in that complaisant and prostitute one of which I am speaking, and which yet, if well conducted, might have remedied many of the evils it had countenanced; but, managed as it was, it left nothing but the dis-esteem it had raised, to be copied by, and stigmatized in, the Parliament that succeeded.

On the 11th Dudley and Rouse, the chairman and deputy-chairman of the Company, appeared before the House, and declaring they thought that the printing of any of their papers, except the Charters

* This was written in October, 1769.

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and Firmans, might be prejudicial to their affairs, Conway candidly desired the House would retract the order for printing them, and it was agreed to: he having wished for a sight of all charters, Norton eagerly seized the proposal, Lord Mansfield—ever hostile to Lord Chatham—having discovered in one of the oldest charters that a power had been granted to the Company of making war, and the old Company had transferred all their rights to the new. Dempster, and the younger Burke, who had engaged deeply in India Stock, were the persons that gave the greatest opposition to the pursuits of the Ministers. Edmund Burke, too, assisted by the friendship of Lord Verney, trafficked in the same funds, and made a considerable fortune, most part of which he lost again afterwards by a new fluctuation in the same transactions,* and which probably produced, as will be seen, another revolution in the factions of these times. Sullivan, a leading personage in Indian affairs, sought by various proposals to get the negotiation into his own hands, but those subordinate intrigues are foreign to my purpose.

* I am assured by my friend Lieutenant-General Sir Richard Bourke, the editor of Mr. Burke's Correspondence, that this charge is unfounded, and utterly at variance with the statements of Mr. Burke's private affairs, to be found in his papers.—E.

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CHAPTER XLVIII.

Provision for the King's Brothers.—Debate.—Death of the Marquis of Tavistock.—Of the Dauphiness.—The Indian Papers.—Intrigues of Grenville.—Regulation of America.—Temper in which the Americans received the Repeal.—New Project of using Force towards the Colonies.—Discussion in the House of Lords on the American Papers.—The East Indian Question.—Real or Affected Insanity of Lord Chatham.—Interview of the Author with the Lord Chancellor.—The Latter lets out a Secret which is turned to Advantage by Walpole.—Debate on an Act of the Assembly of Massachusetts.—Attempted Reconciliation between Conway and Rockingham.

During these altercations, and while the time necessary for calling and holding courts of directors or proprietors delayed the prosecution of this matter, the King sent a message to both Houses, desiring them to make a provision for his brothers. The message was taken into consideration on the 19th, and in each House Lord Temple and Mr. Grenville objected to the establishment being entailed on the issue of the Princes. On the 24th, when it was to be voted, Mr. Grenville, without directly opposing, made a very able speech and observations on the settlement. It would be an additional expense, he said, of 24,000*l.* a year on the Civil List, and might have been saved from other articles. The charge of ambassadors might be reduced, who each cost the Crown 13,000*l.*, the first year. He ridiculed Lord Chatham's magnificent plans of naming ambassadors to various Courts, and despatching none of them. He had threatened to dissolve the Family-compact; yet Sir James Grey was not yet set out for Spain, nor Mr. Lyttelton* for Portugal. Turn north, there were the same great plans, yet Mr. Stanley was not gone. Mr. George Pitt was alike absent from Turin; to those gentlemen he professed meaning nothing personal: the Chancellor of the Exchequer must pay them, and they were in the departments of the Secretaries of State, who, though in responsible places, he was sure, were not to blame. The pensions on Ireland amounted to 88,000*l.* a year; the revenue of that country ought to be laid out to support the Royal Family, and Ireland would like it. Stanley, a very warm man, took this invective to himself, and showed how much he resented it. He complained that Grenville had given him no notice of the intended attack, and observed how delicate his own situation was in speaking, or not speaking, between private honour and the duty he owed to the King

* Henry Lyttelton, formerly Governor of Carolina, and youngest brother of George Lord Lyttelton.

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of secrecy. He did not care, he said, whether the attack was pointed at him, or to wound another through him; the employment he had not sought: in France he had served to his loss, and was ready to have his conduct inquired into. Had Lord Egremont (Grenville's brother-in-law) gone, when he was named to the congress at Augsbourg? Foreign Ministers had no means of raising a fortune. Had he himself a son, he would say to him, "Get into Parliament, make tiresome speeches; you will have great offers; do not accept them at first,—then do; then make great provision for yourself and family, and then call yourself an independent country gentleman:" for himself, he was ready to answer Mr. Grenville there or any where else. Severe as the picture was, Grenville had drawn it on himself, resenting Stanley's having left him for Lord Chatham. Nor could Stanley be blamed for taking offence; he had been represented in a disgraceful light, while he had acted with singular honour, and yet was not at liberty to disculpate himself. The fact stood thus: Lord Chatham, as I have said, full of a grand northern alliance, had named Stanley Minister to both the Russian and Prussian Courts. The latter would not receive him: the Czarina did not like the proposed alliance, nor the expense of sending an ambassador in return: yet had she named Prince Czernicheff. Sir George Maccartney had desired leave to come home; and thus Stanley stood on the list as ambassador, in compliment to the nomination of an ambassador from St. Petersburg; yet perceiving he was not to go, he had honourably refused to take the appointments; a state secret he could not disclose, as it would be telling the Russian Court that there was no longer an intention of sending him. Dowdswell spoke in favour of the Princes, as he was to have made the same motion the foregoing spring. Sir Roger Newdigate, in a dull metaphorical speech, abused the Administration, and complimented Grenville. Charles Townshend turned him into the highest ridicule, analyzing his metaphors, and reducing them and the whole speech, as it deserved, to nonsense. Newdigate replied, and with the obstinacy of dullness professed he had never admired any Administration but Grenville's. Townshend enforced what he had said with new ridicule; the settlement was granted, and the King saved 9000*l.* a year.

A melancholy event relaxed a little the assiduity of the Opposition. The Marquis of Tavistock,* only son of the Duke of Bedford, was thrown from his horse as he was hunting, and received a kick that fractured his skull. He languished about a fortnight, and died at the age of twenty-seven. If there was a perfectly amiable and unblemished character in an age so full of censure, and so much deserving it, the universal esteem in which the virtues of that young lord were held, seemed to allow that he was the person. His gentleness, generosity, and strict integrity made all the world to love or admire him. Full of spirit and martial ardour, which he suppressed in deference to a father to whom his life was so important, he had the

* Francis Russell, only son by Gertrude Leveson, the Duke's second wife.

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genuine bashfulness of youth, and the humility of the lowest fortune. His large fortune he shared with his cotemporary friends, assisting them in purchasing commissions. Yet he had taste for those arts whose excellence and splendour became the House of so great an heir, and indulged himself in them when they did not interfere with his more favourite liberality. His parts were neither shining nor contemptible; and his virtue assisted his understanding in preserving both from being biassed or seduced. To observers, it was clear that he much disapproved the want of principle in the relations and dependants* of his parents; yet so respectful was his duty to his father, and so attentive his tenderness to his mother, and so artfully had she impressed it, that Lord Tavistock's repugnance to their connexions and politics was only observable by his shunning Parliament, and by withdrawing himself from their society to hunting and country sports. He was not less exemplary as a husband than as a son, and his widow, who doted on so excellent a young man, survived him but two years.† The indecent indifference with which such a catastrophe was felt by the faction of the family, spoke but too plainly that Lord Tavistock had lived a reproach and terror to them. The Duke, his father, for a few days almost lost his senses—and recovered them too soon. The Duchess was less blameable, and retained the impression longer; but while all mankind who ever heard the name of Lord Tavistock were profuse in lamenting such a national calamity, it gave universal scandal when, in a little fortnight after his death, they beheld his father, the Duke, carried by his creatures to the India House to vote on a factious question. This unexampled insensibility was bitterly pressed home on the Duke two years afterwards in a public libel. Yet surely, it was savage wantonness to taunt a parent with such a misfortune; and of flint must the heart have been that could think such a domestic stroke a proper subject for insult, however inadequate to the world the anguish appeared: how steeled the nature that could wish to recall the feelings of a father on such a misfortune. In Borgia's age they stabbed with daggers; in ours with the pen!‡

* They were called, in the satires of the time, *the Bloomsbury Gang*, Bedford House standing in Bloomsbury Square: of these the chief were Earl Gower, Lord Sandwich, and Rigby. Sandwich gloried in his artifices; Rigby was not ashamed of his, but veiled them for better use; Lord Gower had neither feeling, shame, nor remorse. All three were men of parts, and agreeable. Lord Weymouth became an accession, and inferior to none of them in their worst faults; he brought pride into the account, and a less proportion of parts.

† Lady Tavistock died in 1768 at Lisbon, where she had been sent for the recovery of her health. Hers was really a case of broken heart. From the hour that her husband's death was made known to her, she drooped until she sank into what she truly designated "the welcome grave."—E.

‡ Walpole's hatred of the Duke and Duchess of Bedford must have been intense, or his sagacity could have scarcely overlooked, that in censuring Junius he condemns himself. Perhaps he is the more blameable of the two. Junius may have believed the Duke to have been a bad man. Walpole has elsewhere described him as having a good heart. He knew the facts urged by Junius in support of the charge of the Duke being an unnatural parent to be untrue; and yet

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About the same time died the widow Dauphiness, a pious but unamiable Princess, and only remarkable for the various fortune that attended her. Daughter of Augustus of Poland, she was married into the same Court, where the daughter of her father's rival, Stanislaus, was Queen. Received and treated with affection by that princess, and possessing all the tenderness of her husband, her fruitfulness seemed to ensure her felicity; when, though seated on the step of the most formidable throne in Europe, she beheld her father again driven into exile, and her mother dying in the midst of that calamity. Her family were scarce restored when the Dauphin perished before her eyes of a lingering illness; and she out-lived him too short a time to be secure that the youth of her children would not expose them to the dangers that attend a minority.

The disputes in the East India Company, which grew out of their great cause before the Parliament, produced an attack on Lord Clive, his enemies attempting to seize the Jaghire that had been granted to him by the Mogul; and it was but by a majority of about 30 voices that he saved that immense revenue on a ballot, 361 voting for the continuation of it for ten years, and 330 against it.

Towards the end of March the House began reading the East Indian papers that had been laid before them; each day of which produced much general debate, especially as witnesses were examined. The Attorney-General De Grey and Dyson shone on these occasions, and showed how much the question was a matter of state, and that the King's Bench could have no judicature over the East Indies. Govenor Vansittart* was examined for four hours, and gave much satisfaction; his evidence tended to strengthen the right of the Crown, and brought over may persons to that side. Colonel Monroe spoke strongly in his deposition to the same effect.

In the mean time the faction of Grenville and the Bedfords, humbled by the Death of Lord Tavistock, and by the ground gained against them on the India question, began to cast about for real union

he not only leaves them uncontradicted, but frames his narration so as to facilitate their belief. The Duke's memory has been repeatedly vindicated from this cruel aspersion, and never with more generous and indignant eloquence than lately by Lord Brougham.—(Political Sketches, vol. iii.) It has always been understood in the quarters likely to be the best informed, that he felt his son's loss deeply to the last hour of his life. Instead, however, of yielding to his grief, he endeavoured to employ his thoughts on public business, and the natural fervour of his disposition insensibly engaged him in the scenes before him perhaps more deeply than he was aware of. The meeting he attended at the India House must, as appears from the Company's books, have been that of the 8th of April, which determined the course to be taken by the Company on the Government propositions: a great question, in which he took the liveliest interest. The force of mind he thus displayed is noticed with commendation in a letter written at the time by David Hume, who, from his connexion with Conway, is assuredly an impartial witness.—(Hume to M. de Barbantine, Cav. Debates, vol. i. p. 601.) The absurd charge brought by Junius against the Duchess, of making money by Lord Tavistock's wardrobe, originated in its having been sold for the benefit of his valet and Lady Tavistock's maid, according to the general practice of that day.—E.

* He was brother of the Member for Berkshire, and of Miss Vansittart, favourite of the Princess of Wales, and was lost not long after in a voyage to India, along with Mr. Scrafton, author of an excellent tract on Indian affairs.

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with the Rockinghams. The latter, on the first overtures, and without any positive assurance of that union, sought to draw Mr. Conway into the league, affirming that Grenville, as they had lightly been made to believe, would be content with some inferior post, and would waive his hopes of being Minister. Conway, however, discontent with Lord Chatham, and fearful of offending his old friends, did not listen to a plan so improbable in its construction, and so dishonourable in its tendency. Grenville could only mean to get to Court with the view of undermining his associates when he should be there: and such a treaty would be unpardonable in Conway, while acting in the King's service. He would not allow himself to think of the Treasury, which he knew Lord Rockingham would never cede to him; and yet on talking over the proposed arrangement with him, he said sensibly, and not unambitiously, "If I should join them, I would insist on Grenville going into the House of Lords." He was not without fears of Grenville and Rockingham uniting and leaving him with Lord Chatham and Lord Bute. I was not so easily alarmed, though the Duke of Richmond endeavoured to persuade me that the junction would certainly take place, and that Conway would not even recover his regiment. I saw no danger comparable to that of his resigning, and consequently of dissolving the Administration; and very little to apprehend from the union of two men whom so many reasons divided, and whom the predominant one of both aiming at the first place must for ever keep asunder. So it happened then. Neither would yield a post which neither saw a prospect of attaining by his own strength. Grenville at last proposed that both should desist, and should agree in the nomination of a third person. This, no doubt, he intended should be his own brother, Temple, who might afterwards resign to him. But the least proper was the most obstinate, and the treaty came to nothing. I put the Duke of Richmond in mind of what Lord Gower had said the last year, and asked him if he thought it likely that the Bedfords would enlist under a man who was so much their contempt? Lord Sandwich having abused Lord Rockingham in the House of Lords, Lord Gower said to him, "Sandwich, how could you worry the poor dumb creature so!"

A question of more importance than the Indian one was now to come on the carpet—the Regulation of America. The repeal of the Stamp Act, however necessary and salutary, had, as Grenville and his adherents foretold, instead of pacifying that continent, inspired the turbulent with presumption. With whatever joy the repeal had been received, it was not followed by that general gratitude to the Ministers who obtained it, which they deserved. Great Britain having yielded, the tribunes of America flattered themselves that new concessions might be extorted: so certain is the march of successful patriotism towards acquisition. Still the disturbances were not alarming nor universal: and if, instead of tampering with a wound not closed, emollients, restoratives, at least oblivion, and no farther essays at taxes had succeeded, harmony perhaps had again taken

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place. A Ministry composed of heterogeneous particles, some inclination to show authority after mildness, an eagerness to replace the loss on the land-tax, and, above all, the inconsiderate vanity of Charles Townshend, and not a small propensity in him to pay court to Grenville, all concurred to prompt rash and indigested measures; while a Parliament, so obsequious as that of the moment, was ready to enact every successive contradiction that was proposed to it by the Court, and eased Ministers of the trouble of weighing the plans they intended to pursue. Nay, the circumstances of the time recommended violence as the least obnoxious measure; Grenville being sure to give less obstruction to any intemperance which resembled his own, and secretly enjoying any indiscretion that would involve his successors in the same difficulties as those he had occasioned himself.

The first plan on which the Ministers fixed was that of force and punishment. They proposed to oblige the Provinces to furnish beer and vinegar to the soldiers; and if they refused, the governor of New York was to be prohibited from giving the royal assent for holding their assemblies. This step would, in effect, have been a dissolution of their government, and not less violent than the seizure of charters by Charles II. When the scheme was laid before the Cabinet, Conway, who adhered to the conciliating measures of the last year, and to his own mild maxims, alone opposed so arbitrary a project. When,

On the 30th of the month, the American papers which had been laid before the Houses, were taken into consideration by the Lords. The Chancellor opened the nature of them, and hinting at the disobedience of the Colonies, said, if his own sentiments should not be so lenient as formerly, it was because he had formed them anew on the Act passed in the last session. Lord Weymouth observed to him, sensibly, that last year's had not been an Act but a Declaration. Lord Temple was more acrimonious, his language gross, telling the Chancellor that his former opinion of Parliament having *no right* to tax the Colonies, had been treasonable. The Duke of Grafton defended the Chancellor with great propriety, and asked why Lord Temple had not called him, if guilty of treason, to the bar? He reproached Temple, too, with blackening a most respectable character (Lord Chatham's,) from revenge. The present question, he said, was too serious for faction; but if places were the objects of Opposition, and if his would reconcile Lord Temple, it was at his service. These bickerings were all that passed then. Lord Denbigh called on the Opposition to propose some plan for restoring the tranquillity and submission of America; but neither party were eager to stir in it: the Ministers were afraid, the Opposition apprehended disunion amongst themselves,—so different were the sentiments of Grenville and Rockingham on that subject.

When the settlement on the Princes passed the House of Lords, Lord Temple behaved with his usual violence. Great and deserved reflections were thrown on Lord Northington for his scandalous ex-

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tortion of emoluments on the late change. Lord Temple then caused the House to be summoned, without acquainting them to what purpose.

The same day, his brother and the Opposition debated in the Commons against delay on the East Indian affair till eight in the evening, and then divided the House for calling in witnesses. Many of the courtiers had gone away, and the motion was rejected but by 96 to 82! Sir W. Meredith then declared, that if Beckford did not by that day seven-night ascertain the House when he would bring on his questions, he would move to dissolve the Committee. Such inconsistent conduct in the Opposition was occasioned by its having appeared on the examination, that the Crown would be justifiable in seizing the acquisitions of the Company, so crying were the abuses, and so little was the Company itself master of its own servants. Easter, too, was now approaching, and the Opposition feared not being able to rally their forces after the holidays. Grenville, apprehending from so many concurrent circumstances favourable to Lord Chatham, that he would be able to acquire a large revenue to the crown, laboured to instil fears of such intended force; saying, the East Indian business had begun in folly, and would end in violence.

Lord Chatham himself either was not, or would not be, in a condition to strike any great stroke. Though he still continued to take the air publicly, his spirits and nerves were said to be in the lowest and most shattered condition. Added to the phrensy of his conduct, a new circumstance raised general suspicion of there being more of madness in this case, than mere caprice and impracticable haughtiness: he had put himself into the hands of Dr. Addington—a regular physician, it is true, but originally a mad doctor, innovating enough in his practice to be justly deemed a quack. The physician, it was supposed, was selected as proper to the disease; whereas, if all was not a farce, I should think that the physician rather caused the disease, Addington having kept off the gout, and possibly dispersed it through his nerves, or even driven it up to his head. So long did Lord Chatham remain without a fit of the gout, and so childish and agitated was his whole frame, if a word of business was mentioned to him, tears and trembling immediately succeeded to cheerful, indifferent conversation. Some passages, too, which I shall specify hereafter, indicated a fond kind of dotage; yet do I very much doubt whether the whole scene was not an imposition, and the dictates of disappointment, inability and pride, rather than the fruits of a brain extraordinarily distempered. A slave to his passions, a master dissembler, and no profound statesman, his conduct was more likely to be extravagant by design, than from the loss of his senses. As he reappeared in the world, and yet governed his domestic affairs with the same wild wantonness and prodigality, it is probable that there was not more folly in this secession from business, than could be accounted for in so eccentric a composition. If it was nothing but singularity and passion, Lord Chatham was certainly the first man who ever retired from business into the post of Prime Minister.

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As I suspected that much of this ill humour was founded on his disappointment in Mr. Conway, who would not receive orders from behind the veil of the *sanctum sanctorum*, and as I had heard that the Chancellor complained much of the latter, I desired to wait on Lord Camden, in order if possible to restore some harmony in the Administration. Having appointed me an hour, I offered all that depended on me towards reconciling my friend and Lord Chatham. The Chancellor by no means aided my good disposition. He complained much of Mr. Conway's niceties, difficulties and impracticability. In truth Mr. Conway allowed too much to his scruples, and the Chancellor on the other hand was a little too alert in relaxing his former principles; the one leaning towards power, the other to popularity: yet I think even the Chancellor was too much addicted to the latter, to have risked it by any signal servility.* He was generally firm, when pushed by the roughness of the times. A moderate degree of attention to his fortune stole into his conduct, when it did not too much clash with his professions or connexions. He told me that Lord Chatham was very willing to replace Mr. Conway in the army; and being but a novice in politics, he let drop indiscreetly, that if the Ministers could weather the session, there must be a totally new Administration; adding, that Mr. Conway's behaviour on the East Indian affair had been a stab to Lord Chatham, and had reduced him to lean on Lord Bute.

Though I did not know whether this imprudent declaration implied an intention of co-operating entirely with Bute, or might not look towards Grenville, yet I saw plainly that there was an intention of getting rid of Mr. Conway. I took no notice either to the Chancellor or to Mr. Conway of what I had discovered, lest the latter should resign immediately; but I instantly determined to keep Conway steady to his last year's point of moderation towards America. It would preserve his connexion with his old friends, who would be necessary to him, if Lord Chatham broke with him; and it was essential to him to maintain his character. Accordingly I softened extremely towards the Rockingham party, and talked to them of the necessity of Mr. Conway and their agreeing, as they had done when in Administration together, to oppose any violence against the Americans. This plan succeeded extraordinarily, and blasted all thoughts of union between Grenville and Rockingham, the former of whom had endeavoured to persuade the lattter to content himself with a dukedom and the lieutenancy of Ireland. Nor was this all the success that attended the secret the Chancellor had blabbed to me. It occasioned such a breach in and discomfiture of the Opposition, as carried the Administration through the session with triumph. So often did chance throw occasions in my way, which no policy of mine could have superinduced, and which, if I preferred vanity to truth, I might represent as the effects of profound craft and foresight.

On the 10th of April, in consequence of Lord Temple's summons,

* He not only risked, but lost it in 1783.

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the Duke of Bedford moved to address the King to order the Privy Council to take into their consideration a recent Act of the Assembly of the Massachusets, in which they had taken on themselves to pardon the late insurrections, and to couple with that act an ordinance for raising of money. Lord Northington affirmed, that the consideration of those Acts was still before the Board of trade; on which the Duke of Grafton moved the previous question. In reply to a reproach made by the Duke of Bedford on the delays and inactivity of Administration, Grafton decently hinted, and it was fresh in every body's memory, how handsomely he had put off the American question on Lord Tavistock's accident. Lord Halifax rudely and inconsiderately censured Conway for not having transmitted the orders of their Lordships to the Colonies. In fact, the orders had not been sent to Conway; and Halifax, the accuser, had, when Secretary of State himself, neglected orders committed to him by the King in Council. The Duke of Richmond warmly took up Conway's defence, and led the way to a separation from the other part of the Opposition. Lord Talbot gave up all the Ministers but the Duke of Grafton. Lord Mansfield spoke finely for the motion; the Chancellor well, for acting with spirit against the Colonies; but said it would require great prudence to conduct that spirit. Lord Suffolk and Lord Lyttelton supported the motion. Lord Shelburne and Lord Botetort were against it, and Lord Townshend for it. It was rejected by the previous question, on a majority of 63 to 36. The Duke of Richmond, Lord Rockingham, Lord Dartmouth, Lord Monson, Lord Radnor, and Lord Edgcumbe voting with the Court; the Duke of Newcastle, who leaned to the Bedfords, Lord Albemarle, and others of the party, retiring. Lord Hardwicke voted with the minority.*

On this schism I again pressed Conway to join the Rockinghams on the American question, and hinted my suspicion, not my knowledge, that Lord Chatham might think of dismissing him at the end of the session. Conway was enough disposed to that union; said he could not negotiate himself, but consented that I should sound the Duke of Richmond, and wished their faction would not insist on that unattainable point, the total dismission of Lord Bute's friends. I found the Duke much incensed against Lord Temple for not having communicated to them the late motion, and provoked that Rigby, who had negotiated with them on Grenville's part, and at first had waived the Treasury for him, had at last insisted on it. I pressed his Grace to try by his cousin Albemarle's means to gain the Bedfords separately from Grenville. Conway wished that junction and separation. I did not at all think it practicable; but I hoped that the proposal, coming from the Rockinghams, would exasperate Grenville

* Three Lords of the Bed-chamber, the Earls of Coventry, Eglinton, and Buckinghamshire were also in the minority. (See Chatham Correspondence, vol. iii.) The Duke of Bedford notices the Debate in his Journal as if he had not felt much interest in the matter, (Cavendish's Debates, vol. i. p. 601.)—E.

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and widen the breach between them. The Duke approved and was eager for that alliance, but demanded that Conway should resign first, as many of their friends were averse to him while he acted with Lord Chatham. I advised him to try it himself with Conway, though I told him I would not answer for the success: but I would not undertake what I intended to impede; expecting that Lord Chatham would not be able to continue in power, and that then it must devolve on Conway; and choosing that the Rockinghams should accede to him, not he go over to them. Neither happened. I did not accomplish the junction; but I both kept Conway from resigning, and the Rockinghams from uniting with Grenville and the Bedfords.

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